

BLACK POLITICS —

1992

AUG. — SEPT.

By Quentin Wilson

"VIVA!" cried the Scottish pilot, Tom, as the small plane returned to DF Malan Airport after the ANC's whizz week-end tour of the Northern Cape.

The trip was not without its drama and Tom's exclamation was uttered more out of relief than political allegiance.

In Britstown the ANC were running behind in their tight schedule and the flight to Prieska was a race against the fading light.

"Another two minutes and my name would have gone down in history as the pilot who wiped out the local ANC leadership," Tom said after landing on an unlit, makeshift

Leaders get a bumpy rural landing

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runway somewhere in the Karoo.

The ANC delegation was too busy sipping beers and relaxing on the plane after a hard day's slog to worry about their possible doom.

"The ANC owes me one for this!" Tom declared when the plane finally came to a halt.

"The ANC will buy you a beer," chirped Mr Norman Michaels, Dr Allan Boesak's publicity secretary.

It was one pre-election promise that the ANC did keep, and later at the hotel Tom got his beer — but only one courtesy of the ANC.

The earlier hitch was when Tom landed on an SADF runway in Britstown.

Although the landing was smooth, the SADF had locked a security gate which made it impossible for the delegation to meet their reception outside the airfield.

So Tom took off again and found another runway nearby — which was not in the same tip-top condition as the military one and made for a more bumpy landing.

"The tyres on this plane ... are they solid or can they get a punc-

ture?" Michaels asked nervously.

"Oh no, they do sometimes get punctures, but they're not your normal retreads," Tom reassured.

For the rest though, it was politics and more politics.

The ANC touring party, which consisted of Boesak, lawyer Mr Essa Moosa and MP Mr Jan van Eck plus several bodyguards, aides and an accountant, were fired up by the rural reception they met. From departure at 7:30am on Saturday to our return at 7pm on Sunday, it was politics throughout.

When we reached a town the plane would land, everybody would drive around the townships hooting madly to announce their arrival and then Boesak, and if time permitted, Van Eck, would speak at a rally. Then it was back to the plane again.

At Carnavon though, the delegation visited a squatter camp, held a workshop on empowerment, addressed a rally, led a march, visited two employment projects, posed for photographs, had breakfast, visited the municipality's grounds and then boarded the plane for Britstown — all in a morning's work.

The only time available to relax was on the plane and on Saturday night when the party checked in at a Prieska hotel.

Prayers and Sunday best for the ANC

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STEPPING OUT: Allan Boesak and Jan van Eck get a military reception in Prieska

A WHIRLWIND ANC tour of the Northern Cape over the weekend shattered preconceptions that the organisation has little presence in rural towns like Carnavon, Britstown and Prieska.

The ANC entourage, headed by Western Cape chairperson, Dr Allan Boesak, were themselves "surprised at the high level of support" shown during their three stops.

Up to 800 people attended each of the three rallies held in halls across the Northern Cape.

The trip was aimed at educating people about the ANC in areas seen

as conservative.

The delegation included legal expert Mr Essa Moosa, ANC MP Mr Jan van Eck and five bodyguards and aides.

The Northern Cape rallies had their own peculiar features — there was a prayer at the start of each; everybody was dressed in their Sunday best and marshalls ensured that the elderly enjoyed first preference for seats, while youngsters, out of respect for their elders, had to move and sit on the floor.

"We have been waiting for this moment for weeks," said one Brit-

stown resident who then waxed lyrically about Boesak's oratory skills.

"Some of us had heard that Boesak was a good speaker but he was incredible."

It was the first time Boesak had ever been to Britstown but this did not stop him from being swamped by chanting supporters while he was trying to get out of the hall.

A couple of people from Carnavon spent Saturday night hitching to Prieska to hear Boesak speak for a second time.

"It is so seldom that we get the opportunity to listen to ANC lead-

ers, we could not let the chance go by," they explained in complete adoration.

Moosa said afterwards he was "impressed by the broad spectrum of people who attended".

"De Klerk thinks he can win support in coloured communities but the meetings showed he will struggle to do that, certainly in the Northern Cape," Moosa said.

There were reports in Carnavon that police had visited school principals before the ANC leaders arrived and warned them that "the children will start throwing stones" after

QUENTIN WILSON
went along:

Boesak returned to Cape Town.

But Boesak was more interested in explaining that "the ANC stands for peace and freedom" while President FW de Klerk "is a liar who should not be trusted".

His speeches hardly touched on the ANC's pro-democracy programme, but focused more on the injustices of apartheid in this neglected part of the country where it is evident blacks live in a feudal time warp.

As a first step to purging the prevalent "baasskap" mentality in this region, Boesak urged audiences not to call their employers "baas and madam" because "those days are over".

Moosa said they did not focus on mass action because, "we don't like to come from the urban areas and prescribe to people in the rural areas the form of their campaigns. That is up to them to decide."

Asked about the trip, Boesak said: "I have always maintained that the ANC has more support in the rural areas than we get credit for, but I never realised it was so high.

"It really makes nonsense of so-called support for the NP in these areas," Boesak said.

Van Eck summed it all up when he sat down in the plane after the Prieska rally, and said to Boesak: "Ja boet, that was the opium of politics."



CHAIN REACTION FLASHBACK: Cape Town joined hands on Saturday when supporters of the ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance formed a human chain in the city streets

ANC threatens press boycott

South 118 - 5/8/92

By Mluleki Gantshe

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THE ANC may call for a boycott of some newspapers if they do not stop their "unjust attack" against the organisation and its allies, ANC Western Cape secretary Mr Tony Yengeni said.

Addressing a rally after the human chain demonstration at the weekend, Yengeni told about 4 000 people the media was taking "the side of the oppressors instead of the oppressed".

"I am not saying that the media should do us special favours, but it must be fair and should report facts as they are, otherwise we will have no option but to call for a boycott of some newspapers.

"Just recently we have experienced unprecedented attacks on us by some newspapers and we are not going to tolerate it," Yengeni said.

ANC can't deliver on threats

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— analyst

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KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Political Reporter

DESPITE its frequent threats of "rolling mass action", the ANC does not have "the organisational infrastructure to deliver on the threat," according to political analyst Eugene Nyati.

In a paper delivered at the National Association of Democratic Lawyers' annual general meeting in Maritzburg yesterday, Nyati said the ANC lacked the necessary infrastructure to embark on sustained mass action, "and the Government must know this".

He said the ANC, whose structures had fallen into decay since its unbanning more than two years ago, was "both vulnerable and exposed" and remained unable "to sustain the sort of mass action needed to break Government intransigence".

Nyati, who is director of the Johannesburg-based Centre for African Studies, said ANC-aligned structures in the country were better organised under the United Democratic Front (UDF) before the ANC's unbanning in February 1990.

Flawed

These structures had since been neglected and former UDF leaders sidelined.

He said the Convention for a Democratic South Africa was structurally flawed, and the Government and its allies in Codesa had "influence out of proportion to their numerical following". This explained their insistence that Codesa, rather than an elected body, write the country's new constitution.

Nyati said South Africa appeared headed for a less-than-satisfactory settlement in 1994, which the main political players and their followers would endorse. Such a settlement would hold for about four years before public opinion turned against it.

"At that point, the moral authority of leaders like ANC president Nelson Mandela — assuming he is still alive — and others associated with the 1994 settlement will have virtually disappeared, leaving them vulnerable to serious challenge," he said.

Democracy the only hope - Hani

THERE can be no upswing in the South African economy before there is a democratic government, SACP secretary general Chris Hani said in East London this week.

C/P news 2/892
Hani said blacks were no longer prepared to accept "empty declarations about commitment to democracy".

(HA)
Mass action, boycotts and strikes would continue as long as there was an unrepresentative government in place, Hani said.

Winnie snubbed!

By **MONWABISI
NOMADOLO**

DESPITE repeated calls by militant youths to "let Winnie speak", organisers of a recent march ignored the calls, appearing to snub the estranged wife of the ANC president.

The ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance march was held last week in central Johannesburg, and ended with the presentation of a memorandum at John Vorster Square.

In spite of the apparent snub, the ever-defiant Winnie exchanged smiles and greeted the ANC leadership present at the march.

The march was led by, among others, ANC dep-

Youths cry 'Let her speak!' - but they are ignored

Cipriem 2/18/92

uty president Walter Sisulu, his wife Albertina and the organisation's deputy secretary-general Alfred Nzo.

Winnie's impromptu appearance at the march raised the spirits and emotions of thousands of youths who went wild with her sudden appearance, chanting "Down with De Klerk!"

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus, who was present

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at the march, said he did not know why Winnie was not given the microphone when supporters called on her to speak.

He added that the march was not called by the national office and referred City Press to the PWV office.

PWV spokesman Barbara Hogan said Winnie was not given a chance to speak because she was not

listed as a speaker for the day.

She added that the organisers were not even aware she was coming to the march.

She dismissed rumours of so-called "strained relations" between Winnie and the ANC following her suspension from the ANC Women's League. She said this had nothing to do with her not being given a chance to speak.

Winnie arrived shortly after the march started and left shortly thereafter, said Hogan.

Attempts to get comment from Winnie were unfruitful.

On Thursday, Winnie led a march in Duduza as part of the mass-action campaign.



SURPRISE! SURPRISE! ... Winnie Mandela rocks up unannounced at an ANC march.

focus on politics

THE president of the African National Congress has appealed to black journalists to explain to black people what his organisation is striving to achieve with its programmes.

Mr Nelson Mandela said the liberation movement has made significant progress and gains in the struggle, but the liberal white media has distorted this to the advantage of the regime.

He spoke to senior black journalists and editors on Friday at a special briefing, the first of its kind with local black journalists. It was held in view of accusations that the ANC was more accessible to white and foreign journalists.

Mandela conceded the accusation and said the ANC and black journalists were to blame, the latter for being "less assertive".

The briefing also came after a gulf in understanding between the national leadership and black grassroots members.

Some of the journalists viewed the briefing as an attempt to reach these followers, who depend mainly on black newspapers for information.

It was seen as no coincidence that the briefing came after ANC youths in Evaton screamed at Mandela for guns to kill the enemy after the Boipatong massacre, although he is on record as saying the chapter on armed struggle is closed.

Mandela said that while the ANC and PAC had brought about the recent United Nations Security Council debate, liberal white journalists and the State broadcasting machinery gave the impression that the regime got its way.

"De Klerk actually wrote letters to at least five heads of state in Africa asking them to block the debate, but it went on and we got what we wanted, which was a special representative who will go back and report.

"Thereafter we expect another meeting of the security council and the appointment of a monitoring mission which will be sent here," Mandela said.

In a wide-ranging discussion, he said that despite the moratorium on meetings with the regime, ANC officials met with Government representatives to discuss the release of political prisoners.

Mandela emphasised that the mass action campaign was not merely to get the stalled Codesa talks back on track but to dislodge the Government and effect a transfer of power to the majority.

"We pulled out of Codesa for specific reasons, which include the fact that the regime wanted to get a minority veto that would ensure that the National Party, and not even the white minority, would continue to cling to power even if they lost an election.

"And unless the 14 demands that we submitted to the regime are met in full, there is no way that the ANC will return to the table," Mandela said.

Mandela said he regretted that other "sections

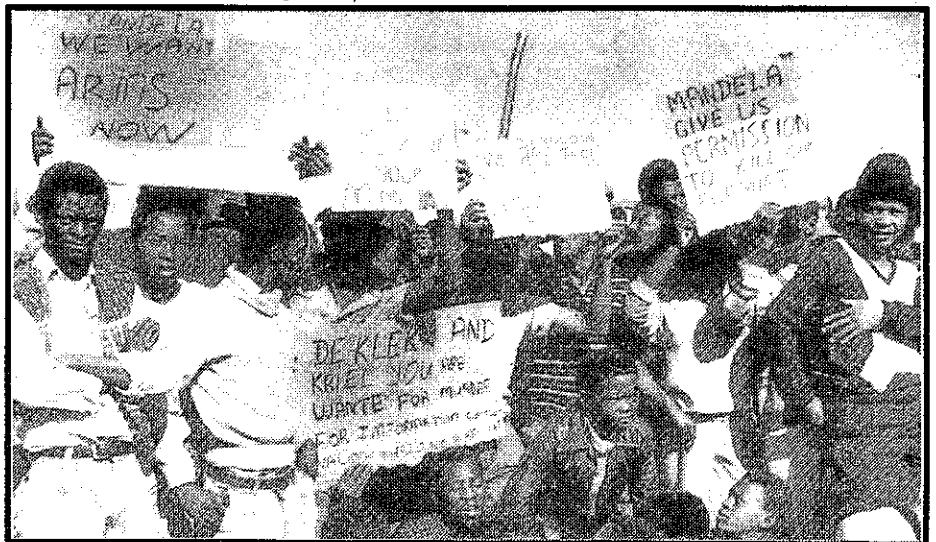
ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela met senior black journalists and editors last week. Investigations Editor **Mathatha Tsedu**, who attended the briefing, and Political Reporter **Themba Molefe**

assess Mandela's views:

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The township mood that needs to be addressed is mirrored in the posters held aloft at a memorial service for the Boipatong massacre victims which ANC leader Nelson Mandela attended in Evaton a day after the same youths drove off State President FW de Klerk.

of the liberation movement" had been unable to join the action.

Azapo and PAC have said the ANC should not take decisions in isolation and expect them to fall in line, but the organisation has resisted this.

Mandela instead has blamed the two movements for refusing to join the ANC campaign but conceded that the division played into the hands of the common enemy who exploit the disparity to foment violence in black areas and blame it on inter-organisational rivalry.

On calls for the restructuring of the stalled Codesa and a possibility of the United Nations chairing the sessions, which could pave the way for the entry of Azapo and PAC, Mandela said he did not support the idea.

He even differed with Cosatu secretary general, Mr Jay Naidoo, who said Codesa was doomed from the start because it was elitist.

Mandela said Codesa was an appropriate platform. "We do not need new chairmen and new venues as the two judges are doing a fine job," he said.

But Mandela said he was against the occupa-

tion of factories, as proposed by Cosatu, and would prefer Government buildings to be occupied on Wednesday because of possible damage to factory property by curious people.

Mandela said the violence was continuing because the regime did not want to stop it. "I went to De Klerk at Codesa 2 and asked him why his police force did not stop Inkatha people from carrying weapons and beating people right there at Codesa and he said to me:

"Mr Mandela, when you join me you will understand that I do not have the power that you think I have.' It was for this reason that Cyril Ramaphosa said De Klerk has conceded that he has no authority over the police.

"But I do not know what makes him think I am going to join him and in what," Mandela said.

Mandela defended the ANC's collusion with bantustan leaders and said the organisation had derived benefits from the association. "There are obvious problems on the ground, but these do not detract from the fact that the move itself is tactically correct," he said.

ANC units out of control - Hani

Sowetan 3/8/92

■ MILITANT MENACE ANC members of self-

defence units are running amok in the townships.

AFRICAN National Congress militants were running riot in black townships and committing atrocities among their own communities, a top ANC official said in a newspaper yesterday.

ANC leader and South African Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hani said in the interview that ANC "self-defence unit" members were out of control and "had no conception of democratic tolerance".

ANC self-defence units have

been cropping up in townships since the onset of severe political violence.

Their ostensible purpose is to protect township residents from attacks by mystery assailants, often linked to the ANC's bitter rival, the Inkatha Freedom Party.

But Hani is reported as saying that the SDUs are involved in bloody battles among themselves for political turf, that they are unaccountable to the communities they are supposed to represent, and that ANC members in Soweto, Johannes-

burg, and in the troubled townships of the Vaal Triangle had "necklaced" political opponents.

Police liaison officer for the Vaal, Captain Piet van Deventer, reported that 18 alleged members of a self-defence unit in the Sharpeville township in the strife-torn Vaal Triangle were arrested on Friday morning.

The 18, who were being held in terms of unrest regulations, were arrested after two houses were searched and police discovered two army uniforms.

Unity can resolve the crisis

STAR 3/8/92.

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THE article by R W Johnson in The Star of July 27 is a well-constructed distortion of the purpose and content of the ANC-led Campaign for Peace and Democracy. He meticulously constructs straw dolls and then sets about demolishing them.

His arguments revolve around three assumptions:

● "Radicals" in the ANC, SACP and Cosatu see the campaign as a build-up to insurrection.

● These "planners" of the campaign have either roped in or marginalised the rest of the ANC leadership.

● As the campaign unfolds, these "radicals" are getting cold feet.

South African society has been subjected to enough of such equivocation in recent Government utterances, let alone in the PW Botha era.

For a "visiting professor" from Oxford who has never hidden his disdain for the anti-apartheid struggle, Johnson can be forgiven his views on the efforts to resolve the national crisis. But seen against the backdrop of his recent tirade against the Weekly Mail

and New Nation in the same column, his consistency would leave the likes of Jimmy Kruger cold. And there are not a few of them in the apartheid establishment.

South Africans view the current crisis with little humour. The Boipatong tragedy and the subsequent ANC decision to break off negotiations are the bursting of a festering sore.

Most people wish to do something to contribute to the resolution of the crisis. This is because violence affects the lives of ordinary people as much as it impacts on investor confidence and worker productivity. A prolonged transition is as unacceptable to victims of apartheid as it is a red signal of uncertainty to investors. Add to this reports about continued killings in detention, a spiralling crime rate and corruption in Government circles — and you will understand why decent South Africans want speedy movement to the "new South Africa".

The innovative attempts by sectors of civil society — Cosatu, Saccola and the SACC — to adopt a Charter and Programme for Peace and Democracy is one

flicker of the all-in desire to find workable solutions to the crisis.

It may not be possible yet for these forces to find one another on the actions needed to realise common principles. But this should not detract from the agreement on a constitution-making body that is unfettered save for broad constitutional principles, measures to address the violence and proposed socio-economic programmes.

The NP continues to procrastinate and fudge the issues on violence. In constitutional negotiations it still seeks minority vetoes. It wants to impose federalism from the boardrooms of the unelected body that Codesa is. And it prefers a long transition in which it will essentially be in control.

This behaviour fuels the perception that the NP is still bent on underhand methods and "dirty tricks" to weaken its opponents.

If nothing is done to clear this logjam, the frustrations among victims of apartheid will boil over, whether the ANC undertakes mass action or not. If South Africans who want peace and democracy do not act, perpetrators of

violence will perceive this as a licence to continue their campaign. It would be tragic for anyone to recoil from these principles simply because the NP does not approve.

The ANC and its allies have adopted methods they deem most effective in the situation: peaceful mass action and mobilisation of international solidarity with the democratic process.

Their campaign is not premised on some hidden agenda: "a sort of demonstrator's version of 'permanent revolution'" (as Johnson refers to rolling mass action), insurrection or the Leipzig option. The ANC believes united action by South Africans and the international community is capable of compelling the Government to negotiate in good faith.

There has indeed been debate among the ANC and its allies about the purpose and character of the campaign. We would not embark on a campaign of this magnitude without a clear conception about its destination. Such robust debate is critical in the formulation of balanced policy. The disservice Johnson does to readers

is to raise individual views — distorted by his sources — to the level of policy. Yet when policy is so articulated by people he seeks to demonise as "radicals", he elects to interpret it as a sign of "cold feet".

The Week of Action starting today is one high watermark in the campaign. No one has attributed to it the status of be-all and end-all in the process. If the demands are not met, even more decisive actions will be undertaken.

What is not "unprecedented" in the campaign is that actions around community and other grievances will continue, whether or not there is Codesa or even an ANC government. If this is "a demonstrator's version" of Trotsky's permanent revolution, then Trotsky's adherents run into billions, including picketers against abortion in the US, French farmers and British doctors.

The UN Security Council resolution that Johnson refers to as a push on the ANC to resume negotiations in fact calls for Government action to end the violence and recalls the UN declaration which urged for negotiations "in a

climate free of violence". The UN special representative is meant to investigate measures to end the violence in order to help "in creating conditions for negotiations..."

Perhaps, like the Government, Johnson has not yet been jolted by these developments. In his view, "much of the conviction has gone from the mass action campaign". Certainly the organisers of the campaign can do better. But his calculation is dangerous because it is premised on the belief that those at the receiving end of apartheid terror will one day tire of struggling.

The ANC will indeed return to negotiations. But this will happen only if the Government takes practical steps to address the violence and accepts a democratic constitution-making process. When — and not if — this happens, there will be jubilation not only within the ANC or among its supporters; but also among all those who did not shun their responsibility when their country required of them simply to take a stand. □

● The author is a member of the ANC national working committee and editor of *Mayibuye*.

Hani to investigate ANC defence units

Slovo denies units are out of control

The Argus Correspondents

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC leader Nelson Mandela has asked Communist Party chief Chris Hani and ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale to investigate self defence units in the Vaal.

Some of the SDUs had got "out of hand" because they were under attack and there were no visible signs of the ANC defending them, Mr Mandela said last night in an interview on SABC-TV.

Mr Mandela said "drastic disciplinary" action could be taken against the SDUs.

He added that the security forces were also intimidating people. The decision to send 5 000 security force members into 16 Reef townships had led to the perception that they would intimidate those wanting to take part in mass action.

PORT ELIZABETH. — Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo has denied that self-defence units in the Transvaal were "running wild".

He was asked to respond to a newspaper report quoting the party's general secretary, Mr Chris Hani, that the ANC's self-defence units (SDUs) were out of control.

At a Press conference here before the start of the SACP's 71st anniversary celebrations, Mr Slovo said the SDUs did not belong to the ANC only.

He said they were the responsibility of the entire ANC-Cosatu-SACP alliance.

"Speaking off the cuff", Mr Slovo said he did not think the words "running wild" could be those of Mr Hani.

had not had reports of "seri-
-ment" and the movement

Mandela in bid to head off dismissals

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ALAN FINE

ANC President Nelson Mandela contacted about 30 top businessmen late last week, hinting at an early return to the negotiating table provided that mass dismissals did not occur during the stayaway.

A senior source in the business community said Mandela had also informed them of the ANC's desire for the early establishment of an interim government of national unity — an issue to which UN envoy Cyrus Vance is understood to have devoted a great deal of attention.

Mandela also assured business that the ANC was taking its economic concerns more seriously.

An ANC source said Mandela would probably undertake to try to ensure that if there were no dismissals today and tomorrow, events for the rest of the week would go off with minimal disruptions.

An ANC statement said on Friday that all companies contacted had undertaken not to take any disciplinary action, including dismissals, against workers who stayed away today and tomorrow. Rather they would adopt a "no work, no pay" principle. This was because employers recognised "the right of workers to participate in the campaign for peace and democracy".

However, the source said, this was not a correct interpretation of what Mandela had been told. Business's position was far more nuanced than that.

In talks with Mandela, many of the business leaders had insisted on reserving their right to take disciplinary action. This was not because they expected large-scale mass dismissals — they generally had no intention of dismissing workers.

However, the source said, if business

waived its right to disciplinary action it would leave the impression that workers could participate in political stayaways as often as they liked without fear of penalty. This could not be countenanced.

"Everyone knows it will be a long hard march to democracy, and there will be many disputes and therefore occasions when people may want to use their 'right' to stay away. For business to accept this would put us on the road to perdition," he said.

It was possible that, even if there were no or few dismissals, other forms of disciplinary action could be applied extensively. This was particularly the case where special arrangements had not been negotiated between management and workers.

In many establishments, special arrangements had been made which involved taking leave, adjusted and/or short shifts, extra weekend work to compensate for time lost and, in industries where this was necessary, the performance of emergency work during the stayaway.

The source said Mandela had intimated in his talks with businessmen that a breakthrough in negotiations was imminent so long as business reacted calmly to the stayaway.

In earnestly requesting an undertaking from business that there would be no dismissals, Mandela had used the prospect of an early return to negotiations as a carrot.

Mandela had also implicitly expressed the view that business should be more flexible given his and the ANC's softer line on matters such as nationalisation and,

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Dismissals

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more recently, his slapping down of the bond boycott proposed by the SA National Civics Organisation.

His reference to the interim government could represent a change of policy encouraged by Vance. The ANC has, until now, held the position that it cannot participate in a first phase interim government until negotiations over the second phase and the constitution-making body are complete. It fears, otherwise, being locked into a structure with, possibly, no way out.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that about 250

Port Elizabeth businessmen held three hours of talks with SACP leaders on Saturday night.

SACP secretary-general Chris Hani described the talks as frank, while party chairman Joe Slovo said the "civilised" discussions augured well for the future.

The ANC/SACP/Cosatu mass action campaign dominated the discussions. Slovo conceded the economy would suffer "some immediate damage" as a result of the campaign. However, he said people had to take a long-term view of the situation.

Cosatu brews a lethal cocktail

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Infuriated by the lack of progress at Codesa, Cosatu has designed an explosive package of action to break the labour and political deadlock.

By **FERIAL HAFFAJEE**

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) this week announced an explosion of mass action plans including city centre occupations, sit-ins at government buildings, factory occupations and a boycott of PAYE tax, leading to a general strike on August 3.

This lethal cocktail is a vote of no confidence in the quiet cognac of percentages and transitional executive councils that characterised Codesa.

Cosatu is demanding a "simplified and less protracted Codesa" mandated only to "establish the mechanism to get us to free and fair elections", said Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo.

Until this is guaranteed, the federation will not give its alliance partners, the South African Communist Party and the African National Congress, the thumbs-up to resume negotiations.

The federation outlined its plans after a "living wage" conference on Monday which was given the status of a central executive committee meeting, the second-highest decision making body in Cosatu, in order to pass decisions immediately.

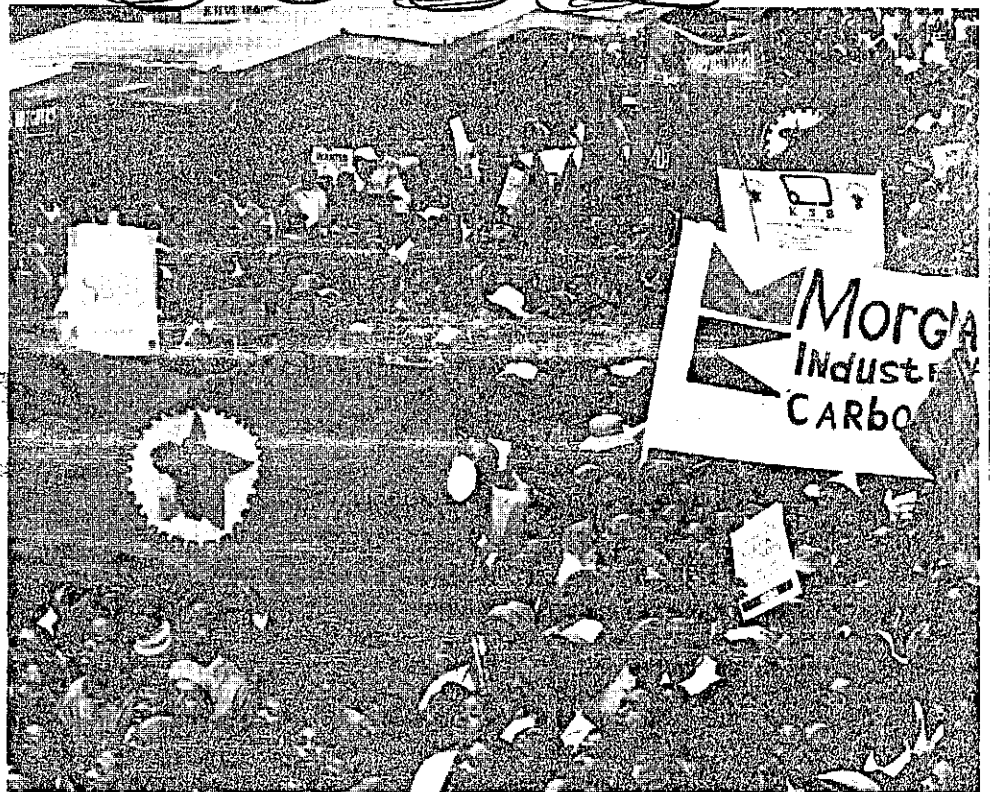
Cosatu's plans are a vindication for those in the federation who pushed hard for non-participation in Codesa. Instead, the labour movement has now taken control of the process and will make the other alliance partners toe its line.

For one, they are demanding greater grassroots participation in negotiations.

Already, the SACP is planning consultations around the country canvassing what the rank-and-file are saying and thinking about Codesa. And Cosatu is holding meetings in every local, regional and national office drumming up support for its mass action and "Exitgate" campaign.

Cosatu will also reassess its participation in the National Peace Accord at the end of July, saying "it is difficult to sit with people like Thembu Khoza and Colonel Gouws who were implicated in the violence".

The federation is planning a range of local and regional action to tilt the balance of power in favour of the alliance. These include: consumer boycotts, the occupation of government buildings and campaigns for the reincorporation of the homelands. After the groundwork has been laid, the federation will spearhead a programme of factory shutdowns and occupations (with the cooperation of employers), marches, stayaways and



Massed for action ... Marches like last week's Numsa action through the streets of Johannesburg could escalate

Photo: GUY ADAMS

city centre occupations.

Cosatu also assessed and integrated the various economic demands of its affiliates in a "systematic and co-ordinated way" at the conference, spokesman Neil Coleman told *The Weekly Mail*.

These demands have brought thousands of workers on to the streets prior to the federation's plans. "There are key issues facing our people like unemployment, hunger and poverty wages," Coleman said, adding that "we can only involve the optimum number of workers if we take up their interests".

Naidoo also charged that Finance Minister Derek Keys, "is fitting into De Klerk's programme of restructuring" — alluding to the announcement of commercialisation of forestry and the airports by Keys this week.

While the federation had been encouraged by earlier meetings with Keys, he had since become "high-handed", said Naidoo. He had "refused point blank" to remove Value Added Tax on basic foodstuffs and would not consider lowering food prices.

The conference also affirmed its support for striking hospital and broadcast workers and threatened to "target" the Transvaal Provincial

Administration and the South African Broadcasting Corporation by next week if they did not take concrete steps to iron out the strikes.

Naidoo said that business had three options with regard to the mass action plans: "Stand in our way by instituting disciplinary measure, stand out of the way with a 'no work, no pay' policy or join us.

"When they voted in the referendum it was a vote for democracy, not for De Klerk," said Naidoo, encouraging business to support the federation's Campaign for Democracy.

From August, the labour movement will force either co-operation or confrontation with big business. It will demand that employers put all taxes into a "fund for a democratic South Africa" which will be spent only when a new government is in power.

Cosatu also said it had lost faith in an international presence consisting only of "friendly visits" by international agencies and endless fact-finding missions". Instead, they want international peace-keepers with more muscle which will give them powers of arrest and prosecution and the power to suspend security force operations.

Businessmen offered strike deal

Mandela in bid to head off dismissals

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Mandela also assured business that the ANC was taking its economic concerns more seriously.

An ANC source said Mandela would probably undertake to try to ensure that if there were no dismissals today and tomorrow, events for the rest of the week would go off with minimal disruptions.

An ANC statement said on Friday that all companies contacted had undertaken not to take any disciplinary action, including dismissals, against workers who stayed away today and tomorrow. Rather they would adopt a "no work, no pay" principle. This was because employers recognised "the right of workers to participate in the campaign for peace and democracy".

However, the source said, this was not a correct interpretation of what Mandela had been told. Business's position was far more nuanced than that.

In talks with Mandela, many of the business leaders had insisted on reserving their right to take disciplinary action. This was not because they expected large-scale mass dismissals — they generally had no intention of dismissing workers.

However, the source said, if business

ALAN FINE

waived its right to disciplinary action it would leave the impression that workers could participate in political stayaways as often as they liked without fear of penalty. This could not be countenanced.

"Everyone knows it will be a long hard march to democracy, and there will be many disputes and therefore occasions when people may want to use their 'right' to stay away. For business to accept this would put us on the road to perdition," he said.

It was possible that, even if there were no or few dismissals, other forms of disciplinary action could be applied extensively. This was particularly the case where special arrangements had not been negotiated between management and workers.

In many establishments, special arrangements had been made which involved taking leave, adjusted and/or short shifts, extra weekend work to compensate for time lost and, in industries where this was necessary, the performance of emergency work during the stayaway.

The source said Mandela had intimated in his talks with businessmen that a breakthrough in negotiations was imminent so long as business reacted calmly to the stayaway.

In earnestly requesting an undertaking from business that there would be no dismissals, Mandela had used the prospect of an early return to negotiations as a carrot.

Mandela had also implicitly expressed the view that business should be more flexible given his and the ANC's softer line on matters such as nationalisation and,

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Dismissals

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more recently, his slapping down of the bond boycott proposed by the SA National Civics Organisation.

His reference to the interim government could represent a change of policy encouraged by Vance. The ANC has, until now, held the position that it cannot participate in a first phase interim government until negotiations over the second phase and the constitution-making body are complete. It fears, otherwise, being locked into a structure with, possibly, no way out.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that about 250

Port Elizabeth businessmen held three hours of talks with SACP leaders on Saturday night.

SACP secretary-general Chris Hani described the talks as frank, while party chairman Joe Slovo said the "civilised" discussions augured well for the future.

The ANC/SACP/Cosatu mass action campaign dominated the discussions. Slovo conceded the economy would suffer "some immediate damage" as a result of the campaign. However, he said people had to take a long-term view of the situation.

SADF and cops ignored info on IFP's arms

Sowetan 3/8/92



■ HIDEOUT REVEALED Showed them

where weapons were hidden in Alexandra:

By Mathatha Tsedu
Investigations Editor

POLICE AND ARMY UNITS in Alexandra have been given information about an alleged Inkatha Freedom Party arms hideout but have failed to search the house for nearly a week.

And *Sowetan* can reveal that both the police and the army have not kept records

of the revelation and could both yesterday not even confirm the disclosures.

A former resident of the almost-deserted "Beirut" area in Alexandra, Mr Michael Ngwenya (22), told *Sowetan* that an SADF contingent of three army trucks took him to the area on Tuesday to point out the house.

"When I did so they passed and said they would go back on their own and did not go in to search," he said.

But army spokesmen yesterday said there was no record

of such an occurrence. The allegation comes amid a concerted police campaign to get people with illegal weapons to hand them in in an attempt to curb the escalating use of firearms.

Ngwenya, formerly of KwaMashu, Durban, said he had been staying in Beirut since June and left last Friday after he was accused of being an ANC informer.

"The group of Inkatha members came to the house where I was staying and said I should tell the truth about my activities.

They started beating me and said they would kill me when a police patrol vehicle came around and they ran away.

"The police took me in the vehicle and I told them what I knew about the guns.

When I was staying there there were meetings where we were told to form

squads and kill all people who were not Zulus in Beirut. I know where they kept their guns.

"These men have AK-47 rifles, shotguns and self-made guns which they keep in the house on Third Avenue. The house is kept locked.

"The owner of the house ran away when the hostel people and other IFP people were killing at random. Even now people are still killed. Before they kill you they rob you of everything you have.



Simon Ngwenya says he gave police and the army information but they did not react.

Ngwenya said the police dropped him off in Second Avenue and left. "They never went to search the house I told them about," Ngwenya said.

Police spokesman Warrant Officer Andrew Picke said police could not find any trace of the incident.

He said police were sometimes led into traps and attacked when following up such tips but said further investigation would be made of the allegations.

SADF spokesman, Major J Jordaan, said there were no records of such a case but said another tip off on Tuesday had been followed up in Alexandra and ammunition was found in a house.

He said the SADF treated every tip off about armaments and ammunition seriously and said the matter was being handled at a high level to determine why it had not been followed up if it had been reported to the SADF troops on patrol in Alex.

IFP leader in the West Rand, Mr Humphrey Ndlovu, dismissed Ngwenya's statement as "rubbish" and said people got carried away and fabricated stories to please the media.

He said the IFP did not have a policy to kill non-Zulus in Alexandra or anywhere else and said there were no houses used by the organisation to hide armaments.

ANC elated with stayaway success

11A

■ **EMPTY SCENE** Major city centres deserted as

90 percent of workers participate in mass action

Sowetan 4/8/92

By Staff Reporters

Most parts of the country yesterday experienced complete mass action with major centres reporting stayaways ranging between 95 and 100 percent.

An ANC/SACP/Cosatu violence monitoring report yesterday said 10 people were killed countrywide with six deaths occurring in the Western Transvaal. A 90 percent nationwide stayaway and 92 percent schools boycott were recorded.

Reports from other sources put the number of deaths early last night at 21 countrywide.

Major centres from which the majority of people stayed away were the PWV region, Eastern Cape, Cape Peninsula and the Northern Transvaal.

In a statement the alliance said the first day of mass action indicated a "resounding yes for democracy and peace".

It said it called on the Pan Africanist Congress, Nactu and Azapo to join the mass campaign "even at this late stage".

In areas surrounding towns like Durban and Bloemfontein the stayaway rate was about 50 percent.

An elated ANC spokesman, Mr Carl Niehaus, said the strike had reached unprecedented levels "with little or no violence at all".

"The stayaway is a huge success and is clearly even bigger than the stayaway of November 4-5 last year during the anti-VAT strike. This is an indication of the strong commitment of our people to the creation of democracy in South Africa," said Niehaus.

There were few incidents of intimidation. The only obvious feature of the stayaway was the lack of transport, the heavy barricades, burning tyres and illegal roadblocks at township entrances.

Transport services that were hardest hit by the boycott were Spoornet, Putco and taxi services which reported a 100 percent boycott in most parts of the country.

Almost all taxi services in the entire PWV area did not operate. Vehicles attempting to enter or leave Reef townships were faced with heavy barricades.

A virtual 100 percent stayaway was reported by Spoornet which operates trains throughout the area.

Figures supplied by the SA Rail Commuter Corporation reported a drastic drop in occupancy.

"The latest figures we have for today is that Johannesburg recorded a five percent occupancy rate, Pretoria saw two percent, 15 percent in Durban covering Northern Natal, Port Elizabeth recorded five percent, East London two percent and Cape Town a 40 percent occupancy," said an SARCC official.

Putco industrial relations executive Mr Brian Treweek also confirmed a drastic reduction in passenger rates since yesterday morning.

Johannesburg transport director Mr Stan Verrier said his department only had a 20 percent stayaway.

In Johannesburg, where street cleaners staged a 90 percent stayaway, refuse started piling up from early morning.

Ninety-five percent of black workers stayed away from work in the Pretoria area, according to chairman of the Pretoria Chamber of Commerce Mr Alec de Beer.

Spoornet's liaison officer, Mr Donovan van Blerk, said the occupation on the Metro train service in the Pretoria region of Atteridgeville, Mamelodi, Soshanguve, Mabopane and Garankuwa was five percent.



Boys and girls in Boipatong made the streets of the Vaal Triangle township impassable when they dug knee-high trenches to prevent vehicles from getting through.

PIC: MBUZENI ZULU



ANC committee chairman André Mkhomo yesterday. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

ANC marching to Pretoria

TIM COHEN

PRETORIA — Pretoria's city council yesterday granted the ANC alliance permission to march from the city centre down Church Street to the Union Buildings, ANC PWV spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said.

"Tens of thousands" of people would take part in the march tomorrow, the focus of the third day of the mass action campaign, he said.

The city council said negotiations on the march took place in the spirit of the Goldstone commission's recommendations that applicants, police and local authorities co-operate in drawing up orderly plans for public protests. The application, brought by the Action Council's PWV branch, said between 50 000 and 70 000 people were expected.

The march, intended to compel government to comply with 14 ANC demands on government, was to begin at 10am and end at about 3pm. ANC president Nelson Mandela, who would lead the march, would address demonstrators at the Union Buildings.

Sapa reports that the ANC said Spoornet had offered to transport protesters to Pretoria free of charge. However, Spoornet could not be reached for comment.

'Strikes more effective than marches'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Urban black people felt strikes and consumer boycotts were more effective than marches and rallies, an opinion poll has found.

However, it showed that men were significantly more in favour of these actions than black women.

It also established that a third of those surveyed were unable to say what "mass action" meant.

The poll, conducted by Research Survey's Omnichek among 800 black women and 500 black men at the end of June and beginning of July in the major

metropolitan areas, found that 72% of men thought consumer boycotts and strikes were effective or very effective, but only 56% of women thought consumer boycotts and 55% felt strikes were effective or very effective.

While 64% of men thought marches were also effective, and 53% believed rallies were effective or very effective, 55% of women felt marches, and 49% thought rallies, were effective or very effective.

It found 11% of the men felt consumer boycotts, and

10% felt strikes, were ineffective or very ineffective, 19% of women thought consumer boycotts, and 21% felt strikes, were ineffective or very ineffective.

On the other hand, 25% of men and women thought rallies and 15% of men and 20% of women believed marches to be ineffective or very ineffective.

Among those who replied to a question about what mass action entailed, 32% thought it entailed protest marches, 25% strikes, 22% peaceful demonstrations, 20% consumer boycotts and 18% rallies, Research Surveys said.

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11A

Mandela helped to appoint the world as referee

BIDAY 4/8/92.

SIMON BARBER in Washington

(11A) (206) (SIPA)

IN AN interview with the Washington Post at the weekend, ANC president Nelson Mandela described the internationalisation of SA's transition as a major victory for his movement. Asserting that President F W de Klerk had written to five African heads of state asking them to help block last month's intervention by the UN Security Council, Mandela said triumphantly: "We beat him."

At first blush, this was a peculiar assessment. Inasmuch as the government was initially highly leery of Security Council involvement, Mandela had indeed come out ahead in getting the body to meet on his concerns. Yet Resolution 765, judged in terms of Mandela's own impassioned pleas to the high priests of the New World Order, seemed to be the last thing he was looking for when he came to New York, a view rubbed in by Foreign Minister Pik Botha's disgraceful gloating afterwards.

Mandela, it appeared, had wanted the council to endorse the ANC alliance's stated reasons for leaving the negotiating table and to take its side on the questions of violence and the voting majorities needed to ratify a new constitution. The council replied by telling the ANC to get back to the table and sending down a wise man, special envoy Cyrus Vance.

Not only was this almost exactly what the government said it wanted, but De Klerk's sudden willingness to co-operate with the UN, after years of treating the institution with fear and loathing, helped restore his own waning stature while further corroding that of the ANC and its partners.

All politicians, of course, claim victory in defeat and Mandela could hardly be expected to concede failure, especially since breaking off negotiations is now believed to have been his idea, and one he insisted upon over the surprised objections of even radical types on the national executive committee (NEC).

As for resorting to the Security

Council, foreign affairs director Thabo Mbeki, who knows the vagaries of the UN system intimately, is commonly supposed to have argued against it on the grounds that the council, a different creature entirely from the windy General Assembly, could not be relied upon to do the ANC's bidding.

Win or lose, it would have been a pity if Mandela had taken Mbeki's reported advice. It may even be as well that he overrode the NEC's objectors in calling a halt to negotiations. Yes, a lot of trust has been squandered in the ensuing rhetoric and street theatre. Further lives have been lost. The ruckus has done nothing for the economy. Yet, for all that, a new and potentially decisive fact has been created: the international community, no longer riven by its own ideological disputes, has officially entered the game to fortify the liberal democratic centre while there is still time for it to be saved.

It does not matter if Mandela appealed to the UN specifically to help create that fact. More power to him if he did. What counts is that the outside world is now engaged as never before, consensually and with a common purpose, to achieve a par-

ticular outcome rather than placing any specific party in power.

Precisely what form that engagement will take in the months ahead remains to be elaborated. The Security Council knows about peacekeeping but is new to peacemaking. It has few roadmaps, only a lot of cautionary tales like the one currently being played out in Yugoslavia, a nightmare much on the council's mind when it deliberated on SA. Things may become a little clearer after Vance presents his report to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. The experience of the UN team monitoring this week's mass action will also be key.

The UN will not be the only actor, of course. The EC, OAU, the Commonwealth and the Islamic Conference Organisation will all be represented on the stage, as will a number of states in their unilateral capacities and a large array of NGOs and private individuals. Such multiplicity raises the risk that there will be rivalries and attempts by SA factions to play members of the foreign

cast off against each other.

Such attempts are unlikely to get far. The major players are reading from the same script — a script which emphasises the centrality of negotiation, the rule of law, market-based economics and a devolved, consensus-based constitutional framework that allows the majority to govern but not to oppress.

At the end of last month's Security Council debate, Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira observed that the role of the UN and other outsiders should be to act as referees. Although Zimbabwe had hitherto been carrying much of the ANC's water, the suggestion did not seem to sit well with Mbeki and his partisans. Too bad. The word referee sums up much of what the council and others will be doing.

A major function of the foreign intervention Mandela has unleashed is to ensure that SA's parties play by the rules, both those they have agreed among themselves — the national peace accord, for example — and those the referee deems necessary for the completion of the game. Into the latter category fall the basic principles just mentioned and the fairly specific additional in-

structions Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen laid down for the government, ANC and Inkatha in his recent testimony to the House Africa subcommittee.

Strictly speaking, the international community has little concrete power to enforce these rules beyond publicly criticising offenders. The government cannot be made to render its security forces accountable if it does not so wish. By the same token, there is no direct sanction that can be placed on the ANC if it violates Cohen's injunction against seeking to overthrow the government by mass mobilisation, or on Inkatha if it persists in believing its members should be permitted to carry "cultural weapons" and its leader, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, will not come in person to the table.

It must be assumed, however, that the majority of players want the game to proceed to a satisfactory conclusion and recognise that failure to heed the referee may all too easily result in a self-sanctioning descent into bloody chaos. In a sense, and whether or not they have fully thought through the implications, the players have already struck a bargain with the referee to abide by the rules he brings with him in return for his being on the field.

By insisting on his rules as well as those agreed among the players — and, of course, he will be trying to broker more such agreements — the referee will essentially be strengthening the hands of those who want to play the match out in a decent way against those of their constituents who have other ideas. He will ideally restore trust among the contestants by verifying their compliance with his and their mutually agreed wishes. And he will serve as a useful lightning rod upon whom tough decisions may conveniently be blamed.

Did Mandela really know what he was getting himself into? Given the enormity of what he has done and how out of synch it is with what he feels it necessary to say he is doing, that is a question perhaps best left to the historians.

Koevoet troop implicated in raids

■ At the insistence of the ANC, police investigate assault in South Eastern Transvaal:

THE police have launched a "high level" investigation into the African National Congress' claims of Koevoet police actions in the South Eastern Transvaal, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday.

The investigation will be headed by Brigadier Floris Mostert, he said.

The probe followed allegations on Sunday at an ANC rally at the South Eastern Transvaal settlement of Driefontein that members of the reputedly disbanded Koevoet police unit had

carried out house-to-house searches in the area on Friday and Saturday.

Sunday's rally was addressed by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela in commemoration of ANC activist Mr Saul Mkhize, who was shot by police in 1984. - Sapa.

Sowetan 4/18/92

11A

Man charged for refusing call-up

KATHRYN STRACHAN

CONSCIENTIOUS objector Merrick Douglas was charged in the Randfontein Magistrate's Court on Monday with refusing to attend a 30-day military camp. **BIDAY**

The case — the first since the Defence Amendment Act was passed in June — was remanded for trial to September 2. **5/8/92**

Douglas, who completed his national service in December 1981, was called up for the 30-day camp beginning November last year.

It is the first "refusal to serve" case since charges were withdrawn against Alan Storey and Walley Rontsh in June last year.

End Conscription Campaign (ECC) spokesman David Bruce said the turnout rate at military camps was on average less than 30%, and added the SADF had chosen to prosecute Douglas in an attempt "merely to keep up appearances".

He said the SADF had indicated earlier this year it would not prosecute conscripts who failed to report for their one-year period of military service, but this did not include those who failed to report for camps.

Bruce said the ECC found it incomprehensible the state was again prosecuting white conscripts.

The ECC's application to the Transvaal Supreme Court for a judicial finding on the legality of the call-up would be heard on September 22, Bruce said.

ANC journal warns that tough battle lies ahead

PATRICK BULGER

A TOUGH battle between "democracy and modified apartheid" for a constitution-making body would be waged in the near future, the ANC journal Mayibuye predicts in its August issue.

Mass action would ensure that the election took place soon. "ANC structures should see to it that the Campaign for Peace and Democracy strengthens the democratic movement as a whole and helps to prepare it for a decisive election victory against the defenders of the past," Mayibuye says.

The campaign was not a programme for insurrection, but had at its centre the quest for peace and a speedy, negotiated transition to democracy.

Negotiations would resume when government took practical actions to address the problem of violence. Government had to accept a democratically elected, one-chamber constituent assembly and agree to set up interim structures to ensure free and fair elections.

It had to end violence by: disbanding covert and special forces and charging the murderers; taking practical measures to fence in and guard hostels as well as starting to phase them out; banning the carrying of all dangerous weapons in public; and accepting an international commission

of inquiry and monitoring.

"The ANC will constantly weigh the total situation depending on the regime's practical actions on violence and its response to other issues," Mayibuye quotes ANC constitutional negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa as saying.

"The demands should not be seen as preconditions to be mechanically ticked off one by one.

"What is needed are measures that will make negotiations worth the effort. Otherwise the murderers will continue with their evil projects. And the parties will be bogged down in haggling about agendas and issues which are in fact the basis of democratic practice," Valli Moosa says.

Mayibuye says the present stalemate is a result of the attempt by the NP leadership and security force generals to weaken opponents of apartheid, prolong the transition and carve for themselves a central place in the future.

It says government will attempt to use control of radio and television and its network in the print media "to paint the campaign in the most abominable colours. The hope is that the 'Big Lie' of the past decades will denigrate those who stand for democracy and frighten off potential supporters."

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Stand-off in Pretoria

Sowetan 5/8/92
■ **HISTORIC MARCH** ANC president Nelson

Mandela leads historic march on Union Buildings:

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela leads an historic and massive march on the Union Buildings today.

Thousands are expected to take part in the march and some of Pretoria's streets will be closed to traffic.

Yesterday the country was nearly plunged into bloodshed when an attempt was made to murder Mr Harry Gwala, chairman of the Midlands region of the ANC. The day was also

(11A) marked by increased militancy and violence when five people in Alexandra and 18 in Natal were killed, bringing strike related violence in the two days close to 40.

The final figure will be known today.

Over 2 500 ANC members marched on Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto in solidarity with fired workers.

See story page **2**

Govt flexible on interim rule

Key players prepare to resume talks

BLOOM 5/8/92

(11A)

TALKS to haul constitutional negotiations back on track could take place within two weeks, with government no longer committed to a negotiated interim constitution or to Codesa as a forum.

However, according to a senior government source, it is unlikely that legislation to implement an interim government would be ready for the October parliamentary session. It would be ready by the beginning of next year.

In discussions with businessmen late last week, ANC president Nelson Mandela indicated the likelihood of an early return to negotiations and his desire for the speedy establishment of an interim government of national unity.

In separate talks with DP constitutional expert Colin Eglin and Johannesburg North MP Peter Soal, Mandela said he believed once the stayaways and mass action had run their course, talks would resume after a "cooling off period" of about 10 days.

The upbeat prognosis was given further impetus by US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen.

Cohen, who left SA last night after talks with government, Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, was confident that negotiations would resume soon. This was, however, on condition that government took certain clearly defined steps relating to violence. Government was prepared to fulfil these conditions.

A senior government source confirmed government was not committed to first

**BILLY PADDOCK
and TIM COHEN**

negotiating an interim constitution, but — to speed up the process — would happily negotiate amendments to the tricameral constitution for the interim period.

According to government and diplomatic sources, there would first be a period of bilateral talks between the ANC and government on the resumption of negotiations and the forum for such negotiations. It is understood these discussions would attempt to address the constitutional issues — including regionalism — which led to the impasse at Codesa II. There is apparently room for manoeuvre on both sides.

The bilateral talks would result in expanded multilateral negotiations, possibly including newly formed right-wing groups.

Deputy Constitutional Minister Tertius Delport said last night government did not want to be prescriptive about the forum for negotiations.

At a media conference last night Cohen said: "In view of the configuration of the negotiating forum I have the impression that the very large, complex system of Codesa was quite appropriate for the many issues that have taken them nine-tenths of the way. But for the last, very difficult one-tenth, a more efficient and less unwieldy mechanism is being sought."

He said he did not think negotiations should be held hostage by the issue of violence but there was a real danger that violence could become part of the fabric of SA society. He was also very concerned about the economic situation.

ANC leader 'happy to heal wounds'

Mandela, FW raise hopes about talks

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PRETORIA — At the end of a 70 000-strong ANC march to the Union Buildings yesterday, both President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela fuelled expectations of a speedy return to negotiations.

De Klerk, speaking on the steps of the Union Buildings after the crowd had dispersed, confirmed that "certain discussions" had taken place in the past five days between government and the ANC on specific issues. "We need to broaden discussions to other issues," De Klerk said.

Mandela, speaking to reporters after his address to the crowd, said he did not want to say in public whether government and the ANC had been talking but said certain issues were best dealt with in private.

Mandela struck a conciliatory note in his speech. He went out of his way not to score political points from the success of the mass action programme. He said he was happy to heal the wounds that had been opened by the conflict between government and the ANC in recent weeks.

The march was peaceful and characterised by a carnival atmosphere, complete with drum majorettes and a band. It ended in the gardens of the Union Buildings.

Inside, De Klerk was chairing a Cabinet meeting. Outside, Mandela spoke under an ANC flag.

Later, De Klerk invited the ANC to a two-day "session in the bush" to resolve remaining differences. He said legislation on issues relevant to negotiations and agreed to by all players, would be introduced during the October parliamentary session.

Mandela said government would have to

TIM COHEN and
PATRICK BULGER

meet the ANC's demands before negotiations could resume. He listed these as an acceptance of a constituent assembly, an interim government of national unity and steps to end the violence.

He said the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance was not trying to score political points, and the government should not do so either.

"We have not come here to gloat. We are here to take SA along the road to peace and democracy. If the government of the day responds in this same spirit, our action will have been the best thing that could have happened for the negotiations process.

"It should now be clear to all that an interim government of national unity has to be linked to a vision which ensures that our entire people will have a direct say in the drafting and adoption of a constitution which embodies democracy.

"It is time for the government to abandon the path that it has been following. While pursuing negotiations, it simultaneously sought to weaken the ANC and the democratic forces.

"What happens next, and what form the campaign for peace and democracy takes, depends on how the government responds to our demands which address the crucial obstacles in the path of negotiations," Mandela said.

De Klerk said he had noted that Mandela had said in this speech that the day of mass action had struck a blow for democracy. "We need not to strike blows, we need to strike bargains," he said.

He was glad to see that Mandela had

□ To Page 2

TALKS

6/8/92
recommitted the ANC to negotiations. "I look forward to the day when Mr Mandela will once again see me in my office, as he has done often. He needn't speak to me from the lower part of the Union Buildings," he said.

"Let us go, even to the bush, for two full days and have a fundamental discussion."

Asked whether negotiations would resume soon, De Klerk said: "I am confident that negotiations will be resumed. I am prepared to sit down tomorrow."

The ANC's allegations that government needed to be pressed into accepting full democracy was false, he said.

Commenting on the alliance's marches yesterday, he said government appreciated the ANC's efforts to ensure that the mass action campaign was conducted

peacefully.

On the role of the international community in resolving violence, De Klerk said that the question could not be solved from overseas.

Government had agreed a long time ago that there had to be a transitional government of national unity. "There is no fundamental difference of opinion between us."

The legislation planned for the October session of Parliament would be "basic legislation", aimed at assisting progress in the negotiations process. The legislation would not be unilaterally decided on, said De Klerk. Government was not working on a "go it alone" strategy, he stressed.

● Picture: Page 3

● See Page 6

An ambivalent gauge of support

STAR 6/8/92

(11A)

EARLIER this month, colleagues and I played soccer in Ennerdale against a local team. After the game, I stayed to hear ANC president Nelson Mandela addressing residents at the local town hall.

A man who had played for the team we had just beaten offered to take me to the hall. "I wonder how attendance is going to be," he said. "You know, people in coloured townships don't care much for politics." For the record, he, too, was so-called "coloured".

Ennerdale, about 35 km south of Johannesburg, turned up to give the ANC leader a warm welcome. Local ANC organisers, who had worked tirelessly to publicise the event in advance, had seen to that. This is coloured territory; a community which, like many others throughout the country, has been targeted by both the ANC and the National Party for an aggressive recruitment drive in time for the first all-in elections to be held in the near future.

Although a numerically small group compared to blacks, coloureds and Indians will play an important role in determining the ANC's support in the election.

Also among the audience were many black

KAIZER NYATSUMBA reports on the response of Ennerdale residents to the current mass action campaign.

faces, and it was disclosed that former ANC arts and culture department head Barbara Masekela, who now works in Mr Mandela's office, lives in the area.

Ennerdale, then, was the perfect place to assess the community's response to the ANC alliance's stayaway this week. The question was whether residents would voluntarily heed the stayaway call.

When I arrived there on Tuesday, the township was quiet and deserted. There were no children or loiterers on the streets, neither were there barricades. Had the people gone to work?

No, they had not. It was cold and thousands of Ennerdale residents who had not gone to work were simply indoors. Those to whom I spoke at filling stations, shopping complexes and on the streets said people had not gone to work not so much out of conviction, but because of lack of transport.

No buses were avail-

able on both days and the few minibus taxis which operated on Monday morning did not fetch people from Johannesburg in the afternoon.

Taxi drivers, one man said, were largely supportive of the stayaway, but there were no drivers on the street to verify this themselves.

Attendance at most schools was normal, and where a higher degree of absenteeism was reported, principals ascribed it to the weather and lack of transport. The schools visited said all teachers had reported to work.

The headmaster of Ennerdale Primary Number 8, A Abader, said attendance was down to 20 percent and blamed lack of transport.

"Had it not been for intimidation and the unavailability of transport, most people here would have gone to work. Those who have cars have all gone to work," said Mr Abader, himself an Ennerdale resident.

The lasting impression is, therefore, ambivalent. Most Ennerdale residents certainly stayed away this week — but this does not mean the ANC can claim their support as a result. If anyone's influence in the township was proved in the past few days, it was that of the local bus and taxi drivers. □

No time for minutes

STAR 6/18/92.

~~ZONA~~ (11A)

TODAY will pass unheralded in the book of political anniversaries and commemorations, eclipsed by a week of mass action, stayaways and intensifying friction between political opponents.

On August 6 1990, President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela led their delegations in a marathon 15-hour negotiation at the Presidency in Pretoria, finally emerging for a press conference at 1 am on the Tuesday.

With Mr de Klerk were Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Constitutional Development Minister Gerrit Viljoen, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Law and Order Minister Adriaan Vlok.

Flanking Mr Mandela was secretary-general Alfred Nzo, international affairs director Thabo Mbeki, MK supremo Joe Modise and SACP secretary-general Joe Slovo.

There was much buoyancy. It reflected in the Pretoria Minute: "We are convinced that what we have agreed upon today can become a milestone on the road to true peace and prosperity for our country."

However, national euphoria at the signing of the agreement and the initial Groote Schuur Minute

three months earlier proved premature and the hope of millions of South Africans for a quick transition to democracy proved breathlessly naive.

The dizzying momentum of Mr de Klerk's sensational six months of politics when he unbanned the ANC in February 1990, freed Mr Mandela afterwards and opened talks with the ANC soon after that, started to bog down at the news conference after the Pretoria Minute's signing.

In what was to be just the beginning of a series of public attacks by the ANC leader on Mr de Klerk, they immediately differed on what they had formally agreed concerning the role of the police. It was the first of many scraps between the Government and ANC over interpretations of the imperfect Pretoria Minute, which was inexact in crucial areas, leaving room for interpretation and differences.

In the Pretoria Minute, the Government and ANC set a target date of April 30 last year for the release of political prisoners and the granting of indemnities.

But the problem of political prisoners drags on today, in spite of about 1 300 releases and two years of meetings. The ANC is an-

noyed and embarrassed because it has not secured the liberty of all people it sees as political prisoners. The Government is suspicious because it believes it has released all people jailed for political offences and the haggling continues.

Another dispute: "In the interest of moving as speedily as possible towards a negotiated peaceful political settlement," the Pretoria Minute said, "and in the context of the agreements reached, the ANC announced that it was now suspending all armed actions with immediate effect. As a result of this, no further armed actions and related activities by the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe will take place.

"It was agreed that a working group would be established to resolve all outstanding questions arising out of this decision, to report by September 15."

Two years later the Government and ANC are still arguing about armed action, with the Government insisting there can be no movement towards a new constitution — no contracts — until all aspects of the armed struggle are dealt with and it is entirely abandoned.

Both sides committed themselves in the minute to a peaceful

solution and to expedite the normalisation and stabilisation of South African politics "in line with the spirit of mutual trust obtaining among the leaders involved".

As it was, the deal was struck against the background of the SACP's Operation Vula, an insurrection contingency plan. Police said they had 2 000 pages of information from an ANC/SACP computer about the deployment of ANC/SACP cadres around the country and the infiltration of arms.

The Government insisted this was a devious plot to overthrow it, being enacted even as the ANC prepared to sit down to talk of peace and settlement. But ANC and SACP leaders described Operation Vula as a mere insurance policy if negotiations broke down.

Today there is virtually no trust between the ANC and the Government. The ANC is, by some accounts, not even taking telephone calls from the Government.

The minute envisaged "mechanisms of communication" at local, regional and national levels to enable public grievances to be addressed peacefully and in good time to avoid conflict.

Today, apart from the tottering

local regional dispute resolution committees set up in terms of the National Peace Accord, there is no evidence of grievance committees.

The Government did commit itself to lifting the state of emergency in Natal, which was duly done. It promised also to review security legislation. This was done.

Senior Government figures today admit to a feeling of pessimism. "I have been pessimistic for the past few months," one top source said. Many like him are fed up with the ANC and SACP.

There is some frustration because the Government knows it cannot act unilaterally, yet does not have a rabbit-in-hat plan to get negotiations going again.

There is suspicion in the Government that Mr Mandela and the ANC want total power and are not prepared to compromise. "If we give in to the ANC demands there will be a white backlash," the source said.

For its part, the ANC has said it would talk to the Government again only if Mr de Klerk accepted an interim government, an elected constitutional assembly, terminated "hit squads", disbanded all special forces, prosecuted

security force members allegedly involved in violence, phased out single-quarters hostels, set up an international commission of inquiry into the Boipatong massacre and all acts of violence, allowed international monitoring of political violence, released all political prisoners, and repealed all repressive legislation.

While there is at present only inconclusive contact between the Government and the ANC at top level, ANC members at grass roots often meet police to discuss political violence and head off trouble at demonstrations.

There is also contact, albeit often acrimonious, between the main parties within structures of the National Peace Accord.

If the negotiation process does start again — and the signs are hopeful — the Government expects the first step would be bilateral talks between itself and the major parties. Ministers do not want another Codesa meeting unless a compromise on contending political programmes is worked out beforehand in bilateral talks.

Nor would they want another vague Pretoria Minute which could trigger years of argument and interpretation as to what it really meant. □

Optimism grows after statements by FW and Mandela

Talks 'within 10 days'

STAR 6/8/92

(304A) (11A)

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Optimism is growing that stalled negotiations will soon resume, after a conciliatory speech by ANC president Nelson Mandela delivered from the steps of the Union Buildings yesterday, at the climax of the ANC alliance's mass action campaign.

And at an impromptu press conference after the

weekly Cabinet meeting nearby, President de Klerk cautiously welcomed Mr Mandela's speech.

Mr de Klerk indicated that behind-the-scenes talks between the Government and ANC — already started on specific issues — would soon include the disagreements about a transitional government and violence.

Some negotiators believe formal negotiations could resume within 10 days.

Addressing the peaceful crowd at the Union Build-

ings, Mr Mandela reiterated the ANC call for the Government to respond to its 14 demands before negotiations could resume. But he told journalists afterwards the ANC would be "flexible" in assessing the Government's response, and recommitted the ANC to negotiations.

Asked if his speech was aimed at "healing wounds", Mr Mandela said he would be pleased if that was the way it was received.

Mr de Klerk told journalists later that while the ANC

rally was taking place, the Cabinet had been considering refinements — aimed at the resumption of negotiations — to the fresh negotiations initiative discussed at its recent "bosberaad."

Saying his door "is always open to Mr Mandela" he disclosed that the Government would present "constructive" legislation to the October session of Parliament "aimed at assisting the (negotiation) process".

Mr Mandela hailed the

two-day national strike as "one of the greatest events in our history" and said the way the rest of the campaign went would depend on the Government's response. The ANC had not come to score points or gloat about the success of the stayaway, but to take South Africa along the road to democracy.

Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo took a tougher line, saying the mass action was the "first step" in possible intensified pressure.

● Right-wing parties reacted

angrily to the Pretoria march and rolling mass action campaign.

The Government's failure to declare a general state of emergency to deal with mass action and its consequences, including those on the economy, could not be excused, the Conservative Party MP Daan Nolte said.

The situation in which the country found itself was "almost hopeless".

Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais said the mass action constituted "sedition".

focus on mass action

Sowetan 6/8/92

SINCE MONDAY this week television viewers worldwide have seen massive numbers of people marching behind ANC, Cosatu and SACP banners for "peace and democracy" in South African towns and cities.

Yesterday Mr Nelson Mandela marched on the Union Buildings in Pretoria and behind him were thousands of supporters.

"Our people have voted on their feet and have given a resounding 'yes' to peace and democracy," said ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa on Monday, the first day of the organisation's week of action.

Arguably, this could mean: If (the past three days until yesterday) have not proved that the ANC has the support of "the masses", all it needs is to realise its purpose - to turn those marching numbers into actual votes for a new government.

That, precisely, is what the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance says it aims to achieve: the end to white minority rule and free and fair elections for a constituent assembly.

However, the axiom about South Africa's mainstream (black) liberation politics is its divisiveness.

This has been underscored many times by criticism, rather often bitter attack, on each other's approach to "the struggle".

The PAC and Azapo are considered part of the broader liberation movement alongside the ANC and claim to have constituencies.

While this is so, the ANC has always come under constant fire from its two sisters for initiating certain actions.

Notably, it got hammered for participating in Codesa, which Azapo and the PAC said would simply not deliver liberation.

Then on June 17 the Boipatong massacre hit world headlines; the ANC angrily withdrew from the negotiating process and gave the Government 14 demands and resolved to mobilise mass action for majority rule.

The PAC and Azapo went on record as saying the ANC's withdrawal vindicated their positions. They ran short of publicly saying - although the Government did - the ANC needed an excuse to break off talks.

However, the ANC did not march out of Codesa and indulge itself in rhetoric only; it mobilised its members and confronted the Government from another front.

Mr Carl Niehaus, a spokesman of the ANC, put it this way: "More people, in spite of the harsh economic climate, have responded to our campaign than those who voted 'yes' in the whites only referendum."

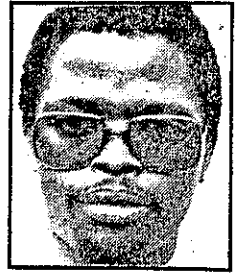
The Government said the ANC was indulging in emotional politics and charged that only 80 000 people participated in the marches.

In the background, the PAC and Azapo said

The number of workers who supported the ANC alliance mass action campaign could very easily translate into a powerful democratic vote, argues Political Reporter

Themba Molefe:

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Protesters shout anti-Government slogans during a march in Krugersdorp on Tuesday.

mass action was intended to revive Codesa and refused to join the ANC's campaign.

However, instead of drawing support behind them, more than 80 percent workers rallied behind the ANC on Monday and Tuesday.

By the end of Tuesday, the ANC alliance said four million workers had observed the strike call, thus a victory for peace and democracy.

The question here, however, is whether the ANC is the premier liberation organisation it claims to be. At present, they do hold the upper hand in black politics.

Early in July Mandela told *Sowetan* that the PAC and Azapo had made no contribution to major achievements secured by the ANC, such as the release of prisoners and ensuring the Government conceded to the demand for a constituent assembly.

This was Mandela's rare public attack of the two organisations. "Tell me just one action

that has been started by the PAC and Azapo in the past two years," he said.

Whether the two organisations directly answered this question in their responses remains anybody's judgment.

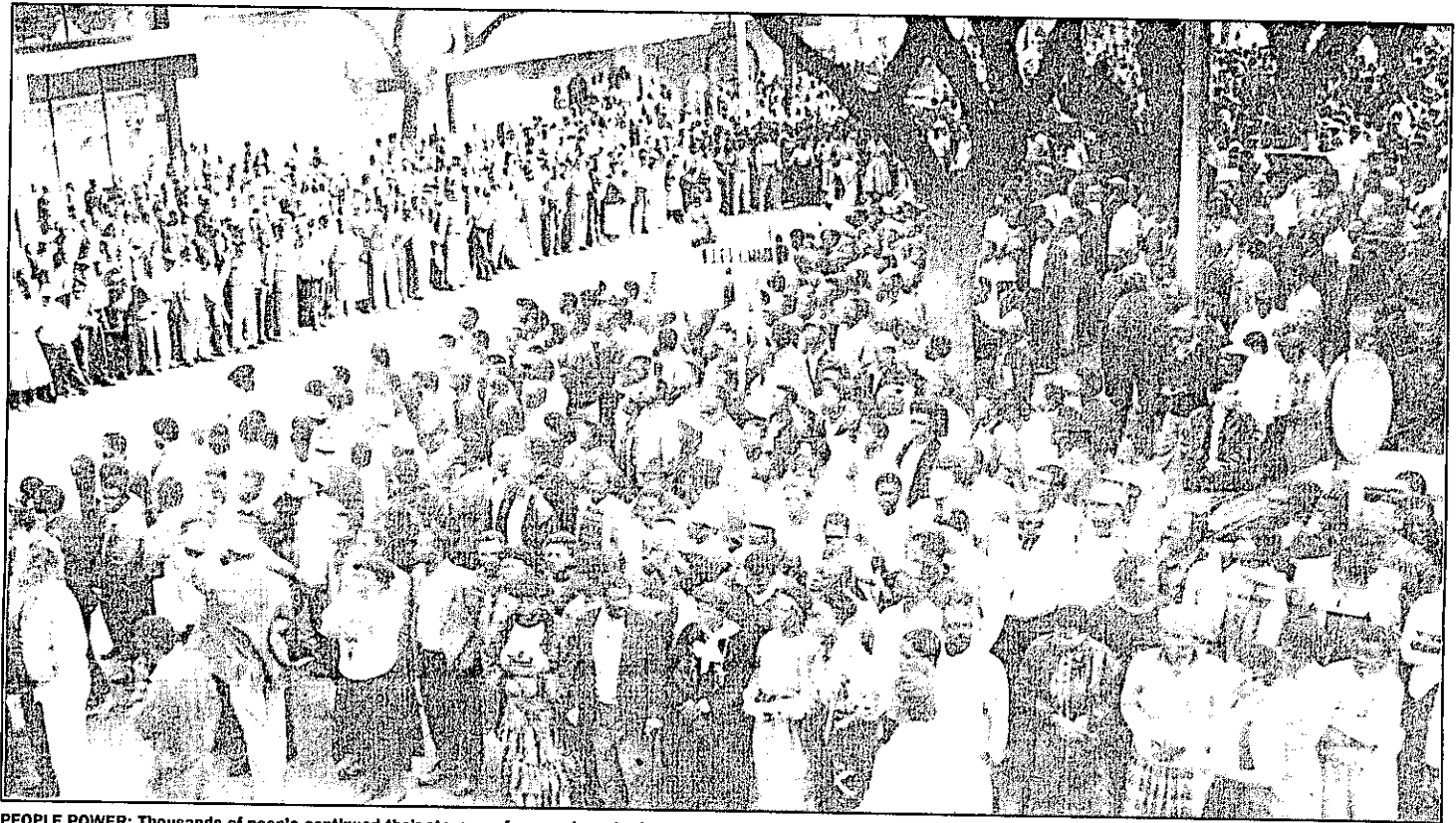
Azapo secretary-general Mr Don Nkandimeng concluded that no one organisation could claim victory over campaigns of the broad liberation struggle.

PAC spokesman Mr Barney Desai called on the ANC to re-commit itself to the Patriotic Front of liberation movements.

Ramaphosa put it this way on Monday: "Even at this late stage we call to the PAC, Azapo and Nactu to join the majority of the people and participate in this national campaign for peace and democracy."

Is it, therefore, a classic case of the egg and the chicken? Who joins whom as the mass action rolls?

MASS ACTION Marchers anticipate the day Mandela will occupy the Union Buildings



PEOPLE POWER: Thousands of people continued their stayaway from work yesterday to take part in the march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

Thousands march with Mandela

Sowetan 6/8/92 11A

By Monk Nkomo, Kenosi Modisane and Sowetan Correspondent

ALL QUIET Heavy police presence as

UN monitor says the march is peaceful:



WE HAVE COME here to install Nelson Mandela and the African National Congress as the new government of South Africa.

These were sentiments expressed by young and old who thronged the streets of Pretoria yesterday afternoon, hours before ANC general-secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa introduced Mandela as the next president of South Africa at a rally outside the Union Buildings.

"I feel happy that my dreams of being addressed by my own leader right here at the Union Buildings are today fulfilled," pensioner Mr Lazarus Mokheine of Mabopane said.

Mokheine had travelled in a bus full of "comrades" from the Pretoria township

to the march.

Mrs Maditaba Mokoena (54) who also arrived with a bus load of comrades from Radium, Hammanskraal, said: "This should be a clear message to the Government that we no longer regard them as our rulers.

"Julle mense raak nou te bederf. Julle hou baie van toyi-toyi. (You people are getting spoilt. You like toyi-toying)," remarked a policeman as crowds passed a human chain formed by police.

Twelve-year-old Raykie Makhubela, who managed to sneak through the tight security jointly manned by SAP and ANC marshals to stand next to the stage, said: "We are coming back here for a bigger celebration when Mandela gets in there (point-

ing towards the Union Buildings)."

At least two members of the United Nations monitoring group marched alongside the demonstrators to the Union buildings.

Earlier, UN monitor Ms Rehana Achmed said she thought the march was proceeding "very well" and though she had heard of "tiny" incidents, the monitoring team had yet to see anything happen.

A helicopter and two fixed-wing aircraft circled above the throng of people who started arriving as early as 9am. By noon, the crowd had grown to more than 40 000.

More than 1 000 police and SADF troops were deployed along the route to the Union Buildings.

PEOPLE'S LIVES *The fight moved out of the boardrooms of Codesa to the streets of our country*

WE ARE NOW picking up the pieces after the breathtaking week of mass action mounted by the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.

It is now time to see what has been achieved and to try to read the road ahead.

The successful stayaway on Monday and Tuesday, the march on Pretoria on Wednesday and the spread of the support for the campaign across the country have demonstrated the capacity of the alliance to organise resistance to the Government.

Why, the disenfranchised, even in little towns that are just indistinct dots on the map, stood up to be counted.

The alliance has put forward two reasons for the campaign:

- To force the Government to accede to a Constituent Assembly drawing up a new constitution for this country; and

- To force the Government to stop the violence sweeping the country.

On these two issues Mandela has told the world: "Our fundamental position...is that we cannot accept an undemocratic constitution aimed at



Joe Thloloe's **Perspective**

ANC alliance now has the best of two worlds

Sowetan 7/8/92
addressing the fears of a minority party about its own future at the cost of democracy. This is at the root of the negotiations deadlock.

"It is for this reason that we focused attention on the Constituent Assembly. We are clear in our demands that the National Party Government abandon positions directed at subverting

(11A)
the sovereignty of the Constituent Assembly, which include subjecting it to a veto by a second house and ensuring that a minority in the Constituent Assembly shall be able to frustrate an overwhelming majority...

"With regard to the violence...our demands centred on three aspects:

- "Ensuring that the direct and

indirect involvement of the National Party Government, its surrogates, the security forces and the police are brought to an end forthwith;

- "Ensuring that the De Klerk Government immediately implements agreements reached with the ANC more than a year ago on curbing violence; and

- "The establishment of an international commission of inquiry into the Boipatong massacre and all aspects of violence as well as the international monitoring of violence."

The collapse of Codesa 2 seemed to vindicate the organisations like the PAC and Azapo that had been opposed to Codesa in the first place.

But ironically it did not collapse as a result of their campaign to discredit it, but because of the withdrawal of the ANC and the SACP.

If they had been waiting to collect ANC members who were disillusioned because their leadership had not anticipated the failure of Codesa, they were disappointed.

ANC strategists did not allow this to happen. They immediately took the fight out of the boardrooms of Codesa

“ We have a difficult time ahead of us, even if negotiations resume soon ”

to the streets of our country in a way that left their colleagues in the liberation movement standing flatfooted.

The members of the alliance can now have the best of two worlds: On one side they are reasonable men ready to talk; on the other, they are tough revolutionaries who will not allow De Klerk to ride roughshod over them.

When they do return to the negotiating table, they will, however, have new problems: their members will not accept anything less than what they went out into the streets to fight for.

Compromise will become difficult. And that means we have a difficult time ahead of us, even if negotiations resume soon.

BUT WHERE NOW FOR THE ANC?

DESPITE the unexpected avalanche of support in the coloured and Indian communities for this week's general strike, the National Party is not giving up hopes of winning the favour of these potential voters.

The African National Congress has hailed the coloured and Indian support as a victory. "It gives the lie to the much-touted assertion that these communities support the NP and the policies of President FW de Klerk," said ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Support for the strike in coloured and Indian residential areas ranged from 80 percent on the Witwatersrand to 50 percent in the western Cape, according to figures compiled by the ANC, independent monitoring agencies and academic sources.

The NP's chief director of information, Piet Coetzer, countered that Ramaphosa's statement merely illustrated the ANC's concern about the progress being made in black communities by the NP. He insisted that the number of people who had stayed away from work could not be taken as a barometer of support for the ANC in these communities.

"On the second day of the strike, I attended a very successful launch of an NP branch in a coloured township in the western Transvaal. About 100 people were present," he said.

At the heart of the ANC and NP's claims and counter-claims lies the per-

Indian and coloureds hearts on their sleeves

W/Mail 7/8-13/8/92
A surprise of the stayaway was the strength of Indian and coloured support. But the National Party is not giving up, reports

PAUL STOBER

ception that the coloured and Indian communities are essentially moderate and have yet to align themselves decisively with either of the major political players. Both communities offer sizeable blocs of votes and they will be especially influential in elections for regional and local government.

Chairman of the Mitchell's Plain branch of the ANC, Achmat Semaar, explained why the huge coloured township — where De Klerk received a mixed reception at an NP mass meeting earlier this year — had experienced an unprecedented level of support for the general strike: "People are tired — tired of abject poverty, the lack of housing and high rates. They say that all De Klerk does is make

promises. (Minister of Health) Rina Venter has talked about R400-million in poverty relief, but as far as we know none of it has reached Mitchell's Plain."

Semaar said the willingness of local businessmen — who are usually regarded as conservative — to close shop during hours negotiated with the ANC was an indication of the depth of popular support for the strike.

But he added that the number of people who stayed away from work was not necessarily an accurate reflection of the level of support for the ANC — a view echoed by executive member of the ANC's Eldorado Park branch, Eugene Robson.

Said Robson: "Some people are willing to support a passive action, and a stayaway is passive. We also have mass unemployment in our area."

Both men pointed out, however, that the success of the strike illustrated the ANC had a much broader base of support in their areas than their signed-up membership suggested. They admitted the NP had members in their townships, but described their presence as "invisible".

Robson dismissed intimidation as a reason for the show of support: "There are 13 000 licenced firearms in Eldorado Park. I would think very carefully before using intimidation." The heavy police presence in the township had further ruled out any chance of intimidation taking place, he added.



Spot searches ... Members of the SADF search Alexandra residents for weapons

Photo: GUY ADAMS

Inkatha gets ready to spar with Govt, ANC

STAR 7/8/92
By Peter Wollman

11A

The Inkatha Freedom Party's Themba Khoza said yesterday his organisation was "taking the gloves off" in response to the ANC's mass action campaign.

The ANC action had left more than 40 people dead on Monday and Tuesday this week, he claimed, and the country should be in mourning. But the media had hailed the mass action campaign as peaceful.

"The ANC claims its campaign was supported by 4 million people. Only 300 000 attended their meetings, which must mean 3,7 million stayed at home because of intimidation."

Mr Khoza, a Transvaal executive member of the IFP, said IFP supporters would be mobilised "to force the Government to stop giving in to the ANC all the time".

In an interview with The Star, he said: "The ANC pulled out of Codesa before the Boipatong massacre when it was defeated 11-8 in voting on constitutional issues. It then used Boipatong to justify its action.

"It was criticised cautiously when it should have been banished instead." But he said the ANC had to be forced back to the negotiating table because the country needed negotiation and compromise to achieve peace.

Mr Khoza said the IFP campaign, involving self-defence committees, open-air rallies, marches and indoor meetings, would be peaceful.

"The committees will be taught which buttons to press in an emergency, but they will not be trained to kill people.

"The ANC wolf must be exposed for what it is. Until that happens it will continue eating sheep at will. Those sheep are our supporters and innocent, politically unaligned communities being harassed by the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the so-called self-defence units . . ."

He said it was nonsense to talk of banning traditional Zulu weapons when most of the deaths in the country were caused by the AK-47 rifle "carried by the ANC".

Mr Khoza said he was at the end of his tether over the preferential treatment the ANC was getting from the Government, the media and the international community.

The media should shoulder blame for some of the violence because it was "caused by the pen", he claimed.

The media often spoke generally of Zulu-speaking men being involved in attacks. This bred hatred and caused explosive situations.

Mr Khoza said "the people" were asking what the IFP was doing to protect lives and property in the face of violence during the mass action campaign.

"We are taking the gloves off. We are going to protect them, but all our actions will be peaceful."

● Reports — Pages 6 and 11

Newspaper boycott may be lifted today

THERE was a "great chance" the ANC eastern Cape region's boycott of local papers would be lifted when the ANC and its allies met today, region chairman Richman Mti said yesterday.

The region has been boycotting the Times Media Limited-owned Eastern Province Herald and Evening Post in spite of statements by the ANC head office that it is not in favour of organised newspaper boycotts.

Mti said the ANC was prepared to lift its boycott of the Post, but was concerned about the EP Herald's attitude.

5/10/92 7/8/92
PATRICK BULGER

He said the ANC met EP Herald representatives last Friday, but their response had been negative. The response concentrated on specific demands and did not address the preamble to the region's objections to the newspapers' stance.

EP Newspapers editor-in-chief Derek Smith said yesterday it was true the two newspapers had been critical of certain aspects of ANC policy.

"If such criticism is seen as hostile and subtle, I would like to give the assurance that this is not the intention," he said.

ANC allies seek new strategy

ANC-aligned patriotic front groupings which attended Codesa would meet soon to formulate a joint strategy before the resumption of negotiations, front sources said yesterday.

The "Codesa PF" — in contrast to the patriotic front which includes the PAC which has so far chosen to stay out of negotiations — consists of the ANC and the eight parties and homeland governments which generally support its stance at Codesa. Cosatu will also be represented.

It is understood that the patriotic front convening committee will meet on Monday and the full front a week later to discuss, among other things, a negotiating strategy to attempt to secure the ANC's demand for a democratically elected constituent assembly.

One front source said: "The way might be clear to start talking again. The ANC can say it has made its point with mass action and it can now go back and talk."

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PATRICK BULGER

The source said a resumption of negotiations depended largely on when mechanisms to monitor and prevent violence had been put in place. The release of UN envoy Cyrus Vance's report in the next few days would indicate the extent to which the UN would become involved.

The source said UN monitors accompanying police and army, UN access to SAP communications networks, public access to the UN and its close co-operation with the national peace accord would constitute sufficient movement by government on the violence issue for negotiations to resume.

□ Sapa reports from Windhoek that PAC president Clarence Makwetu said yesterday the organisation believed that with the UN as convenor, the possibility of forming a new, more representative forum than Codesa now existed.

'Special treatment' for armed wing

Govt, ANC struck deal on Umkhonto

B/DAY 7/8/92.

11A



GOVERNMENT and the ANC had concluded a deal on the status of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe which effectively excluded it from the provisions of the national peace accord, according to a senior ANC official.

The agreement on close co-operation on the supplies, activities and existence of Umkhonto was disclosed in documents submitted to the national peace committee by ANC national executive committee member Sydney Mufumadi. The agreement is an elaboration of the DF Malan Accord dealing with the armed struggle.

The national peace committee is examining Umkhonto's existence at the request of Inkatha, which has demanded that it be disbanded by next month. Inkatha, which argues that Umkhonto is a "private army" and therefore subject to the peace accord, has asked the committee to refer Umkhonto's continued existence to arbitration.

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi pulled out of a summit meeting with peace accord signatories President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela partly because Umkhonto continued to exist a year after the peace accord was signed. The peace committee meets again today to discuss the summit.

Mufumadi's submission was made in February this year when Inkatha was refusing to sign a code of conduct for the security forces because Umkhonto continued to exist. It provided details of an ANC-government agreement on Umkhonto and its weapons which had previously been

PATRICK BULGER

rejected as speculation by both parties. Mufumadi said Umkhonto was keeping to the letter and spirit of the peace accord "notwithstanding the fact that its continued existence and operations are regulated by bilateral agreement and hence fall outside the accord".

He said in his document: "The existence of Umkhonto and the extent of its continued operations are matters covered by existing bilateral agreements between the ANC and government.

"The matters covered by these agreements and negotiations fall outside the scope of the peace accord as expressly provided for in the opening chapter of the accord which states: 'This Accord will not be construed so as to detract from the validity of bilateral agreements between any of the signatories.'

"Although the existence, function and operations of Umkhonto continue to be regulated by the bilateral accords, these will also be the proper subject of discussions at Codesa."

According to Mufumadi, a working group set up in terms of the Pretoria Minute under which the ANC suspended its armed struggle two years ago, had agreed, among other things, "a process of informing the government of the extent and nature of arms under its control. Such arms and ordinances will be placed under the joint control of any transitional authority and Umkhonto upon the formation of an interim government. Umkhonto will be

□ To Page 2

Umkhonto

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From Page 1

disbanded upon the completion of the process of transition to a democratic constitution."

Mufumadi submitted that Inkatha was aware of the agreement when it was involved with peace accord negotiations.

"The existence of Umkhonto and the exclusion of matters covered by the (agreement) were explicitly dealt with during the negotiations of the accord. The

IFP was represented during the negotiation of the accord.

"The reference to private armies in the accord plainly emanates from the signatories' desire to regulate self-protection units. The existence of Umkhonto falls outside the discussion of such units," Mufumadi said.

Government has indicated it intends dealing with the issue of Umkhonto in its deliberations with the ANC on prisoners.

How will Mandela use his mandate?

W/MAIL 7/8-13/8/92.

11A

IF THIS week's mass action was Nelson Mandela's "referendum" he has clearly won a handsome mandate. He has proved that with the help of Congress of South African Trade Unions, he can call out the country's workers and close down the cities with targeted disruptive "occupation". If anyone doubted that the African National Congress could wield significant clout, those doubts should now be settled.

But the comparison between the President FW de Klerk's March poll and Mandela's August showdown does not end when the sun sets on referendum day.

After his March victory, many ana-

lysts wondered exactly what De Klerk's referendum had proved about his constituency. White voters were asked a very widely phrased and imprecise question. A broad cross-section of white opinion drew a "yes-X" even though they would not support De Klerk and the National Party in an election. In other words the "yes vote" total masked the complexity of voter feeling.

While he obviously commands majority white backing, the extent of support for De Klerk's party, policy — and even person — could not be established from merely counting the crosses.

Mandela faces a similar problem in

assessing what the mass action results say about his constituency. Granted the stayaway was bigger than any such action in the past. But here too the question heard in the townships was imprecise: if you want peace and democracy, stay home. That call

Will Mandela make good
use of the mandate he won
this week, or will he — like
President FW de Klerk did
earlier this year — waste it
on petty politicking, asks
CARMEL RICKARD

would bring together many people including some who might not vote for the ANC in an election.

Similarly the intimidation factor cannot be ignored. Even if the ANC membership behaved in an exemplary fashion, as it clearly did in many areas, the history of kangaroo-court punishment inflicted on "sell-outs" is fresh in everyone's memory. The Monday message of burning tyres on some township roads made the intended impact. In addition, many people had no choice. Without transport, they simply had to stay home, regardless of their political position.

Even more important for the country however is what immediate use

Mandela intends to make of this referendum result. When De Klerk won his March victory, it seemed he had been given a powerful enough mandate to meet his two most serious challenges: getting on with negotiations for a just new political dispensation, and taming both the rightwing and the security establishment.

He did neither. Instead he behaved as though he had won an election rather than a referendum, and regarded his success as an endorsement of NP policies. He immediately took a harder line on negotiations, apparently reading the poll as carte blanche to squeeze the ANC on behalf of whites and to ensure political longevity for NP bureaucrats. And he continued to back the security forces almost without question instead of mounting a serious cleaning-out operation reaching high into the command structure.

To a large extent the future of negotiations, and therefore the likelihood of relatively peaceful transition in South Africa, depends on whether Mandela follows De Klerk's disappointing lead.

Just as De Klerk was influenced by factions within his cabinet in deciding how to interpret the referendum results, so too Mandela will have the views of the multi-faceted alliance to consider in deciding his next step.

Will he take the mandate of the people as power enough to enable tough action against members of his organisation who terrorise their neighbours simply for not toeing the party line?

Will he interpret this August acclaim as a signal to take a hard line rather than a conciliatory attitude? Like De Klerk, will he try to turn the screws on his opponents, and make demands the other parties simply cannot accept? Or does the conciliatory tone many heard in his Pretoria speech indicate he will show the statesmanship so many had vainly hoped for from De Klerk?

PEOPLE'S LIVES Another historic march to Pretoria - by 20 000 women 36 years ago

By Pearl Majola

THIS SUNDAY, August 9, is National Women's Day. On this day in 1956, 20 000 women marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria to protest against the introduction of passes for women. Mrs Esther Mahlatji was there.

The mother of seven, Mahlatji from Soweto, smiles with pride at the memory of the 1956 women's march to the Union Buildings in protest against passes for women.

Then she was just 28 years old, had just been married and was full of anger at the "arrogance" of a Government which dared to pass a law that forced them to carry dompasses.

Today, at the age of 64, she no longer has the energy she had then but continues to contribute to the struggle through her work. She serves with three others in the African National Congress' Bereaved Families Committee.

The day women marched

WOMEN POWER Protest against law

enforcing the carrying of dompasses:

"As a woman I felt it was an inconvenience for us to carry passes. At that time I was just a housewife but felt for my other sisters who were in employment and were expected to carry those passes," Mahlatji said.

United and committed

When the Dube branch of the then Women's Federation organised women for the march, Mahlatji who was a member, decided to take part.

"It was the first time I had ever been involved in a march and I've never been in a bigger march with people as united and as committed to their cause as those

Sowetan 7/8/92
women," said Mahlatji.

"We left Park Station in Johannesburg on the 8am train to Pretoria. The mood was tense as we joined hundreds of other women from all over the country, all clad in our green and black uniforms.

"We gathered in a park before marching on the Union Buildings," she recalled.

The 20 000-strong crowd waited outside as their leaders, among them Helen Joseph and the late Lillian Ngoyi, went to the office of the then Home Affairs Minister, Mr JG Strydom, to present a memorandum demanding that women

be exempt from pass laws.

"Perhaps the most memorable moment was when the crowd was told by the leaders that Strydom, who was supposed to meet the women and receive the memo personally, was not there," Mahlatji said.

"Spontaneously we started singing and shouting 'Uyasesaba na? and Wathint' abafazi, wathint' imbokodwe!'" Mahlatji remembered with a smile.

Significant slogans

Those slogans - *Uyasesaba na?* (Are you afraid of us) and *Wathint' abafazi, wathint' imbokodwe!* (When you touch a woman, you have struck a rock) - have since played a significant role in the women's struggle in South Africa.

"The police never interfered with us as had been expected. They just let us go

on with our business. They maintained a peaceful presence. But then we did nothing to provoke them either," she said.

Once the memo had been presented to Strydom's secretary, the women returned home. But it was not before they had their "picnic" in the park.

Singing and dancing

"The atmosphere was so unbelievable, with all those women from all over the country singing and dancing," Mahlatji said.

But things took another turn in 1977 when she left the country to join her exiled husband in Lusaka. He had left in 1964.

While in exile she held various community jobs. In Cairo she translated Radio Cairo programmes from English to Zulu. In Lusaka she was head of the Regional Women's Committee.

This committee offered counselling to South African women exiles and organised skills workshops for them. Now long past her retirement age, she continues to do almost the same job.

ANC told to carry 'traditional weapons'

w/Man 7/8-13/89 z.

(11A)

By CARMEL RICKARD
IF Inkatha members continue carrying "traditional weapons", should African National Congress members do the same? ANC southern Natal general secretary Sbu Ndebele says they have no choice.

"It is our tradition too. If the police allow Inkatha to carry dangerous weapons, we will have to do likewise."

While the call has proved popular with many Natal ANC supporters, it has come in for criticism. Durban's Legal Resources Centre says the idea is irresponsible and reckless.

The ANC head office has reaffirmed its policy that people "cannot come to marches armed in any way", and Inkatha says ANC members were carrying such weapons even before Ndebele's call.

Ndebele warned several times that the ANC in his region would begin carrying "traditional weapons" as a strategy to make police disarm Inkatha. He says patience ran out last

month when a group of armed Inkatha Freedom Party supporters confronted ANC members at the start of a Durban city centre march.

The ANC was planning to try Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in a mock trial and IFP supporters aimed to stop the "trial". Police intervened and prevented a fight, but Ndebele says the group should have been disarmed long before they reached their destination.

After that incident Ndebele called for ANC members to carry weapons. They were first seen in great numbers this week at a march of more than 10 000 people in Inanda outside Durban. Many in the crowd were kitted out with spears, sticks, shields, axes and pangas. They marched in regiments, singing traditional fighting songs and brandishing their weapons. A number also wore skins. Many people appeared to enjoy the opportunity to combine traditional and political feelings.

During the ANC's mass action in

central Durban this week, a number of marchers again carried such weapons. In a speech to thousands of protesters, Ndebele said "traditional weapons" would become a part of ANC marches.

They would be carried at all gatherings in the future as long as the police allowed Inkatha to bear such weapons in public. Ndebele said later that he was against the bearing of these weapons, but felt that the new strategy was the only way to stop them from being carried by Inkatha. "The day the IFP marches without these arms, the very next day so will we," he said.

Legal Resources' Howard Varney said he understood ANC frustration with police failure to enforce laws barring the carrying of such weapons in public. However, the ANC response — calling on its members to bear weapons — was quite unacceptable.

Varney added: "Weapons' bearing in the current climate is nothing more

than a show of strength and an act of intimidation, regardless of which organisation is behind it."

Varney said if ANC members were to bear arms in the same way as Inkatha, it would further entrench a culture of weapons, violence and intolerance. "It may well be that this trend may become unstoppable."

The IFP's Ed Tillett also criticised the ANC move: "Two wrongs do not make a right. We disapprove of our members carrying non-traditional weapons. When it was made unlawful to carry non-traditional weapons we began taking steps to ensure only sticks and shields are carried in future. Last Saturday's march in Durban showed the message has now reached most supporters."

Meanwhile, the ANC head office says there must be a total ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons in public. If the government banned weapons in particular areas only, as happened this week, instigators simply moved elsewhere.

MASS ACTION

Sound and fury

11A ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~

FM 7/8/92

The ANC and its allies hoped this week's mass action would do for them what the referendum in March did for President FW de Klerk: consolidate wavering support and give direction to the negotiation process.

Leaders of the alliance believe it did. They say the millions who stayed away from work on Monday and Tuesday voted with their feet — or was it their pay packets? — to support the alliance's various demands.

After the first day, the strike was declared a "phenomenal success" based on an alliance assessment of a 90% stayaway. Estimates by employers varied considerably in different regions. Sacob says it ranged from only 15% in the western Cape to 90% in the PWV.

There is little doubt that it was effective but many thousands of workers would probably not have stayed at home had they been given a free choice.

ANC watcher Tom Lodge, of Wits University, says the success of the stayaway is not a clear indication of ANC support. The PAC and its affiliated trade union grouping, Nactu — neither of them exactly friends of government and big business — alleged widespread intimidation of members by ANC and Cosatu supporters.

The Inkatha Freedom Party claimed there was extensive intimidation and its supporters were attacked by alliance followers.

Evidence of intimidation was widespread and included the stoning of vehicles. Roads and rail lines were blocked in some areas and there were attacks on people and property, especially in Natal where the death toll in interparty clashes was by far the highest.

Rogue ANC "self-defence units" (SDUs) — condemned by SACP chief Chris Hani in a *Sunday Times* interview he later attempted to soften — clearly had a busy two days. The level of violence and disregard for rules that had apparently been agreed on for protest marches, such as the carrying of dangerous weapons and adequate notice to the police and local authorities, were often ignored.



Ciskei's Gqozo ...
please help



Hani ... danger
signs flashing

In some cases the police also apparently flaunted the recent guidelines from the Goldstone Commission on the handling of demonstrations. In one, a protester at Grabouw was shot dead because, according to a police spokesman, he was allegedly about to throw a brick at a policeman.

The situation in Ciskei was reported to be the most serious. Military ruler Oupa Gqozo threatened to use force to stop a planned march from King William's Town to Bisho. He asked for assistance from the SADF. This apparently caused deep furrows on the brows at Foreign Affairs.

UN monitors — one was barred from entering Ciskei — had a busy time crisscrossing the country to keep tabs on trouble spots. It is hoped their assessment will contribute to restarting the negotiation process rather than give fresh ammunition to rival factions.

The widespread violence flew in the face of ANC leader Nelson Mandela's plea for calm and discipline; it must surely have negated whatever political gain the alliance hoped to squeeze from the stayaway.

Political tension in areas that were relatively calm has been heightened by renewed confrontation. The eastern and western Cape are good examples. The ANC may find that instead of consolidating its support, mass action has made large sections of black communities radical to a point where continued "street struggle" will be preferred to negotiating a political transition. The situation is exacerbated by elements in the alliance leadership who favour a Leipzig Option (insurrection) over negotiations.

Hani's *Sunday Times* interview is probably the clearest indication so far from within the alliance that there is serious concern about the rise of the almost uncontrollable radical youth gangs in the townships. It could be that Hani, arguably the alliance's most astute politician, realises that tough action will soon have to be taken against the

rebel units by the ANC, the security forces or both.

If not, the SDUs could become warlords in some areas and threaten not only the negotiation process but even the ANC by barring it from townships and undermining the confidence of supporters who expect the ANC to protect them against tyranny.

With violence showing every sign of growing rather than abating in the days ahead, the ANC faces a serious dilemma. It is possible that hawks in the alliance have decided to fight back, after the failure of mass action, until the strike to meet expectations (*Current Affairs* July 31). If so, they could attempt to keep tension high through increasingly provocative actions. As the *FM* went to press, the ANC's western Cape leaders were planning a mass march into Cape Town along the N2 highway, the main route to the airport.

One of the ANC demands for returning to the talks table is an end to violence or at least steps to end it. When government took steps last week by flooding Vaal Triangle townships with security forces to "stabilise the situation," however, the ANC accused it of intimidating residents on the eve of the strike.

It appears that only co-operation between the ANC and the security forces will bring violence under control and possibly end it. ■

TRANSPORT

Lots of money

Barely days before the SA Rail Commuter Corp (RCC) was due to occupy a new office block outside Johannesburg on April 1, Transport Minister Piet Welgemoed tried to put a stop to the move. He acted on the advice of the Office for Privatisation. But a five-year lease, which could cost the RCC (and commuters and taxpayers) R3m more than the rent at the previous offices, had already been signed.

The chairman of the Policy Unit for Public Enterprises and Privatisation, Pieter van Huyssteen, has confirmed to the *FM* that he was asked by Welgemoed "to investigate certain aspects (of the RCC) and advise the Minister." Van Huyssteen would not comment on his findings; he said he had handed them over to Welgemoed. But it is understood that Van Huyssteen investigated the RCC's financial programme, its personnel situation and its contract with Transnet.

The proposal to the RCC board that the corporation should not renew its rental contract in the Wesbank House building in Braamfontein and that it should move to a

ANC: a sacrifice to save our country

South 8/8-12/8/92
By Rehana Rossouw
and Quentin Wilson

WESTERN Cape ANC officials have expressed satisfaction with the response to the mass action activities in the region this week.

The organisation claims this has been one of the biggest stayaways in the Western Cape.

Monitors reported the stayaway in African townships was close to 100 percent and about 60 percent in coloured areas.

"We see this as confirmation that the people of Cape Town, along with the rest of the country, have recognised the urgency of the demands of the Pro Democracy Campaign," regional spokesperson Mr Mziwonke Jacobs said.

Some of Monday's events:

- In Hermanus about 2 000 people attended a rally and march led by Mr Mziwonke Jacobs.
- About 20 000 people attended a rally following a march and cavalcade through Guguletu and Nyanga led by Mr Tony Yengeni.
- In Kraaifontein 2 000 people

joined a march led by Dr Allan Boesak and ANC regional executive member Mr Ebrahim Rasool.

- In Dora Tamana squatter camp in Khayelitsha, about 3 000 residents were addressed by SACP secretary, Mr Lizo Nkonki.
- A Bellville rally addressed by Mr Dullah Omar and Mr John Neels of the SA National Civic Organisation drew 300 people.
- At Mandela Park, Hout Bay, 500 people attempted amarch on the Forestry station, but an official turned a power hose on the crowd.
- At Montagu Gardens and Marconi Beam squatter settlement, there was a march of about 1 000 people.
- In Grabouw a man was shot dead when police dispersed 300 people attempting an illegal march.
- In Oudtshoorn about 2 000 people attended a rally addressed by ANC executive member Mr Cameron Dugmore.
- About 3 000 people gathered in George for a rally and march.
- In Paarl a cavalcade, march and sit-in took place at the council office. About 3 000 participated.

11A
● In Mbekweni about 5 000 people marched to the council offices.

● In Wellington, about 200 people attended a rally addressed by ANC executive member, Mr Neville van der Rheede. Afterwards they marched to the municipal offices.

● About 150 people from the ANC Langa branch marched to parliament. Police arrested 34 people on their way back to the Cape Town station.

Some events on Tuesday:

● 2 000 people marched to the police station in Port Nolloth to hand over a petition.

Some events on Wednesday:

● In Worcester 1 000 people participated in a "human chain" in the town centre.

● Police dispersed 500 people in Oudtshoorn when they tried to occupy National Party offices. The group then occupied the Bridgton municipal offices.

● 1 000 people gathered at Bellville police station on Wednesday after marching from the University of the Western Cape.

Women gather to remember ~~20A~~

THE ANC Women's League on Friday called on "all women of conscience" to mark South African Women's Day at inter-faith gatherings today. (11A)

"Let us come together. Let us use the occasion to raise our voices against the ritual killings and rapes that are rampant in some parts of SA," the statement said. *C1 Press 9/8/92*

On August 9 1956 20 000 women marched to the Union Buildings in Pretoria to present a memorandum to the then Home Affairs Minister JG Strijdom in protest against the introduction of the hated passes for women.

Major rallies and marches will be held in central Durban and Soweto and other parts of the country today.

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5,000m: "Derartu has a fan- impression.

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ANC calls the cops

ANC officials in Durban yesterday called in the police to protect them from scores of angry returned exiles demanding a public inquiry into allegations of assaults and killings at ANC camps in other countries. *STimes 9/8/92*

Police spokesman Captain Henry Budhram said "immediate arrangements" were made to protect the ANC offices. The ANC was unavailable for comment.

SA's la

REUNION... Nelson Mandela and the head of the police Internal Stability Unit, Lieutenant-General Johan Swart, exchanged a warm handshake on the steps of the Union Buildings in Pretoria at the end of Wednesday's march by more than 70 000 ANC supporters.

A crush of journalists, intrigued by the ANC president shaking hands with a police general, milled around the two men before Mr Mandela was hustled into a luxury limousine by jubilant ANC secre-

SHAKE, OLD FRIEND

SI TIMES 9/8/92

Picture: TIM ZIELENBACH Report: KURT SWART

tary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and other ANC officials and driven off.

"My name is Lieutenant-General Johan Swart and I'm in charge of the Internal Stability Unit," the general told the press. "I was stationed in Soweto in 1990 and 1991

and Mr Mandela and I established a good relationship there. We worked together in Soweto. He would call me at my office or at home and we often defused (conflict) situations together."

Asked if the handshake was a

gesture of reconciliation, General Swart replied: "I was called by him to come over because he recognised me and he wanted to say hello."

General Swart added that he was "very satisfied with the march" and the behaviour of the crowd, although "a few windows had been broken". (1/1/92) (SI)

Asked whether he approved of mass action, the general said he was a policeman not a politician. "But I have always liked Mr Mandela," he said.

Hani: Police are infiltrating ANC units

HEAVEN knows we are living in a country torn apart by violence. Both suburbs and townships are weighed down with weapons. So why have the SACP and ANC called on communities in townships to form self-defence units? Do we really need SDUs? Sadly, we do.

The Waddington Report, the Trust Feed massacre, Dr Gluckman's courageous revelations and, above all, the daily experience of millions of South Africans all underline one thing. The regime's security forces have become deeply corrupted by what they were set up to defend — apartheid.

We think of death in detention, for instance; we think of prominent political martyrs, of Steve Biko and Ahmed Timol. Dr Gluckman's revelations remind us that it is not just political detainees who are tortured. Torture has replaced investigation in the most routine police procedures.

"Out of control," says Gluckman; "Totally incompetent," says Waddington. These are themselves sufficient grounds for encouraging ordinary citizens to unite together



Communist Party boss CHRIS HANI replies to our report last week that ANC units are 'running wild'

S/Times 9/8/92

11A

in SDUs to protect themselves, their families and their property.

But, as Joe Slovo said when the SACP recently met Cyrus Vance, for those of us who have been up against the SAP over many decades the picture of total incompetence doesn't quite ring true. We have often found the SAP to be ruthlessly effective, absolutely painstaking in tracking down MK operatives.

Where have all these skills gone? There is certainly massive incompetence when it comes to

finding train killers. But the skills have not disappeared. They are being used to wage a sophisticated, low-intensity war against the townships. This low-intensity war manifests itself in two key ways:

- Random terror, like Boipatong, like the train massacres;
- Targeted assassination of second- and third-layer ANC alliance leadership. Not a week goes by without a key grassroots leader being assassinated.

Both the general destabilisation

and the surgical eliminations have a single objective: to destabilise and knock out the connection between the ANC leadership and its mass base.

A number of surveys have shown how the sheer scale, and the remarkable co-ordination both in time and place of what otherwise looks like random violence, points to something much more sinister. Within days of the ANC suspending armed struggle in August 1990, communities in the PWV were hit with an unprecedented wave of violence. A mere coincidence?

It is against this background that both the ANC and SACP took the decision in late 1990 to encourage and facilitate the formation of community-based SDUs. The right to do so was later enshrined in the National Peace Accord.

Since then our experience with SDUs has generally, but not always,

been favourable. In many parts of the country the very existence of democratic organisations has depended on the capacity of township dwellers to defend themselves.

Unfortunately, this positive record is not universal. There have been serious cases of indiscipline. Criminal elements and/or the police have infiltrated some SDUs and turned them against communities. Individuals have used SDUs to advance their own interests.

I have no intention of behaving like Hernus Kriel and his predecessors: admit nothing until you are found out; when found out, deny; when the denial wears thin, promise "urgent attention" (meaning the police will investigate the police). And then... hope that everyone will forget.

Two weeks before Mike Robertson wrote an exceedingly distorted version of an interview I had granted him, I had noted (in an Umsebenzi article) a number of worrying developments in some SDUs.

I believe that politicians (and journalists) should be honest. That there are grave problems in some SDUs I do not deny. But Robertson jumps on this uncoerced admission with glee. There isn't space to detail how he continually distorts my views on SDUs by placing them out of the context that I have sketched above. Instead, Robertson unethically creates his own context.

Here are samplings from the opening two context-setting sentences of Robertson's article: "Communist Party boss Chris Hani this week charged that ANC self-defence units are committing atrocities..." etc.

Three points: ● Robertson is transparently trying to set me up against the ANC. The SACP has certainly been no

self-defence units, had found:

There was a clear absence of community control over SDUs; SDUs had imposed taxes on black businessmen; defence units had set up kangaroo courts, and some, in the Vaal and Soweto, had "necklaced" political opponents; a Phola Park defence unit had been infiltrated by criminals; and SDUs in Sebokeng were fighting for control of political turf.

The specific examples of the SDUs which had committed these transgressions or atrocities, in the case of "necklace" murders, were provided by Mr Hani in the interview I conducted with him. But the fact that they were taking place emerged from Mr Hani's own article "SDUs: Let us learn from our mistakes", which appears in the latest edition of Umsebenzi.

Far from "putting words in his mouth" or "distorting" his views, the story I wrote in the Sunday Times last week not only accurately reflected what Mr Hani told me in the interview, but is backed up by what the SACP leader himself wrote in Umsebenzi.

less anxious than the ANC to support the formation of SDUs. I was never trying to disown "ANC" SDUs from the moral high ground of the SACP.

● Unlike the bosses who own the Sunday Times, I am an elected official of the SACP. I am subject to non-election in two years' time.

● When Robertson interviews regime personalities he describes their tone as "honest", "candid", etc. My openness, by contrast, is "brutally frank". Why the difference?

I am sure it would be unfair to suggest it's because I'm black. Perhaps it's because I'm red? Perhaps it's neither. But the message is clear. Even in our candour, some of us are supposed to be inherently violent.

● MIKE ROBERTSON replies: The basis of the Sunday Times story was that Mr Hani, after being asked by the ANC to investigate

EXCLUSIVE

DEATH PLOT

We're ready to take out ANC torturers, says squad of revenge exiles

Bring the ANC leaders and cadres to justice or we will immediately proceed with our assassination campaign.

By S'BU MNGADI

A NEWLY launched body known as the Returned Exiles Committee (REC) has drawn up a programme to assassinate leading ANC members.

In shock disclosures to City Press this week, it was revealed that the group, consisting mostly of former ANC detainees who broke away from the movement, intend working hand-in-hand with the Askaris.

The chilling scheme is designed as a vendetta against high-ranking ANC leaders and cadres implicated in atrocities in ANC detention camps outside the country.

The REC's assassination threat comes barely a week after an attempt

City Press 9/8/92
was made on the life of the ageing Harry Gwala, ANC's Natal Midlands chief. Gwala managed to escape injury after his car was shot at during the mass action march in Edendale on Tuesday.

Two weeks ago there was another assassination attempt on SACP general-secretary Chris Hani. The former Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) chief-of-staff has been implicated in numerous torture claims in ANC detention camps.

In an interview with City Press at the Lindelani squatter camp, chairman of the newly formed group Pat Hlongwane said his organisation together with Askaris (turned former guerrillas of both MK and the Azanian Liberation Army) were on the verge of declaring war on the ANC.

Hlongwane, 33, revealed that about 200 Askaris and REC members had

undergone "re-training" in Israel. They have all regrouped around the greater Durban area.

"The bulk of our members arrived back in Durban yesterday, fully re-trained in guerrilla warfare and intelligence to afford us security to face the full might of the ANC," he said.

Hlongwane refused to say where in Durban the trained soldiers were based, citing security reasons.

Following the formation of the organisation last year, the Askaris asked him to recommend strong REC members to join them in re-training in Israel, Hlongwane claimed.

Some of their trained members formed part of the REC march through the streets of Durban yesterday to welcome the trained returnees.

About 600 people, mostly Inkatha-supporting squatters from Lindelani,

marched to the ANC offices yesterday. Former ANC detainees present appeared to be armed.

Speaking to City Press, Hlongwane alleged he was tortured and severely beaten up by members of the ANC security department during his eight years in detention in Africa.

Yesterday's march marked the beginning of the campaign which could culminate in the assassination of ANC leaders and cadres who committed atrocities against detainees in exile, he warned.

Phase two, the former ANC guerrilla said, would entail a commission of inquiry into atrocities in ANC detention camps appointed by the rightwing Washington DC-based International Freedom Foundation.

"If the commission fails to bring the

■ To Page 2

P.T.D.

Exiles want revenge

■ From Page 1 *C/P Men 9/18/92*
ANC leaders and cadres to justice, we will immediately proceed with our assassination campaign.

"We are not going to shoot ANC members at random. Our targets will be ANC leaders and cadres who took part in our detention, torture and assault," he vowed.

Hlongwane said he did not think the assassination campaign was far off as he expected the commission, presided over by advocate RS Douglas SC, of Durban, to sit at the end of this month.

Joel Neshitendze, a member of the ANC's national executive committee, said Hlongwane's wartalk spoke for itself.

The ANC was interested to see how the SAP and the government would respond to an obvious threat of assassination reflected in Hlongwane's allegation, Neshitendze said.

11A
The REC has offices in Lindelani, headquarters of Inkatha strongman Thomas Mandla Shabalala, whom the REC describes as "sympathetic".

Hlongwane presented to City Press a former ANC guerrilla who alleged the 14 Durban ANC members killed in a road accident in Tanzania while on their way to the airport to fly back home in February had spent time under ANC detention - and the REC therefore suspected the accident had been stage-managed.

The ANC this week dismissed this accusation as "wholly inaccurate".

Themba Kondile, 24, of Zwide in Port Elizabeth, said he was kept in detention in Uganda and Tanzania from early 1990 to February 20 this year.

The ex-ANC guerrilla and other exiles arrived back in SA on February 20.

THE Natives are restless – and it seems there's no way of stopping them now.

Decades of being deprived of a vote has finally forced them to vote with their feet.

Indeed, the stomping of the toyi-toyi echoed down the corridors of white power at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, in Cape Town's House of Parliament and through TV speakers throughout the world.

The United Nations monitoring group had never seen a thing like this before.

Most whites, grown used to carefully mediated images of mass action in their own media, were stunned into disbelief.

Even ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who addressed the crowd outside the Union Buildings this week – and who has observed the resistance of his people through the key-hole of Robben Island most of his adult life – was taken aback by the enthusiasm of the crowd.

The message was clear: The natives are restless and they're marching on. This message has not only

MY WAY
With Khulu Sibiyi

Listen to the drumming!

IIA 22/11

CP/PM 9/8/92



reached FW de Klerk and his Cabinet, but the rest of the country, especially those who all these years have lived the lie that there can be peace and security in SA while blacks are denied the vote.

The message to the ANC and its allies was also loud and clear: The natives on the ground are getting impatient with the snails pace at Codesa. They want an interim government that will work out a new constitution soon.

Words, words, words are fast becoming meaningless. Action, the natives want action.

On more than one occasion I heard the word "intimidation" being bandied around by

government as a result of the success of mass action.

These words sound like the stuck record of the SABC's olden-day Current Affairs programme.

It's a word central to the Nat's propaganda baggage. Yet, if mass action had failed, Natspeak would have turned around and said: "You see, we told you so."

It remains ridiculous for the Nats to still say: "The ANC has intimidated people from going to work. They forced millions to join them on a march."

You have to be blind or blinkered not to get the message being drummed out by those marching masses.

And in the same vein:

Did the government and its allies not intimidate thousands of whites to vote "Yes" in the referendum?

Many employers will privately agree and, of course, the CP has ample evidence to prove this.

What about those organisations like the IFP, PAC and Azapo who distanced themselves from last week's mass action?

The IFP, predictably even in these changing times, still sings the master's tune.

Listening to their man Themba Khoza outlining the catch-all "intimidation" of IFP members, one could not help but wonder whether he monitored the mass action himself – or whether he simply expressing the views of

his leaders.

This week's mass action also proved to the PAC and Azapo, once and for all, that they do not command the same following as the ANC. After this, one would expect them to revive the patriotic front and work with the ANC instead of against them.

We are about to reach the final destination in our fight for liberation and, as history has shown, this is the time for a concerted, united effort.

It helps little that we have Mandela representing the ANC, Makwetu the PAC, Nefolovhodwe Azapo, De Klerk the National Party and white South Africans, and Buthelezi the IFP.

We need one leader for all the people of this country.

Until this happens, the natives will continue to march – and that does not augur well for our beautiful, tragic country.

It is be too terrible to contemplate South Africa repeating the mistakes made by Frelimo and Renamo in Mozambique and Dos Santos's MPLA and Savimbi's Unita in Angola.

LAST weekend South Africans were given an overdose of newspaper advertisements related to the week of mass action.

This particular manner of sharing a viewpoint and selling ideas is catching on in our society. It was a method much used during the whites-only referendum, and has now emerged again at the time of what some have called the "black referendum".

Among advertisements placed by the government, the ANC and the SAP was one from the NP that made use of our society's current Olympic Games fever.

The advertisement invited us all to "get back into the spirit of the Olympic Games, the spirit of peaceful competi-

sents only a minority of South Africans.

Not long back the government made an error in using assets at its disposal for its own and not for the benefit of the whole nation. This was when army reserves were called up against the threat of mass action just before June 16.

It seems to many black people that when you undertake a legitimate democratic protest action the government will use the army to stop you.

The army in this case is not used for the security of the state, but to stand by particular political positions. This, of

Let's level these playing

tion". It declared: "The National Party welcomes political competition in SA - it makes everybody perform at their best. But in the Olympic spirit of peaceful competition, we ask all South Africans and their political leaders to compete in peace."

The analogy is an interesting one and I thank the NP. However, I would contend that the government is not holding up its end of the bargain, and needs to be challenged to move toward making a true analogy possible.

For example, to speak of "the spirit of peaceful competi-

cfren 9/8/92
"competition" assumes that the competition in SA is a fair one, giving everyone equal chance to "perform at their best". But how can this be when one of the contenders, the NP government, wishes not only to race but act as referee? That certainly is not within the spirit or the practice of the Olympic Games.

Perhaps we need to remind this government that speaks so highly of the spirit of the Games that in Barcelona, international referees are being used to ensure as well as monitor that spirit. Perhaps we need also to remind them that

(11A) (205)
By Rev FRANK CHIKANE,
general secretary of the
SA Council of Churches.

when anyone violates the rules at the Olympics, he or she is disqualified.

And perhaps we need to remind them that investigations into violations are not performed by the team concerned, but by competent international experts. It all helps to get the picture and the analogy straight.

If we look to Barcelona, the makeup of the SA team is an indication of inequality in resources and assets in SA. It is

not a reflection of the total population of the country, but of the privileged minority. To use another game analogy, the dice are loaded against the black majority every time.

Many of those in the "competition" in SA who support mass action take serious exception to a government that uses their tax money to suggest, in another of last weekend's advertisements, that a national strike "is so unnecessary". Taxpayers' money should not be used to advance a government's sectarian viewpoint. It is made worse when the said government repre-

strations.

It is unfair of the NP government to use the assets of taxpayers' money and the security forces for their own particular party political support system. No wonder they can welcome "political competition in SA".

To me there is no doubt that the vast majority of the people of this country, both black and white, want to see fair political competition in what the NP advertisement calls "the spirit of the Olympic Games". But if everyone is to "perform at their best" we need a levelling of the playing fields for all the participants.

Thank you NP for your analogy. Now let us see your government move toward making it possible.

**File
205**

Sowetan 10/8/92

A lesson for SA says Sisulu

SOUTH Africa was fortunate to be the last to be liberated in the continent because it has a chance to learn from other country's mistakes. (11A)

This was said by ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu at the 36th anniversary of a women's march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

Sisulu was addressing about 200 people at Kopano Centre in Alexandra yesterday. He said the only misfortune about South Africa attaining liberation after all other nations was the prolonged suffering that people had to endure.

I had discussion with FW on Friday, says Mandela

STAN 10/8/92

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SADA (Ciskei) — ANC president Nelson Mandela disclosed at the weekend that he and President F W de Klerk held talks on Friday night.

Addressing thousands of people who braved icy weather to hear him speak at Sada, in Ciskei, Mr Mandela said the telephone conversation included a discussion of certain allegations against SA Communist Party general-secretary Chris Hani.

Shortly before leaving East London for Transkei in a helicopter with Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa yesterday, Mr Mandela said he had discussed "a particular issue which was resolved satisfactorily, but it had nothing to do with negotiations".

He would disclose no more.

Casper Venter, a spokesman for Mr de Klerk, would not comment on the conversation.

He said that if Mr Mandela had claimed he had spoken to Mr de Klerk — "and I'm not implying he didn't" — he should be able to reveal what was said.

At Saturday's rally, Mr Mandela said both the ANC and Government had made important contributions to creating a climate for free political activity.

He said that although the ANC had pulled out of negotiations with the Government, he hoped the problem would be resolved "sooner or later".

"The South African Government must address the ANC's demands so that discussions can resume, as the country's future depends on negotiations between the two parties succeeding," he said.

The ANC wanted whites to remain in South Africa and help build a democratic country, therefore they had to be reassured by peaceful behaviour during demonstrations.

Mr Mandela also addressed a meeting in King William's Town on Saturday.

Mr Mandela will address a public meeting at the University of Transkei tomorrow evening and return to Johannesburg on Wednesday. — Sapa.

'Hit list' halts peace talks

Guardian [w/lin w/mant]

PEACE talks in South Africa, scheduled to take place later this week, have been called off amid controversy over claims that the ANC has "sentenced to death" 12 Inkatha leaders and ordered its armed wing to execute them.

The National Peace Committee announced that signatories to the National Peace Accord had asked for a postponement to allow for further consultations.

The Natal Midlands branch of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party claimed in a statement at the weekend that ANC supporters had been given instructions to report any sightings of the 12 "wanted" men — allegedly sentenced to death at a kangaroo court last month — to its armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, so that they could be killed.

The ANC leader in the Midlands, Harry Gwala, has a militant reputation, having been repeatedly quoted on the need to fight violence with violence. 1017-1617192

Inkatha had no choice but to boycott the proceedings of dispute resolution committees — set up regionally in terms of the peace accord — while this "farcical" situation persisted, said a spokesman, Kim Hodgson.

~~SECRET~~

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11#

~~SECRET~~

'Even one death diminishes us all'

STAR 10/8/92

~~SECRET~~

11A

AMID-growing optimism that negotiations between the South African Government and the African National Congress will resume soon, hopes for peace suffered a setback with the news that two teenage choir girls had died after an apparently random shooting in Alexandra last Wednesday night.

The killings raised the death toll since the eve of the ANC's week-long "mass action" campaign above 40. One 13-year-old girl died immediately and a second girl died in hospital. Ten other members of the Emanuel and Alexandra choirs were injured in the attack. Surviving choir members said from their hospital beds that a group of men "coming from nowhere" had fired shots from close range.

It was the second unprovoked shooting in Alexandra in a week, six people having been gunned down earlier. The response of

Alexandra residents has been to blame the Inkatha Freedom Party members of Madala men's hostel, the source of continual violence during the past 18 months. More than 10 000 people marched on the Alexandra government offices to call — not for the first time — for the hostel inmates to be thrown out.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu said in Cape Town that the number of deaths during the ANC's mass action campaign had been much lower than feared. But he said that those who had died were "not just statistics". "Even the death of one human being diminishes us all," he added.

Echoing, as he increasingly has in recent weeks, ANC positions, the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize winner said: "We urgently need a professional police force which is apolitical and neutral and which acts as a peacekeeping force and law enforcement agency."

It is movement in this direction that the ANC is demanding from the Government prior to resuming negotiations. Nelson Mandela, the ANC leader, spelt out once again that the ANC's demands fell into three categories: measures to curb political violence, clear moves towards an interim government, and an elected constituent assembly.

It appears that although the Government is eager not to be seen to be bowing to ANC demands, to a significant extent it will quietly do so.

Herman Cohen, the US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, held talks with both the Government and the ANC. Before returning home Mr Cohen said he was confident talks would resume soon. He said he understood the Government to be prepared to take clearly defined steps relating to the violence.

Senior Government sources, meanwhile, have been leaking to

the press suggestions that they plan to speed up the process towards an interim government. Bilateral talks with the ANC, they said, were on the cards. President F W de Klerk himself reinforced the sense that some positive movement was afoot when he told reporters that he expected a resumption of talks "soon".

Most significant of all, two Democratic Party MPs said after a meeting with Mr Mandela that he had told them he expected talks to resume after a "cooling-off period" of about 10 days.

The success of the ANC's mass-action campaign has strengthened the possibility of a return to the negotiating table. An important, if unstated, objective of the campaign was to narrow the gap that had opened up between the ANC leadership and their grassroots supporters during the six months of negotiations with the Government. — The Independent News Service. □

Women's rallies wind up ANC's week of protests

STAR 10/8/92

(11A) (3-5)

The ANC wound up its week of anti-Government protest with a series of women's rallies across South Africa yesterday.

While the ANC's showcase march on Wednesday to the Cabinet offices at the Union Building in Pretoria drew about 70 000 people, yesterday's marches, marking the 36th anniversary of an ANC-led march by about 20 000 women to the same spot, drew a few thousand each.

Winnie Mandela, estranged wife of ANC president Nelson Mandela, told reporters at a rally in Sebokeng that migrant workers' hostels had become "death factories".

Mrs Mandela lamented that women had been directly affected by the now-defunct apartheid laws blocking black migration within South Africa, the target of a 1956 march.

Hostels had been built to house men working on the mines while their families had to stay behind in rural areas.

"Our menfolk who live under

those conditions are the victims of apartheid. They have lived there as cattle.

"As a result they are used as cannon fodder by Gatsha and the Government," she said.

Mrs Mandela also bemoaned the lot of women who saw family life "disintegrating".

● South African women should not wait to be liberated, ANC executive member Barbara Masekela said at a picnic in central Johannesburg yesterday to commemorate Women's Day.

In Joubert Park — renamed Mandela Park by activists — Ms Masekela said black women suffered triple oppression — as blacks, workers and women.

A statement by the Workers' Organisation of SA, the Gay and Lesbian Organisation of the Witwatersrand, the Women's Forum, Outrage and Imbeleko called on women to fight high food prices, VAT on food and medicines, lack of housing and transport, and inadequate child care, education, and health. — Staff Reporter, Sapa.

Debilitating, dangerous stalemate

STAR 10/8/92

(11A) (15B)

THE African National Congress-led general strike and the temporary "occupation" of the Union Buildings by ANC supporters has reaffirmed an axiom of contemporary South Africa: there is an equilibrium of power between the De Klerk administration and the ANC alliance.

The two-day general strike and hoisting of the ANC flag in the terraced grounds of the Union Buildings — where President F W de Klerk, like Afrikaner presidents and prime ministers before him, has his office — has been a spectacular demonstration by the ANC of its position as the premier force in the black community.

But it has underlined another political reality: there is no hope of the ANC summoning millions of people into the streets to force the Government to relinquish power. The "Leipzig option" is not a viable proposition.

If the ANC cannot force Mr de Klerk from power, it can and does deny his administration political legitimacy and hence makes it impossible for the "regime" to govern South Africa effectively.

There is, in short, a debilitating and dangerous stalemate which can only be resolved at the negotiating table.

Fortunately, however, there are clear signs that the ANC and Government will soon resume negotiations and that a major move forward to a democratic South Africa may be imminent with the establishment of an interim government of national unity.

The ANC leader, Nelson Mandela, has adopted a conciliatory tone in the wake of the strike. While clearly pleased with the huge number of workers who stayed away — at least four million on two successive days by the ANC's reckoning — he has cautioned his followers not to gloat.

Mr Mandela, now more than ever a proud leader rather than a humble supplicant, says: "We are here to take South Africa along the road to peace and democracy." The ANC, to use his idiom, wants peace on its feet, not on its knees.

He exudes pride not arrogance. "I would like to heal wounds," he tells journalists.

Mr de Klerk has responded pos-

itively by stressing the urgent need for the resumption of negotiations. "I'm prepared to sit down tomorrow," he says.

On the question of an interim government of national unity, he notes that his administration agreed in principle to that a "long time ago", adding: "There is no fundamental difference in opinion between us. We must negotiate to get it."

The second major step identified by Mr Mandela on the road forward is the election of a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution for South Africa.

Mr de Klerk, responding to that, replies that his administration has no objection to a "properly-elected parliament" acting as a constitution-making body.

Having been driven apart by the Boipatong massacre of June 17 and the recriminations which it precipitated, the ANC and the De Klerk administration are again converging on the negotiating table.

With a little coaxing from the UN, which has sent observers to South Africa to monitor the general strike, they will soon be formal-

ly engaged in talks.

Two interrelated factors reinforce the urgent need for a negotiated settlement: the declining economy and the danger of succumbing to incremental anarchy.

South Africa simply cannot avoid a prolonged war of attrition between the ANC and the De Klerk administration. The toll is too heavy, in economic as well as human terms.

With corporate bankruptcies on the increase and a negative growth rate predicted for the third year in succession, the strike has contributed to South Africa's economic woes: R250 million in lost earnings, a significant drop in retail trade and in production and, of course, an international image of instability and strife.

The shooting of two journalists during the strike has re-emphasised the danger of incipient anarchy: the two, Philip van Niekerk and Paul Taylor, were shot in daylight in Sebokeng by bandits acting in brazen defiance of retribution from Mr de Klerk's security forces and Mr Mandela's "comrades" (who have been instructed to help journalists.)

Sebokeng falls within the Vaal Triangle, an area where, all too often, the writ of neither the Government nor the ANC extends beyond the barrel of a gun. It is an area where rival ANC forces are locked in a battle for supremacy.

The ANC leadership, having sanctioned the destruction of officially appointed black town councils in its bid to make the townships ungovernable by the "regime", is no longer in complete control of the situation itself.

Brigands, reportedly including former ANC guerillas who have abandoned ideology for extortion, are contesting control with Mr de Klerk's policemen and Mr Mandela's "comrades".

The former chief of staff of the ANC's underground army, Chris Hani, who is now the general secretary of the South African Communist Party, minces no words on the subject.

Referring to ANC "self-defence units", as Mr Mandela's gendarmerie is known, he says: "There has often been a glaring absence of political control and a clear line of command.

"Self-defence units have sometimes been hijacked by criminal

elements (and used) to organise all sorts of rackets."

Mr Hani, a senior member of the ANC's national executive, adds: "We have also seen an alarming revival of kangaroo courts and kangaroo justice and even the horrifying necklacing."

President de Klerk has similar problems. Leaving aside the conviction of a police officer in the Trust Feed massacre case and the strong evidence of a police cover-up, there is the testament of Dr Jonathan Gluckman.

Dr Gluckman, an eminent pathologist who has conducted post-mortems on 200 people who died in police custody, says: "The lower rungs of the police are totally out of control."

Detainees who died in custody were killed by the police, and policemen assuming the role of executioners portray a society descending into anarchy.

These developments — degeneration of guerillas into bandits and policemen playing executioner — emphasise the need for a government of national unity with the moral authority and the political legitimacy to check these perilous trends. □

JUDGING by what Simon Barber wrote ("Mandela helped to appoint the world as referee", Business Day, August 4) forecasting the intentions of the UN Security Council towards SA remains, still, one of the favourite sports of some would-be media Olympians.

Barber has jumped to the conclusion that "the international community ... has officially entered the game to fortify the liberal democratic centre while there in time for it to be saved". For this result, which he clearly desires, he pays a backhanded compliment to ANC president Nelson Mandela and damns those whom he believes are opposed to such an outcome.

Leaving aside any interpretations of its Resolution 765, what really did the Security Council decide?

It condemned the escalating violence and, in particular, the massacre at Boipatong. It strongly urged the authorities to take immediate measures to bring an effective end to the violence. It called upon all parties to co-operate in combating violence and implementing the national peace accord.

It invited the UN secretary-general to appoint a special representative to recommend measures which would assist in effectively ending the violence and removing obstacles towards the resumption of negotiations. It urged all parties to co-operate with the special representative in carrying out his mandate.

Contrary to what Barber writes, the council did not reply to Mandela's submission "by telling the ANC to get back to the (negotiating) table". This interpretation of Resolution 765 is nothing but an athletic leap of imagination by Barber.

What the Security Council did say about negotiations was that it was "concerned at the break in the negotiating process ...". It then went on to say that, with the special representative having carried out his mandate, it "underlines, in this regard, the importance of all parties co-operating in the resumption of the

ANC did not seek special treatment from the UN

BLDAY 10/8/92

THABO MBEKI



negotiating process as speedily as possible".

Mandela has "unleashed" no "foreign intervention" beyond what we sought when we requested a meeting of the Security Council.

Barber also says Mandela "had wanted the council to endorse the ANC alliance's stated reasons for leaving the negotiating table and to take its side on the questions of violence and the voting majorities needed to ratify a new constitution".

Once more, leaving aside any interpretations of what Mandela asked for when he addressed the Security Council, what, in fact, did he ask for?

He asked for the council to request the secretary-general to appoint a special representative to make recommendations on the issue of ending violence. He also drew attention to the fact that the issues of political prisoners and security legislation constituted additional obstacles to negotiations which the special representative should act upon. As anybody should have expected, he explained the positions of the ANC with regard to the Codesa deadlock as well as our views concerning the matter of violence.

But he explicitly said we had not requested the council to meet on the issue of Codesa, that this was not a subject of its agenda and therefore had not "wanted the council to

endorse the ANC alliance's stated reasons for leaving the negotiating table" as Barber, quite wrongly, claims. Equally unfounded is his assertion that we sought the council to "take (our) side on the questions of violence".

As Barber will undoubtedly know, the Security Council meeting on SA was formally requested by the Africa Group at the UN. This was on the basis of an OAU summit resolution, drawn up with the full participation of ANC delegates at the OAU meetings held in Dakar, Senegal, in June and July.

If he cares to examine that resolution, Barber will see that it also called for the convening of the Security Council and the appointment of a special representative. It contained no suggestion that the council should endorse the ANC's views on Codesa or the question of violence.

If Barber had wanted to make an educated guess at the council's intentions, he would have been well advised to read Resolution 765 more carefully. He would have seen that the council "recalls" some of its earlier decisions on SA as well as the 1989 General Assembly "consensus declaration on apartheid and its

destructive consequences in southern Africa".

There was a specific purpose to the process of recalling earlier UN decisions.

Resolution 392 of 1976 called upon the SA government urgently to end violence against the African people and to take urgent steps to eliminate apartheid and racial discrimination.

Resolution 554 of 1984 declared the SA constitution null and void and went on solemnly to declare that only the total eradication of apartheid and the establishment of a non-racial democratic society based on majority rule, through the full and free exercise of universal adult suffrage by all the people in a united and non-fragmented SA, could lead to a just and lasting solution of the explosive situation.

Resolution 765 reiterates earlier positions of the council "to help the people of SA in their legitimate struggle for a nonracial, democratic society".

Space does not allow us to relate the provisions and outlook contained in the UN consensus declaration. Suffice to say that these contain a detailed presentation of the views of the UN against apartheid and in support of the people of SA in their struggle for a nonracial democracy.

These various decisions demarcate the point of entry of the UN as

far as the political processes in our country are concerned.

Barber writes that "the outside world is now engaged as never before, consensually and with a common purpose, to achieve a particular outcome rather than placing any specific party in power".

It is pleasing that he has made this discovery, however belated. This is precisely the objective contained in the Security Council resolutions we have cited, and especially the consensus declaration which we, as representatives of the ANC, helped to pilot through the General Assembly in 1989. This is the script from which the major players are reading their parts, and not one which Barber might fondly imagine.

In keeping with the established positions of the UN, the major function of the foreign intervention "can and will only be to expedite the process of ending the system of apartheid" and creating a "democratic, nonracial and united SA", as resolution 765 says.

There is nothing in existing UN policies, nor in the pronouncements of the major powers, to suggest that the international community wishes to insert itself in a mediating position, as a referee who is equidistant between racial domination and democracy, between those who continue to man an apartheid government and those who have, for decades, fought for a democratic, nonracial and united SA.

Mandela knew what he was getting himself into. He asked the Security Council to do various things. Having heard him better than, it seems, Barber did, it has responded as Mandela, other SA leaders, the OAU and other UN member states requested. We are pleased and greatly encouraged by this response, starting with the speedy convening of the council to the expeditious dispatch of the UN observers.

What did happen at the Security Council and in Mandela's head are clearly matters that historians will be interested in. At this moment, all that is required to present an objective picture of both matters are good journalists.

the nation in brief

Talks are set to resume SQA 11A

THE Government and the ANC appeared to be poised to revive negotiations, it was reported at the weekend. *Sowetan 10/8/92*

Speaking at Sada in Ciskei on Saturday, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela revealed he had phoned President FW de Klerk on Friday night but did not disclose details of the conversation.

He said South Africa's fate depended on negotiations between the ANC and the Government and that both parties had contributed to a climate of peace. "Both among the blacks, as well as among whites, there are people who really desire peace and economic stability," he said.

Transkei govt warned 103

TRANSKEI could face food and fuel cut-offs within days if the Transkei government did not step in to restore law and order in the country, SABC radio news reported at the weekend.

In an apparent backlash against the continuing intimidation and lawlessness accompanying the ANC/SACP/Cosatu mass action campaign, the Umtata Chamber of Commerce met on Friday night in crisis talks with more than 200 of its members. Following the meeting, a memorandum of demands was sent to the government on Saturday. Unless the demands are met by next Wednesday, business action, including the closure of businesses and the boycotting of taxes to the government, would be considered.

Sowetan 10/8/92

Dike convoys arrive in Kenya

Week of protests

PAC to meet Government on interim rule

Sowetan 10/8/92

By Themba Molefe

11A
~~22/28~~
■ Tomorrow's meeting aims to prepare for a new constitution:

THE Pan Africanist Congress meets the Government tomorrow in Pretoria to prepare for talks on drawing up a new constitution and international monitoring of negotiations.

The PAC said yesterday the meeting would be a follow-up on talks it held with Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha in Abuja, Nigeria, in April.

PAC secretary for information and publicity Mr Barney Desai told *Sowetan* a future bilateral summit with the Government was envisaged and would be held at a "neutral venue in a neighbouring country under a neutral chairman".

Not a departure

He said the decision was not a departure from the PAC's stance of "no talks with the regime" but in line with their demand to engage the De Klerk administration in discussing a constituent assembly which should draw a new constitution.

The PAC delegation will be led by first deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke and will in-

clude secretary general Mr Benny Alexander and Desai.

The meeting comes amid heightened international activity and involvement in South Africa, which included two delegations of the United Nations in the past two weeks.

"It will be recalled that the PAC has consistently said Codesa would not deliver a genuine constituent assembly as the only legitimate path for the transformation of the minority racist regime into a truly democratic order.

"We will discuss the creation of an alternative forum for bilateral talks focused on the modalities for the calling of a constituent assembly and a transitional authority to oversee that elections are fair and free.

"Talks will also involve international monitoring of the negotiations and intervention in the unacceptable level of violence, said Desai.

The PAC said it predicted that Codesa would die and be discredited and called for the unity of liberation organisations.

Hopes that talks will resume

GOVERNMENT and ANC sources confirmed at the weekend that negotiations could resume in a restructured forum within weeks, long before October 12 when Parliament resumes for a short session. *Sowetan 10/8/92*

A series of meetings between the Government and the ANC has already taken place - at least two of which can be confirmed, and which dealt exclusively with the issue of political prisoners.

It is also understood that the PAC was planning a meeting with the Government within days, where the organisation is expected to insist on a restructured forum before starting negotiations.

Other meetings, and a telephone discussion between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk, have reportedly taken place in attempts to resuscitate the collapsed negotiation process. *(11A)*

PAC to meet govt to discuss new forum

THE PAC is poised to join the constitutional talks by meeting a government delegation in Johannesburg tonight to discuss a new negotiating forum.

PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke said his organisation had reason to believe government would meet its demand for an elected constituent assembly — the only item the PAC wanted on the agenda for the new forum.

However, a government source said an elected constitution-making assembly had been agreed to by President F W de Klerk on last night con-

B/DAY 11/8/92
PATRICK BULGER
and BILLY PADDOCK

He said government wanted the issue of violence and attacks against security force members on tonight's agenda.

The PAC last held talks with government in Abuja, Nigeria, in April. That meeting followed the PAC's suspension of participation in negotiations at last November's preparatory meeting for Codesa.

A diplomatic source, welcoming the PAC's willingness to rejoin talks, said it appeared that international involvement through the UN, and especially special envoy Cyrus Vance, had applied sufficient pressure on all the parties to get back to the negotiating table.

Moseneke said tonight's meeting would concentrate on a new negotiating forum.

He said the PAC would demand an alternative forum "to discuss the modalities pertaining to setting up a transitional authority to oversee the elections to the constituent assembly".

The PAC wanted to secure the continued

To Page 2

PAC *B/DAY 11/8/92*

involvement of the international community in the resolution of violence, as well as in mediation in the negotiating process. It wanted to arrange "a top level summit between the PAC and the regime in a neutral venue under a neutral chairman", said Moseneke.

He said a new negotiating forum would not be "prepacked with lackeys of the regime". A new structure had to be purged of government's defects.

Codesa was terminally ill, Moseneke said. "Our approach will be that the only legitimate body for creating a constitution will be an elected body, a constituent assembly," he said.

In a separate development yesterday Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said only a meeting between himself, De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela

(11A) From Page 1

would help to get negotiations back on track and address the violence.

Addressing Perskor's board of directors, Buthelezi also said Inkatha would not return to Codesa "as things stand now", says a Sapa report.

He accused the ANC of wanting total power, wanting to destroy relations between itself and Inkatha as well as other parties opposed to its ideologies.

This strategy, he said, would lead to the ANC and government engaging in bilateral negotiations to the exclusion of other political groupings.

He criticised De Klerk for practising appeasement politics towards the ANC in order to please the international community, "whatever the cost to us in SA may be".

● Picture: Page 3

UN call for inquiry gets wide backing

By Peter Fabricius and Helen Grange

STAR 11/8/92

The National Party and other major political players have backed the United Nations' call for a probe by the Goldstone Commission into the security forces, the KwaZulu Police and the ANC and PAC's military wings.

But it emerged yesterday that Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's call for a general amnesty to encourage members of these organisations to testify about unlawful conduct would be controversial.

Concern has been expressed that a pre-emptive amnesty would provide an escape route for those responsible for the killing of high-profile activists such as the Cradock UDF leader Matthew Goniwe.

The ANC and Democratic Party want full disclosure of the detail of any crimes by members of the security forces who may receive amnesty or indemnity.

Backing recommendations in a report by UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Judge Goldstone said in a weekend statement that unless the SA Police and SA Defence Force were fully investigated "they will have no prospect of receiving the trust ... of the South African public".

Yesterday National Party security spokesman Hennie Smit said the NP supported in princi-

ple Mr Boutros-Ghali's call for a probe.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC national working committee would study the proposals before reacting.

PAC foreign secretary Gora Ebrahim said yesterday that the PAC would react fully once it had read Mr Boutros-Ghali's report.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer welcomed Mr Justice Goldstone's call for a probe.

He said that a finding by a person of Judge Goldstone's "high authority" would convincingly settle the issue of alleged security force involvement in violence.

IFP spokesman Walter Felgate said that although the Goldstone Commission had no real grounds for probing the KwaZulu Police, the KwaZulu government would not refuse to co-operate.

In another statement yesterday, Judge Goldstone explained his weekend statement that a general amnesty would assist an inquiry into security forces and political armies.

He said amnesty for political prisoners would encourage members of all organisations to come forward and disclose any unlawful conduct in which they may have been involved.

Mr Justice Goldstone offered his assistance in working out the amnesty details.

The ANC and the Government have already held discussions on the issue of political prisoners, where the idea of a general amnesty has been raised.

Drop the 'zero sum' culture

STAR 11/8/92

~~CEPT~~

11A

IT WAS never going to be easy to democratise South Africa. To suppose that the entrenched institutions and culture of a pervasive system for racial domination could be pushed aside in a quick and easy negotiation forum was always naive.

Negotiations began in 1990 basically because the two major actors, the NP and ANC, had mutually come to recognise that South Africa was in a deadlock and that perpetuating the deadlock would exact horrendous costs.

The NP government was in no danger of being toppled, but its rule was ineffective and — above all — unjust. The ANC enjoyed the high moral ground internationally and massive support on the ground, but at no stage did it look like winning the conflict. It required two leaders of the sagacity of Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk to recognise these realities and begin the tortuous process of negotiating an alternative.

The logjam exists precisely because the original deadlock still exists. What we have seen since February 1990 are plays and ploys between two antagonists with roughly equal resources, the one loath to leave power and the other anxious to take power.

The hopes generated by Codesa last December and the encouraging progress made by some working groups until the denouncement of May were, it is now apparent, based upon a false optimism. The ringing terms of the Codesa Declaration of Intent concealed wide differences in the institutional expression of a democratic political system.

The agreement that covered crucially important attributes, such as a multiparty system, an independent judiciary and a justiciable Bill of Rights was a significant achievement. But Working Group 2 failed ultimately because of profoundly different views of what democracy means and entails in institutional terms.

Mr de Klerk has never wavered in his commitment to "power sharing" — and the arguments alleging his intractability are misplaced to the extent that he has never claimed to believe in anything else. Mr Mandela has eloquently proclaimed the ANC's commitment to "majority rule", which he is careful to distinguish from "black majority rule", which he opposes. He wants, he says, "an ordinary democracy".

Both visions as expressed in their proposals are flawed: the NP's because its plan for a constitutionally required coalition and its early scheme (now abandoned?) for a complex senate giving bizarrely inflated representation to losing parties had no hope of successful operation — and the ANC's because the kind of majoritarian democracy it proposes has nowhere succeeded in securing democracy in a deeply divided society.

The number of cases where democracy has survived in such cir-

cumstances is depressingly small: where it has survived the crucial instrument has been the broad-based coalition — not constitutionally required, but deriving ultimately from the wisdom of rival leaders whose rivalry was not so great as to preclude statesman-like forbearance.

Breaking the logjam depends on reaching an agreement to square this circle: finding a *via media* between these rival conceptions of a democratic order. Is this a purely chimerical quest? I believe not.

In a highly significant speech at the University of Zululand Nelson Mandela is quoted as saying the ANC wanted to ensure unity so that everyone would be able to enjoy power in a new government — including the National Party, Mr Mandela said. He explained that when the ANC came into power it intended "to bring other parties into government" so that it will be representative of all South Africans.

Herein lies the embryo of a

pact, a device widely used in other transforming political systems. It is not a constitutional mechanism, but, obviously, if it is to inspire mutual trust it will have to be buttressed by credible guarantees.

The parameters of a pact must be clearly understood: if it is used by a minority party continually to thwart the wishes of the majority party it will collapse, if the majority persists in steam-rolling the interests of minority parties it will likewise collapse.

"England does not love coalitions," observed Disraeli. Neither, it seems, do politicians raised in British-derived systems. We suffer from a "zero sum" political culture that is wholly inimical to the delicate politics required in a politically fraught society.

We will make no progress on the constitutional front if the violence is not brought under control. In the short term it is imperative that the sensible recommendations of the Goldstone Commission

be implemented, in the medium term all security agencies must be firmly brought under the control of an interim government of national unity, in the long term they must be restructured from top to bottom.

We have no hope of a successful transition unless the economy is turned around. Dr Chris Stals reminded us recently that in the '60s our growth rate averaged six percent, in the '70s it shrank to three, and in the '80s to one. The impoverishment and despair of millions of people is not a promising environment for a successful transition to democracy. (I might add that the economic Luddism of Jay Naidoo, General Holomisa and others is not helpful.)

There is a cynical saying that "men and nations act rationally when all other possibilities have been exhausted". Surely we can't be far off that moment? □

Professor Welsh teaches in UC's Department of Political Studies.

The estates of Kamfer and co-director house and bought "a few outfits" with the
Barrie Engelbrecht have since been money. She had not thought she was doing
placed in liquidation. wrong but was enjoying her "new-found
Harding said she had told Kamfer, a wealth".

Room for compromise, says Viljoen

THERE certainly is room for compromise by the ANC and government, and the chances of reaching an acceptable solution are very good, says State Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen.

BIDAM 1118/92

Formerly the "brain" behind government policy and negotiation strategy, Viljoen is now primarily responsible for evaluating policy, the generation of new ideas, and advising President F W de Klerk on negotiations.

In an interview with the RSA Policy Review, conducted before the two-day stayaway, Viljoen covers a

BILLY PADDOCK

broad field including:
 The suspension of negotiations by the ANC;

His perceived shift in the ANC's opinion about Codesa agreements; and

The chances of reaching an acceptable solution.

Viljoen said the reality that politics was about power clearly emerged from Codesa II. The deadlock was a "beneficial shock" because it made all negotiators more realistic, and led to greater "resourcefulness and willingness to think creatively".

During and after the

deadlock an impression was created by ANC spokesmen that the negotiations process was back to square one. However, later bilateral negotiations had given government the clear impression that points of concensus reached by the working groups would remain valid.

He said the ANC had fundamentally changed its viewpoint from agreeing that a constitution writing assembly would be bound by Codesa-negotiated basic constitutional principles, to saying Codesa decisions would not be binding.

He had no doubt that SA would see a Codesa III.

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STAR 11/8/92 (11A)

PAC and Govt to hold talks

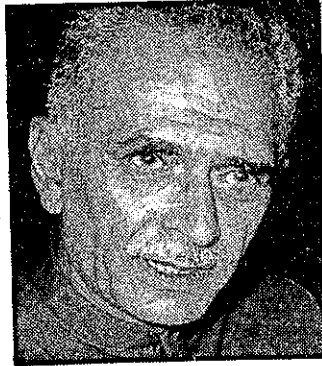
By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The PAC is to meet the Government tonight to discuss the possible entry of the organisation into negotiations for a new constitution.

Top PAC leaders and Cabinet ministers will hold a "preparatory" meeting at a Jan Smuts Airport hotel to try to arrange a "top-level summit" at a neutral venue under a neutral chairman, the PAC said yesterday.

The Government made it clear last night that apart from constitutional issues, it would also discuss violence and attacks on policemen — for which the PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, has acknowledged responsibility.

The PAC team will consist



Barney Desai . . . part of the PAC delegation.

of information secretary Barney Desai, foreign secretary Gora Ebrahim, national organiser M Nemadzivhanani, legal secretary Willy Seriti and local government secretary M Litheko.

PAC vice-president Dik-

gang Moseneke yesterday said the PAC had been encouraged to enter discussions with the Government by recent concessions to the PAC's negotiating position.

The PAC gave four items on tonight's agenda:

- Ensuring the Government agreed to convene a constituent assembly.
- Demanding an alternative forum (other than Codesa) to negotiate a "transitional authority" to oversee elections for a constituent assembly.
- Securing continued involvement of the international community in resolving violence and mediating the negotiating process.
- Arranging a top-level summit between the PAC and the Government at a "neutral venue under a neutral chairman".

PAC, Govt to meet for talks today

■ Decision to talk before gains
made by UN can be eroded:

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

FOUR issues will feature prominently when the
PAC meets with the Government today.

They are: *Sowfan 11/8/92*

- To ensure that the Government agrees to the election of a sovereign constituent assembly;
- The setting up of a transitional authority to oversee the elections to a constituent assembly;
- To secure "the continued involvement" of the international community in the resolution of violence and mediation in the negotiation process; and
- To arrange a top level summit with the Government at a neutral venue and under a neutral, impartial mediator.

The two parties meet for the second time since Abuja, Nigeria, earlier this year.

Talks mark ^{11A} milestone on ^{STAR 12/8/92} rocky road ~~11A~~

Yesterday, for the first time, the Government and the PAC met officially inside the country. Political Reporter KAIZER NYATSUMBA traces the path to the meeting

WHEN a six-man Pan Africanist Congress delegation and senior Government ministers sat down to talk at the Airport Sun hotel last night, a milestone was reached on a long and rocky path towards negotiations. The meeting effectively eased the PAC's entry into the negotiations process.

For although rumours have abounded that Pretoria and the Africanist organisation were holding secret talks — denied by the PAC leadership — yesterday's was the first official meeting between the two inside the country.

Not much of practical import can be expected from the talks, but it allowed the PAC to make a quiet entry into negotiations, largely on its own terms. More importantly, it established a precedent: from now on, the insistence that talks be held "at a neutral venue" does not necessarily mean outside the country.

In spite of its rhetoric, the PAC has knocked on the negotiations door before. Not only was it a co-convenor of the Patriotic Front (PF) conference in Durban last year — which called for an immediate meeting with the Government — but it also took part in the multi-party preparatory meeting which led to Codesa 1 on December 20-21.

The PF conference, observers pointed out then, offered the PAC a strategic way of jumping on to the negotiations bandwagon without losing face.

Announcing its decision to

pull out of talks, the PAC cited its reasons as the forum's rejection of some of the organisation's important proposals and alleged collusion between the Government and the ANC.

What the PAC leadership did not concede, however, was that it was facing considerable opposition and dissent within its ranks. The leadership had to consolidate support on the ground.

If it is taking time for some rank-and-file PAC members to accept the inevitability of negotiations, this reality had long dawned on the PAC leadership. Hence the resolution adopted at the organisation's second national congress in December 1990, declining the Government's invitation to talks while tactically leaving open the possibility of contact.

Wisely, the PAC set itself four goals for yesterday's meeting, all of which are now attainable. These are: ensuring that the Government agrees to a sovereign constituent assembly; the restructuring of the flawed Codesa as a negotiating forum; the continued involvement of the international community "in the resolution of violence and mediation in negotiations"; and to arrange a top-level summit with the Government "in a neutral venue under a neutral chairman".

If these can be achieved to the PAC's satisfaction, we might see the emergence of an important new player inside negotiations. □

Apla policy 'to attack white farms'

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — An Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) spokesman in Tanzania said yesterday it was possible attacks on farms in the Eastern Cape were carried out by Apla members as these were in line with the organisation's armed struggle policy. (11A)

Eastern Cape police implicated Apla, the PAC's armed wing, in attacks on Monday during which two farmhouses were shot at, petrol bombs thrown, and a barn destroyed by fire.

An Apla spokesman, Mr Johnny Najozi, said from Dar-es-Salaam he had not yet received a report on the attacks, but it was possible "the attacks were carried out in accordance with Apla policy".

CT 12/18/92
"We shall continue to launch the armed struggle against the minority white regime as long as a negotiated settlement has not been reached," he said.

Talks mark milestone on rocky road

11A

STAR 12/8/92



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If these can be achieved to the PAC's satisfaction, we might see the emergence of an important new player inside negotiations. □

more than 1 000 people having fled their homes in Murchison. People were still fleeing the township yesterday.

The Black Cats are alleged to be members of the Inkatha Youth Brigade branch at Wesselton.

Codesa bloc plans strategy

5/04/92 12/8/92

PATRICK BULGER

THE Codesa patriotic front — the ANC and the eight organisations supporting its positions at Codesa — meets next week to prepare a common strategy ahead of an expected resumption of negotiations.

Front spokesman Ismail Ibrahim Ismail said yesterday the summit would "discuss the whole process of negotiations".

The front consists of the ANC, the SACP, the Labour Party, Natal/Transvaal Indian Congress, Inyandza, Transkei, Venda, Lebowa and KwaNdebele.

Ismail said a return to negotiations depended on government's response to the ANC's demands on violence, a constituent assembly and an interim government.

"To get negotiations back on track there may be some room for flexibility. If we are sure that the government is making genuine attempts to put an end to violence and to control the security forces; if the government is moving in that direction and if progress is made, we will go back to negotiations," he said.

He said that while there was a feeling among front members that Codesa needed to be reconstructed to make for more efficient decision-making, front members such as the Transkei government should be

present at negotiations. (11A)

He said his personal view was that while smaller parties should be represented at future negotiations, they should not be able to veto decisions and "should not use their positions to stifle any agreement". The new form of negotiations would be discussed at next week's meeting and an elected constituent assembly would remain central to the front's demands.

"What is not negotiable is the question of an elected constituent assembly. The government must accept that it will follow democratic procedure by arriving at a constitution by a two-thirds majority," he said. Other non-negotiables included interim government-control of the security forces, implementation of Codesa's agreements on the SABC and the levelling of the playing field in terms of preparations for an election.

On relations with the PAC, which formed a patriotic front with the ANC and other organisations about a year ago, Ismail said the OAU had been informed that the PAC's route back into the front would have to be through the Codesa front.

PAC, Govt meeting gets under way

STAR 12/8/92

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The historic meeting between the PAC and the Government got under way at a hotel near Jan Smuts Airport last night.

The meeting — the first between the PAC and the Government in South Africa — is a sequel to one held by the PAC leadership with Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha in Abuja, Nigeria, in April.

It is widely expected the meeting will pave the way for the PAC's entry to negotiations.

A top PAC aide speculated that "practically nothing" concrete was achieved at last night's initial meeting on South African soil.

The PAC aide, who told The Star the PAC delegation was dominated by "lefties" and had only two moderates — publicity and information secretary Barney Desai and legal and constitutional affairs secretary Willie Seriti — said there were two separate agendas at the meeting.

The PAC, he said, would insist on having a high-level summit between the Government

and itself to be held in Harare and chaired by Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, and the election of a constituent assembly to draw up the country's new constitution.

The Government, on the other hand, would use the meeting to talk about its concerns about attacks on police launched by the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

The PAC's political leadership has consistently refused to comment on, or condemn,

Apla's activities, routinely referring questions to Apla's headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

The PAC delegation — led by Mr Desai — included political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke, local government affairs secretary Molefe Diliteko, national organiser Maxwell Nemaadvhiani and international affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer led the Government delegation.

● Talks mark milestone on rocky road — Page 13

NEWS First step towards breaking deadlock ● Bhamjee lawyer slams 'piecemeal' trial

Mandela to meet FW and Buthelezi

Sowetan 12/8/92

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

(11A) (SOWETAN) (12/8)

■ Summit of the National Peace Committee:

ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela is due to meet State President Mr FW de Klerk and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi within four weeks.

The meeting will take place as part of a summit of the National Peace Committee (NPC) of the National Peace Accord.

The meeting is regarded as the first step towards breaking the present deadlock in negotiations.

Speaking at the start of a plenary session of the NPC in Sandton north of Johannesburg yesterday, NPC chairman

Mr John Hall said: "We expect to have that meeting within the next four weeks."

Hall said the purpose of the proposed summit was to review the National Peace Accord and to see "how effective it has been and how we may in fact make that Peace Accord more effective".

At present the only obstacle to such a meeting taking place was a complaint by the IFP over a remark allegedly made by the ANC president.

The NPC's executive met before yesterday's plenary session.

NEWS Boipatong tapes erased ● Govt, PAC in high-level talks**PAC meets the Government**

Sowetan 12/8/92

■ Both sides cautious as 'exploratory' talks start: (11A)

THE Pan Africanist Congress met a high-powered Government delegation for exploratory talks at a Johannesburg hotel late last night.

The meeting started shortly after 9pm and was expected to stretch into the early hours of this morning. Both delegations made heavily-guarded statements at the start of the meeting.

The PAC secretary for information Mr Barney Desai did not want to speculate on the outcome but said it would take at least an hour for the two groups to settle and get to know each other.

Desai said: "We have come here primarily to get a commitment from the regime for a democratically elected constituent assembly and set up a high-level summit between the PAC and the Government."

The Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer was similarly cautious and said the talks "were of an exploratory nature."

Mr Willie Seriti, Mr Gora Ebrahim, Desai, Mr Maxwell Nmadzivhanani, Mr Jackie Seroke and Mr Molefe Ditheko represented the PAC.

The government was represented by Meyer, Mr Dawie de Villiers, Mr Leon Wessels, Mr Sam deBeer, Mr Tertius Delpont, Mr Fanie van der Merwe and Mr Mauritz Spaarwater.



Mr Willie Seriti of the PAC shakes hands with Mr Tertius Delpont chief negotiator of the National Party at last night's exploratory talks.

Pic: LEN KUMALO

focus on the ANC

DIVISIONS ARE surfacing within formerly loyal ANC structures.

In his response to the ANC's memorandum in June listing 14 demands before negotiations could resume, State President FW de Klerk made a point he and some members of his Government have made frequently.

The ANC, he said, was allowing itself to be dictated to by its alliance partners, the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

In a letter to ANC president Nelson Mandela, De Klerk let slip that the Government was obtaining secret information from the top echelons of the ANC and said "hardline communists" were largely responsible for the organisation's withdrawal from the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) in the wake of the June 17 Boipatong massacre.

De Klerk said the decision to suspend negotiations had been taken despite opposition within the ANC National Executive Committee (NEC).

This point, made many times in the past in the Government's attempt to drive a wedge between the ANC and its allies - especially the SACP - got lost in the political wrangling and point-scoring which ensued and the Press accorded it no special attention.

Personal view

But were De Klerk's allegations as far-fetched as they sounded then? Subsequent developments suggest otherwise.

To start with, the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity (DIP) took the unprecedented step of issuing a statement to the Press saying no ANC member - including NEC and National Working Committee heavyweights - was authorised to comment on behalf of the organisation on De Klerk's letter. Unless official comment came from the DIP itself, anything else was to be taken as a personal view from whoever would have made it.

This raised one important question: If there had been consensus on the decision to suspend negotiations and withdraw from Codesa, why the injunction against otherwise respected members of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance leadership commenting publicly on De Klerk's response?

Show of unity

Was the public show of unity, perhaps, nothing more than a facade?

Considering the DIP's handling of the matter, observers can be forgiven for concluding that cracks were beginning to emerge in ANC ranks and that the alliance, at whose head sits the ANC, was beginning to operate more like a three-headed snake.

Even if one were to make allowance for the

Recent events suggest that cracks are emerging in ANC ranks. The ANC-led alliance is now operating like a three-headed snake, according to **Kaizer Nyatumba**

Sowetan 13/8/92 (11A)



FW de Klerk ... getting secret information from top ANC officials?

fact that the ANC leadership, like that of any other organisation, will sometimes differ on matters of strategy and policy - a healthy development, indeed - recent events support the observation that all is not well in the alliance and structures formally subordinate and loyal to it.

These differences became somewhat magnified for all to see in the build-up to last week's two-day stayaway.

Perhaps the most salient example of the tail beginning to furiously wag the dog is provided by the ANC-aligned South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) which recently publicly differed with the ANC on the contentious issue of the proposed boycott of bond repayments.

Considerable stature

Sanco, whose president Moses Mayekiso is a luminary figure in both the ANC and the SACP, as well as a trade unionist of considerable stature - he is general secretary of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) - has called for a boycott of bond repayments. The idea, as explained by Mayekiso, is to get banks to put pressure on the Government "to accede to democratic demands and stop violence".

At a Press conference in Johannesburg after his return from Barcelona, Mandela publicly took issue with the proposed bond repayment boycott, saying it was ill-advised and would lead to financial institutions refusing to extend home loans to blacks.

Civic organisations, Mandela said, were not in a position to call for a bond boycott without the ANC.

To which Mayekiso swiftly responded: "The

civics don't take orders from anybody. The policy of the civics is independent and accountable to its membership."

(Ironically, as a Johannesburg daily recently revealed, Mayekiso's rent for his Hillbrow flat has been paid for him by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions since his release from prison in 1988.)

Also in the week before the stayaway, the South African Students Congress (Sasco) publicly differed with the ANC's Education Desk on students' role in mass action, saying it reserved the right to determine its own programme.

While the ANC wanted students to be exempt from the stayaway, Sasco called for a shut-down of all tertiary institutions on Monday and Tuesday, saying students were "primarily members of society before they are students".

The ANC later backed down and said after "extensive consultations" with students' and teachers' organisations it accepted their decision to take part in the stayaway.

Mass action

What later followed, about which the ANC could do little, was that some schools went without any effective learning at all last week, as both Sasco and the South African Democratic Teachers Union branches in some parts of the country extended their "holiday" during the week of mass action.

Lastly, in a briefing with black journalists and editors two weeks ago, Mandela differed with Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo saying he was opposed to the occupation of factories as then proposed by the Cosatu leader.

Mandela said he would prefer the occupation of government buildings instead.

And so while the ANC presents the picture of a monolithic alliance pulling harmoniously in one direction, it is becoming increasingly obvious that various components of the organisation - including student and civic organisations and, at times even the ANC Youth League - are beginning to assert their independence.

It seems reasonable to conclude, then, that while allegations of divisions within the ANC and its allies might be greatly exaggerated by the Government in its propaganda warfare, they are not entirely without foundation.

As the political tug-of-war intensifies, more cracks in the ANC-alliance are likely to surface with more and more formerly aligned structures asserting their independence on some issues - and even seeking to influence ANC policy.

PAC still aiming for real McCoy

Sowetan & Radio Metro

Talkback



with Tim Modise

"REAL negotiations" between the PAC and the Government would have to take place at a neutral venue, an executive member of the organisation said last night.

Mr Mark Shinnars, a guest on the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show, said the constituent assembly was equated with the future of the country.

"Our meeting with Government is a preparatory one. We are discussing the agenda and modalities. We also need to go to a neutral venue for a real meeting.

"But we are aiming towards the implementation of a constituent assembly. The leadership must engage the regime to draw up a new constitution," he said.

"It's a bit unfair for the Government to think they can be referee and player at the same time. How

can we trust them to be judges. I agree with Mr Shinnars that we need a neutral chairman."

JR, Soweto.

"I think it's a good idea for the PAC to return to Patriotic front."
Soli Mapatiane, Johannesburg.

"The PAC's executive and national committees are making preparations to meet with the other organisations and revive the Patriotic Front."

Mark Shinnars.

"The ANC and the PAC's principles are almost the same, although they differ here and there. For his reason, I was concerned when the PAC rejected the ANC's call for mass action."

George Matsimbi, Moutse

"Our rejection of the mass action was a matter of principle. Part of the reasons for mass action was to revive Codesa. Since we have never supported Codesa, we could not support an action to mend it."

Mark Shinnars.

"There should not be animosity

among parties in the negotiations, those joining and the ones still to join in. Secondly, we cannot separate politics from the word of God. Zaccharias acknowledged he had robbed people of their money and made a promise to pay the people double of what he took. The Government must also repay the people doublefold."

Kenneth Jacobs, Cape Town.

11A

Sowetan 13/8/92

PAC now set to negotiate

STAR 13/8/92

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

11A

"transitional authority", which was inextricably linked to the setting up of a constituent assembly.

The Pan Africanist Congress is set to join negotiations following the success of Tuesday night's exploratory talks with the Government. A follow-up meeting between the two parties is scheduled for Pretoria next week.

Both Mr Meyer and Mr Ebrahim — who agreed it was important to build trust — said the meeting was exploratory in nature, and was meant to allow the two parties to put their positions and concerns to each other.

Tuesday's talks at the Airport Sun hotel, which lasted for three hours, were described by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer as fruitful and constructive.

Because of time constraints, the Government and the PAC had not tried to resolve their differences, and some of the issues which remained to be discussed would be tackled at the follow-up meeting in Pretoria on Tuesday.

Addressing a press briefing at the end of the meeting, at midnight, Mr Meyer — who led the Government delegation — said considerable progress had been made at the talks, which he hoped would lead to the PAC's involvement in negotiations.

Mr Meyer told the press briefing that common ground was found on most of the issues discussed.

Asked to comment on Mr Meyer's statement, PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim said his organisation had never been opposed to negotiations, but had wanted them conducted within a democratic forum which would write the country's constitution.

The two men said the issue of violence had been discussed, and Mr Meyer said his delegation had expressed its concern about attacks on policemen allegedly carried out by the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

It was now waiting for the PAC's response.

Such a forum, he said, was an elected constituent assembly which would bring about "a nonracial South Africa for which we all strive".

The PAC's political leadership has consistently refused to comment on, or condemn, Apla's activities, and has routinely referred questions to Apla's headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

However, the PAC stood firm in demanding that negotiations be chaired by a neutral convener.

Mr Ebrahim said the PAC, which was concerned about the violence and was committed to ending "the senseless carnage", considered it "extremely important" for it to put across its views on violence and to help end it.

Mr Ebrahim said the PAC also raised the question of a

STAR 13/8/92

Police reject claim of IFP attack

Police in Heidelberg yesterday denounced as a "deliberate lie" a claim by the ANC PWV region that several people had been attacked by Inkatha Freedom Party marchers in Ratanda township.

the local hostel after the march, soon after which the occupants randomly attacked residents, said the ANC.

The ANC said several people were reportedly attacked in the township after yesterday morning's IFP march to the local police station.

Colonel FJ le Grange of the Heidelberg police said police had monitored the march for the entire morning and there were no reports of any incidents.

Fifteen minibuses carrying about 200 armed IFP supporters were seen arriving at

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said his organisation stood by the statement: — Staff Reporter.

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Focus moves to world stage

SA set for tense week of conflict

BIDAY 13/7/92



SA FACES a week of bitter political and social conflict with relations between government and the ANC and its union allies at their lowest since the start of negotiations last year.

The antagonism between the camps will be played out on the world stage at two international forums.

The ANC and PAC will again blame government for the unrest at a London meeting tomorrow, sponsored by the UN special committee on apartheid and arranged by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement. On Wednesday the ANC, government and other Codesa participants will put their views on the violence and the constitutional impasse to a special meeting of the UN Security Council.

At home, government fears political tensions will be raised by a Cosatu march on the Union Buildings in Pretoria today.

On the strike front, the TPA has refused to bow to threats by the National Health and Allied Workers' Union (Nehawu) to occupy offices and barricade hospitals if dismissed workers are not reinstated.

Sapa reports that Nehawu general secretary Philip Dexter threatened on Saturday that the union would occupy Transvaal and Free State provincial buildings to demand the reinstatement of 7,000 strikers.

Dexter said the administrations' managers would be chased out of their buildings if the union's demands were not met.

In another development reflecting hardening union attitudes, Post Office and Telecommunications Workers' Association president Kgabisi Mosunkutu at the week-

WILSON ZWANE
and RAY HARTLEY

end threatened that Telkom workers would disrupt telecommunications in white areas.

Mosunkutu said the struggle would be brought to white areas unless government conducted a full investigation into the death in a car accident last week of senior ANC PWV official Floyd Mashele.

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba was reported yesterday as saying mass action was intended to take townships back to the era of "ungovernability" which characterised the mid-1980s.

He said the league would march on the homes of policemen "who killed our people during riots. We are going to return to the 1985 period with the establishment of street committees and people's courts."

Another ANC Youth League official was reported to have said comrades in Sebokeng in the Vaal Triangle had defence units which provided residents with arms.

Police spokesman Col Frans Malherbe said police would deal "severely" with people who attacked them.

Employers and trade union leaders will meet next Monday to finalise proposals aimed at resolving the impasse in constitutional negotiations. Representatives from the employer body Saccola and Cosatu agreed on Tuesday to a draft set of proposals on joint action to achieve democracy.

On Friday, Cosatu's central executive committee reportedly decided on a seven-day national strike starting on August 3.

● Comment: Page 6

NEWS IN BRIEF

ANC probe completed

A COMMISSION of inquiry appointed by the ANC to probe allegations of atrocities in its former camps in Tanzania and Uganda has finished hearing evidence.

The commission will present its report and recommendations to ANC president Nelson Mandela within the next few weeks.

Durban-based advocate R S Douglas, appointed by the International Freedom Foundation to probe the camps, said yesterday he would begin hearing evidence in Johannesburg later this month.

BIDAY 13/8/92

Hard-line ANC tail beginning to wag the dog

IN HIS response to the ANC's memorandum in June listing 14 demands before negotiations could resume, President de Klerk made a point he and some members of his Government have made frequently. The ANC, he said, was allowing itself to be dictated to by its alliance partners, the South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu).

In a letter to ANC president Nelson Mandela, Mr de Klerk let slip that the Government was obtaining secret information from the top echelons of the ANC, and said "hardline communists" were largely responsible for the organisation's withdrawal from the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa) in the wake of the June 17 Boipatong massacre.

Mr de Klerk said the decision to suspend negotiations had been taken despite opposition within the ANC national executive committee (NEC).

This point, made many times in the past in the Government's attempt to drive a wedge between

the ANC and its allies — especially the SACP — got lost in the political wrangling and point-scoring which ensued, and the press accorded it no special attention.

But were Mr de Klerk's allegations as far-fetched as they sounded then? Subsequent developments suggest otherwise.

To start with, the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity (DIP) took the unprecedented step of issuing a statement to the press saying no ANC member — including NEC and National Working Committee heavyweights — was authorised to comment on behalf of the organisation on Mr de Klerk's letter. Unless official comment came from the DIP itself, anything else was to be taken as a personal view from whoever would have made it.

If there had been consensus on the decision to suspend negotiations and withdraw from Codesa, why the injunction against otherwise respected members of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance leadership commenting publicly on Mr de Klerk's response? Was the public show of unity, perhaps, nothing

more than a facade?

Considering the DIP's handling of the matter, observers can be forgiven for concluding that cracks were beginning to emerge in ANC ranks and that the alliance was beginning to operate more like a three-headed snake.

Even if one were to make allowance for the fact that the ANC leadership, like that of any other organisation, will sometimes differ on matters of strategy and policy — a healthy development, indeed — recent events support the observation that all is not well in the alliance and structures formally subordinate and loyal to it.

These differences became somewhat magnified for all to see in the build-up to last week's two-day stayaway.

Perhaps the most salient example of the tail beginning to wag the dog was provided by the ANC-aligned South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco), which recently publicly differed with the ANC on a proposed boycott of bond repayments.

Sanco, whose president Moses Mayekiso is a luminary figure in

both the ANC and the SACP, as well as a trade unionist of considerable stature, called for the boycott. The idea, he explained, was to get banks to put pressure on the Government "to accede to democratic demands and stop violence".

At a press conference in Johannesburg after his return from Barcelona, Mr Mandela took issue with the proposed bond repayment boycott, saying it was ill-advised and would lead to financial institutions refusing to extend home loans to blacks. Civic organisations, Mr Mandela said, were not in a position to call for a bond boycott without the ANC.

To which Mr Mayekiso swiftly responded: "The civics don't take orders from anybody. The policy of the civics is independent and accountable to its membership."

(Ironically, as a Johannesburg daily recently revealed, Mr Mayekiso's rent for his Hillbrow flat has been paid for him by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions since his release from prison in 1988.)

Also in the week before the

stayaway, the South African Students' Congress (Sasco) publicly differed with the ANC's education desk on students' role in mass action, saying it reserved the right to determine its own programme.

While the ANC wanted students to be exempt from the stayaway, Sasco called for a shut-down of all tertiary institutions on Monday and Tuesday, saying students were "primarily members of society before they are students".

The ANC later backed down, and said after "extensive consultations" with students' and teachers' organisations it accepted their decision to participate in the stayaway.

Lastly, in a briefing with black journalists and editors two weeks ago, Mr Mandela differed with Cosatu secretary-general Jay Naidoo, saying he was opposed to the occupation of factories as then proposed by the Cosatu leader. Mr Mandela said he would prefer the occupation of Government buildings instead.

So while the ANC presents the picture of a monolithic alliance pulling harmoniously in one direc-

tion, it is becoming increasingly obvious that various components of the organisation — including students' and civic organisations and, at times, even the ANC Youth League — are beginning to assert their independence.

It seems reasonable to conclude, then, that while allegations of divisions within the ANC and its allies might be greatly exaggerated by the Government in its propaganda warfare, they are not entirely without foundation.

As the frantic pulling in the political tug-of-war intensifies, more cracks in the ANC-alliance are likely to surface, with more and more formerly aligned structures asserting their independence on some issues, and even seeking to influence ANC policy. □

STAR 13/8/92

(11A)

ANC opposes 'troika' concept

Political Staff (11A)

The ANC has condemned alleged attempts to portray the planned September gathering of leaders under the National Peace Accord as a meeting of a Government-ANC-Inkatha Freedom Party "troika".

It stressed in a statement yesterday that its president, Nelson Mandela, President F W de Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi would meet merely as signatories of the peace accord — among many other signatories.

STAR 13/8/1992
Reports suggesting the three leaders were to meet "exclusively" were "mischievous and unhelpful" and were calculated to revive "the discredited concept of a troika form of leadership in the affairs of South Africa".

"The ANC has repeatedly expressed its opposition to the concept of a troika, and will not be inveigled into any situation that seeks to legitimate it," said the statement.

The organisation's statement follows press reports yesterday that the three leaders would meet "face to face within the next four weeks" at

a National Peace Committee (NPC) summit to review the National Peace Accord (NPA) signed in September last year.

NPC chairman John Hall confirmed the summit was expected to be held soon.

The ANC said the NPC had agreed to convene a meeting of all the signatories of the NPA in which parties would "hopefully revitalise the accord", and that the decision had been taken despite attempts by the Government and the IFP "to reduce the NPA to a meeting of the troika of leaders".

**ANC nod
STAR
to camps
.13/8/92
inquiry**

Own Correspondent

UMTATA — The ANC has given the Goldstone Commission and the South African Council of Churches permission to investigate its camps outside South Africa.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela disclosed this on Tuesday night while speaking in Umtata.

He said the ANC had undertaken to approach the governments of countries where ANC camps are based so that the commission could investigate them.

He welcomed a call by Mr Justice Goldstone for a thorough probe of the South African Police, SA Defence Force and liberation movements' military wings.

The National Party and Democratic Party have already welcomed the call for a probe.

In an apparent attempt to reassure the businessmen who filled the hall, Mr Mandela promised that the establishment of an interim government would end mass action.

News

in brief

Youths hold crucial meeting

AN historic youth conference, which will attempt to find solutions to problems faced by young people, is to be held in Kempton Park this month. (IA)

The conference is convened by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa.

It will be held between August 28 and August 30 at the World Trade Centre. *Sowetan 13/8/92*

Organisations expected to take part include the ANC Youth League, National Party Youth Action, Inkatha Freedom Party Youth Brigade, Democratic Party Youth, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging Youth and the Azanian Youth Unity.

THE PAC has been edging towards negotiations with government for some years, and the Codesa breakdown offers the movement a chance to enter negotiations without alienating its supporters, a new research paper says.

The Centre for Policy Studies paper by researcher Johannes Rantete was released as top-level government and PAC delegations met on Tuesday to pave the way for the PAC's entry into talks expected to resume soon. The meeting was the first official high-level contact between government and the PAC inside SA since the PAC broke away from the ANC in 1959.

Rantete's paper, *Liberation and Negotiation: The PAC in the SA Transition*, examines the PAC's shift towards negotiations. This shift has taken place in the context of a radicalised movement demanding an indigenous socialism as pragmatic elements of its leadership became fearful of political marginalisation.

"The PAC appears to have been

A lack of options gets the PAC talking

B/DAY 14/8/92.

PATRICK BULGER

positioning itself to enter negotiations in late 1991, but was almost certainly prevented from doing so by its constituency. It appears that its leadership is still interested in this option. The key is whether it is not likely to face the same opposition from within its own ranks.

"Ironically, the Codesa breakdown ... presents the PAC with the possibility of re-entering the talks on a basis which might be approved by its constituency. The breakdown might end not with other 'liberation' movements accepting the PAC's alternative to Codesa-type negotiation, but with the PAC agreeing, with reservation, to accept the version which it has repeatedly rejected."

Rantete traces the PAC's earlier rejection of negotiations from what he describes as "outright rejection to conditional acceptance The PAC's willingness to negotiate on

any terms is little more than two years old."

PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim, he notes, in February 1988 said the PAC intended intensifying the armed struggle in SA and that there were no grounds for negotiations.

In August 1989 the PAC rejected the pro-negotiations Harare Declaration adopted by the ANC and OAU. But a March 1990 PAC consultative conference decided negotiations could take place if government committed itself to majority rule and land redistribution. It endorsed a constituent assembly which it saw for the first time as a step towards

gaining power.

A growing realisation within the PAC leadership that opportunities for negotiation were being wasted, grew into support for negotiations with conditions attached. In particular, the PAC attempted to portray negotiations as a version of old-style decolonisation of the sort that had taken place in other African states.

It put forward this style of negotiation at the formation with the ANC of the patriotic front in October 1991, where the PAC described negotiations as a "pre-constituent assembly meeting". The PAC prepared to enter talks in a common front with the ANC to demand a constituent assembly and interim government.

However, at the December 1991 Codesa preparatory meeting, the PAC suspended its involvement and until recently has been sharply critical of Codesa and basking in the

vindication by its failure thus far.

While its reading of political developments may prove the validity of its approach, the PAC is unable to match this political acumen with political strength. Nor does it have the strength to derail negotiations.

"Its lack of options as it remains outside the process may explain why its leaders still appear to be positioning the movement to enter the negotiation process," Rantete says.

"The PAC may face an insoluble dilemma: whether it joins negotiations or stays out. Despite the fact that it represents an important strand in 'liberation' thinking, its influence on the negotiation process and the system which emerges from it will be limited.

"This may be partly explained by the PAC's organisational limitations. But the real explanation may lie in the fact that its vision of the transition to a new order as a decolonisation process is simply not achievable in SA, by negotiation or by any other means."

11A

Freedom groups must speak with one voice

TO THE DELIGHT of many and to the chagrin of others, the PAC this week tentatively entered into talks with the Government.

PAC leaders have been on television and radio and in the newspapers this week explaining why they are now talking and what they want from the talks.

They are saying exactly the same things that the ANC and its allies are now saying.

They argue that the Convention for a Democratic South Africa is dead and a new negotiating forum needs to be created.

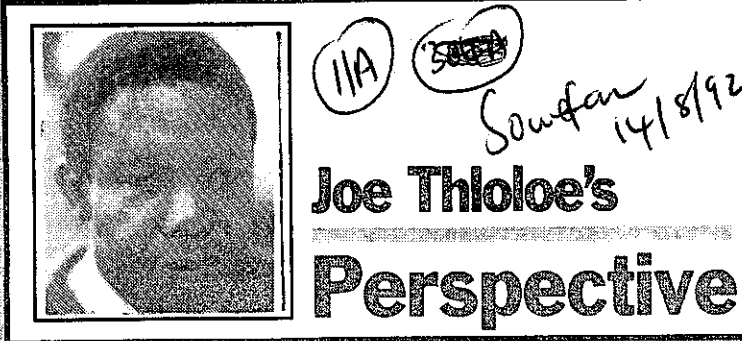
Rubbing its hands

They see a Constituent Assembly, elected on the basis of one-person one-vote and unfettered by prior agreements as the only body that should draw up a new constitution for the country.

All this is language we have been hearing from the ANC since the collapse of Codesa 2.

As the language of the ANC hardened, the PAC was rubbing its hands with glee. In rather muted tones, it was saying: "We told you so. We told you that Codesa was incapable of delivering democracy."

ANC leaders, on the other hand, were saying: "Correct, you did warn against Codesa. But what alternative was there? What have you been doing while we worked for democracy and



peace in Codesa?"

It was the traditional slanging match between the ANC and the PAC.

Sadly, some of us remembered Durban last October - is it really less than a year ago?

The disenfranchised in this country were thrilled when the Patriotic/United Front was created.

For once the liberation movements spoke with one voice. They were going to enter negotiations with a common set of demands.

Important issues

Our joy was premature.

The language used in the statements after the Durban meeting should have warned us that the delegates had glossed over important issues.

Take the very name of the front. Some delegates insisted that it was a patriotic front; others said it was a mere united front because some

among them could not be described as patriots because they had been collaborating with the oppressors against the liberation movements.

It was all handled politely: nobody should be offended. After all, there were members of the tricameral Parliament present as well as homeland leaders.

So both names were used: it was the Patriotic/United Front.

We had phrases like interim government/transitional arrangements... if you have the time you can go back to the documents released then.

We felt warm inside after that "historic" meeting. We did not have the time and the sense to question our leaders closely. They had work to do, confronting FW de Klerk's Government and turning this country into a democracy.

All that was clear at the time was that they were going to ask De Klerk for an

Solving problems rather than glossing over them? Or point scoring with no regard for the feelings of the masses who are hungry and cold?

election for a Constituent Assembly. You all know the sad twist to this tale: even before they confronted the National Party, the front had collapsed. The PAC was crying foul, alleging that the ANC had been talking to the Government behind its back. The ANC denied it. The PAC walked out of the meeting to prepare for the talks with the Government, declaring that Codesa was incapable of transforming this country into a democracy.

election for a Constituent Assembly.

You all know the sad twist to this tale: even before they confronted the National Party, the front had collapsed. The PAC was crying foul, alleging that the ANC had been talking to the Government behind its back. The ANC denied it. The PAC walked out of the meeting to prepare for the talks with the Government, declaring that Codesa was incapable of transforming this country into a democracy.

Truth is that we were not able or we did not want to talk frankly between ourselves.

The same disease ate into the deliberations between the ANC and the Government at Codesa.

Agreements were reached. Progress was always reported. But the agreements meant different things to each party. Clear definitions were avoided.

Today Mandela shouts from below De Klerk's window at the Union Build-

ings. The PAC's Gora Ebrahim meets the National Party's Roelf Meyer at hotels in Johannesburg. And the disenfranchised remain confused.

Only one thing will clear our vision: the liberation movements must talk between themselves and speak with one voice before they confront De Klerk.

I've been told that the Patriotic Front within Codesa is meeting next week in KwaNdebele. Perhaps first on their agenda should be a return to the Patriotic Front that brought such a warm feeling among all of us last October?

An indicator

How they handle talks between liberation movements will be an indicator of how they will handle future talks with De Klerk.

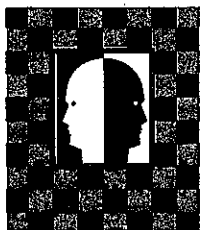
Frank and open? Solving problems rather than glossing over them? Or point scoring with no regard for the feelings of the masses who are hungry and cold?

The events of the last few months have shown that De Klerk is not going to give in to demands simply because they are placed on his desk. He is not going to give in to the demand for a Constituent Assembly simply because he is now engaged in bilateral talks with the PAC.

Our liberation movements need to work together to turn this country into a true democracy.

Finding the centre

Agreements on federalism and security would guide the way to shared rule



"Interim government now!" has been one of the slogans of the ANC and its allies. It is possible to sympathise with their impatience, if not with their methods and motives. We need an interim government,

transitional authority — call it what you will as long as it involves joint responsibility — soon.

The country is on hold. Government has itself acknowledged — by entering negotiations — that it is not legitimate, in the sense of representing all the people. There is also a disturbing lack of ministerial talent to support President FW de Klerk. The administration as a whole is increasingly infected with lame-duck disease.

Even in areas where funds have already been allocated there is paralysis. Money for housing and education is not being spent, pending a political settlement. Investors, both local and foreign, are waiting to see what happens. Businessmen feel unconfident, jumpy and unable to plan.

Both the Nats and the ANC say they want fast progress towards a settlement. So why has the first step — an interim government — proved so elusive? It is because the Nats want to avoid giving up power before there have been negotiations about the vital issues; and the ANC does not want to be compromised by getting joint responsibility on terms which are too favourable to the Nats.

Both parties have a constituency to placate. This is why the problem is not one of trust between the various leaders — though trust obviously helps.

There are understandable fears. Whites may have accepted the inevitability of majority rule when they voted "yes" in the March referendum — but they are irritated by the apparent political immaturity that is revealed in mass action and toyi-toyi politics.

Sensing this conservatism, the Nats hang on. This is probably not a calculated thing; perhaps they instinctively hope that time will somehow mellow the radicals in the ANC and strengthen the moderates; that the humiliation of communist economics will continue; that revolutionary ideology will stead-

ily be replaced by an appreciation of hard economic realities.

The ANC, in its turn, is also reluctant to move into the transitional stage, despite its rhetoric. For once it shares power, the ANC can no longer be an opponent; it will have at least a partial say in government — which brings with it a share of responsibility. It will fail to solve many of the problems which have defeated the Nats — and it will begin its baptism of failing to meet expectations. Clearly it wants the best possible terms and conditions.

A transitional authority could take many forms. It could be elected or appointed (though the experience of countries like Portugal suggests that democracy installed from above by a leadership pact has more chance of succeeding). An interim authority could be used to oversee the mechanics of transition while another body wrote a new constitution, or could write the constitution itself as well as govern. The ANC, the Nats and other major parties might have equal representation; or they might not. It could be timed to last for a few months; or a few years.

Proceedings at Codesa showed that agreement between the Nats and the ANC can be reached on these issues.

So what's the delay? The big problem — the one on which the Nats are reluctant to risk a majority vote, once they have given up sole power — is the extent to which power should be devolved. As a document from the

Buthelezi has pointed out, whites would be in a definite minority in every federal region, whether the map were drawn according to ANC or Nat proposals. In the engine room of the economy — the PWV area — blacks would certainly be a majority.

It seems clear that the issue of federalism needs to be addressed on its own, bluntly and honestly, without the paraphernalia and hot air of another Codesa, where a score of delegations and committees produce distracting sophistry. A binding compromise on federalism is perhaps both a necessary and a sufficient condition for the establishment of an interim government.

Such a conference on federalism might profitably address issues that till now have been swept under the carpet. For instance, it is wise not to be mechanistic about possible regional divisions. Research by the Development Bank of SA and Race Relations reveals wide disparities between the eight convenient geographic regions. Consideration of these differences might produce a more sensible approach on all sides.

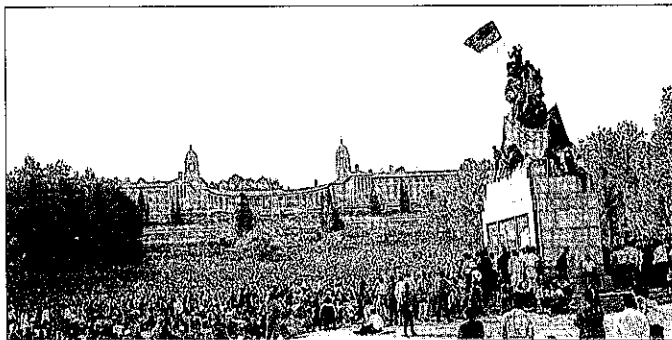
The western Cape, for instance, has the highest average life expectancy, best health services, highest literacy rate (82%) and smallest proportion of Africans (17%). Contrast this with the northern Transvaal, which has the fastest population growth, most children under 15 (51%), highest proportion of people with no education (21%) and largest proportion of Africans (97%). Natal and KwaZulu have the greatest number of Africans (6.3m) and export the largest number of migrant workers (482 000).

These regions are obviously not equal; in many respects they are not even similar. There is a clear case for considerable devolution of power to regional and local level, so that policies can be devised to suit particular circumstances. The greater the centralisation, the more chance there is for disaffection. But it must also be borne in mind that the regions are interdependent economically and share infrastructure and resources.

If the ANC and the Nats were to sit down and discuss federal variations in detail, they might discover a surprising amount of common ground. If they do not, the issue will remain to haunt and undermine any accommodation they may reach.

The other necessary condition for an interim government, it seems, is the reduction of violence to a level that the ANC and its allies can tolerate. Political violence remains the biggest stumbling block.

Here, too, it is clear that the major parties will have to come to some kind of agreement about security, well in advance of constitutional progress. Apart from anything else, it



Mass action ... what's the real point?

SA Institute of Race Relations puts it: "This is the critical practical question bubbling beneath the surface of the memoranda flowing between the ANC and government."

The Nats and Inkatha favour greater power for regions. The ANC is suspicious of this; it expects to win majority support as a whole and does not see why it should be deprived of all the keys to the kingdom.

Communist leader Chris Hani has complained that a federal system would be used to retain white supremacy. His reasoning is not clear. As Inkatha leader Mangosuthu

Continued → Continued on page 27

Continued from page 24

will be impossible to create a culture of political tolerance if violence continues — and without tolerance it is impossible to hold meaningful elections. Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert touched on this problem in his Jan Smuts Memorial Lecture at the SA Institute of International Affairs in May.

"The most primitive bedrock of societal stability," said Slabbert, "relates to the maintenance of law and order, and to the instruments responsible for it — the police and the military. I cannot think of any recent attempt at democratic transition in any society where the civilian security process has not been critical to the success of the process." More specifically, this view is echoed in the Waddington report on the Boipatong massacre: "No institution is more crucial to the future success of the peace process, and thus the future of SA itself, than the SA Police."

Slabbert concluded: "In the same way as we are negotiating democratic transition on a constitutional level, we urgently need to negotiate a civil-security arrangement on the problem of stability. Such stability can then be reinforced and reflected in a new democratic constitution."

To arrive at such a security arrangement would not require another cumbersome session of Codesa. Structures such as the National Peace Accord are already in place;



De Klerk and Mandela ... talking again

they need to be used to better effect. UN monitors can continue, by their presence alone, to encourage and reinforce the process. The Goldstone Commission can be beefed up with additional distinguished jurists.

And the police are not beyond rehabilitation. The Waddington report, while severely critical of the SAP in some respects, made it clear that there was no evidence of police complicity in the Boipatong massacre; that investigations by the police of complaints against themselves were proceeding with competence and integrity; and that "many of the SAP officers, especially those in junior commissioned and noncommissioned ranks, impressed as dedicated, hard-working and

committed individuals." Undermanning is a problem; so is confusion when SAP and SA Defence Force units operate in the same area. But the potential for remedial action is great.

Many policemen apparently still think that community relations is a soft task for specially appointed officers, rather than the first duty of every member of the force. Too many of them still see the ANC and its allies as "the enemy." But many policemen have been assassinated.

The cycle of distrust and accusation must be broken but there are already signs of progress. The police have responded positively to the Waddington report, which concluded that the SAP has a problem with its systems rather than its personnel. And ANC president Nelson Mandela has now spoken against attacks on policemen, whereas not long ago he was accusing De Klerk of "killing our people." Mandela was even photographed last week shaking hands with the police general who commands the Internal Stability Unit. The ANC has also acknowledged the spectre of anarchy created by the

continue →

Challenging Strategy 20 - 25 Sept 1992

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MANAGING FOR ACTION

Here comes Codesa 3 (11A)

While the political atmosphere this week improved, ANC spokesmen are cautious about prospects for the resumption of direct constitutional negotiations.

But this may simply be the result of having had the bubble of their earlier optimism so rudely pricked at Codesa 2.

The NP's information director Piet Coetzer describes the prospects for fresh negotiations as "pretty good — if not on a full, Codesa-style basis in the immediate future, (then) on the bilateral level and on the question of violence, using the structures of the Peace Accord."

Informed government sources say negotiations could resume "within weeks."

Continuing the theme of the brighter outlook in general, Coetzer points to the preparatory talks due to be held between government and the PAC (as the FM went to press) and to "movement in the rightwing." This is a reference to differences which again surfaced in the CP last weekend.

continue ->

CURRENT AFFAIRS FM 14/8/92 (304A) (11A)

DP leader Zach de Beer, observing that the ANC's mass action campaign last week went off relatively peacefully, says the two major players are firmly intending to resume talks. De Beer was disappointed, however, to see Tuesday's reports quoting Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who told Perskor's board of directors that Inkatha would not return to Codesa "as things stand now." Buthelezi reportedly insisted that only a meeting between himself, F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela would help address violence and get negotiations back on track.

An ANC spokesman had earlier told the FM that the ANC was not interested in such a meeting. The ANC reckons that Buthelezi is now more isolated than ever before.

Buthelezi's remarks nonetheless seemed to cloud the more optimistic outlook marked by various developments last weekend:

- Mandela's rather surprising return to saying sweet things about De Klerk, which he did at a rally in Ciskei, praising the State President's vision and reiterating that SA's future depended on negotiations between their parties;
- The Mandela/De Klerk telephone conversation last Friday, which was the first time in weeks that the two leaders had spoken to each other;
- Government's provisional acceptance of the report of the UN secretary-general's special envoy Cyrus Vance's SA mission; and

What had appeared to be a firm set of 14 ANC demands have now been boiled down to three, as described by Mandela:

- "An interim government of national unity is an urgent and critical step to take our country forward;
- "The creation of an interim government of national unity has to be linked to a vision which ensures that our entire people will have a direct say in the drafting and adoption of a constitution which embodies democracy. This means that there must be a commitment to a sovereign, democratically elected constituent assembly; and
- "It is critical that practical steps are taken by government to curb the violence which is ravaging the lives of our people in the townships."

Mandela added: "These three categories of demands constitute the 14 we have made to government. Unless they are met satisfactorily by government, negotiations cannot be resumed."

ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli explains that government has not done anything about fencing off hostels, one of the demands made by the ANC following the Boipatong massacre. Nor have they banned the carrying of traditional weapons — the recent proscribing of such weapons in unrest areas did not go far enough. And though there have been meetings between government and ANC representatives the ques-

P.T.O

- Judge Richard Goldstone's call on all parties to back the UN recommendation for an investigation into the SA Police. SADF, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the PAC's Azanian People's Liberation Army and the KwaZulu Police. FM 14/8/92 (11A)
- Leaders of the latter two forces appeared to reject the notion, while the ANC attached conditions related to full disclosure of security force activities before any general amnesty could be countenanced. Government said such a probe could help to reduce suspicion and restore trust in the forces. (304A)

Talks are on, one-to-one this time

It's not 'whether', but 'when' and 'how' the constitutional negotiations will proceed

PHILIPPA GARSON reports

ONE-ON-ONE talks between the key players are set to replace the cumbersome mechanics of Codesa as the critical process in renewed constitutional negotiations.

As the dust of last week's mass action campaign settles, a new mood of optimism is taking hold of South Africans. Most analysts are predicting that renewed talks are mere weeks away.

With both the African National Congress and security forces thanking each other for their restraint during the campaign, the two sides seem no more polarised than they were before August 3. The nation now waits for the government — which met this week on the recent United Nations' proposals — to come up with tangible "concessions" relating to the ANC's violence-related demands, which will open the way for fresh talks.

However, key ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa cautions against premature excitement. He acknowledges that a channel of communication continues to exist between the ANC and government, in particular over political prisoners, but adds that nothing short of a government response to its demands — set out in a June 23 memorandum sent to the government — can pave the way for real talks.

Bilateral discussions between the ANC and the government are an essential prerequisite to renewed negotiations, says Valli. "We will want a commitment from the government before multilateral negotiations begin. Once we're convinced the government is serious then we would reinstate multilateral talks, and would then discuss the appropriate forum."

'In or out, the PAC's peripheral'

PHILIPPA GARSON

THE likely participation of the Pan Africanist Congress and rightwing groups in renewed talks won't have much bearing on the negotiations process, say most political commentators.

The PAC, which rejected Codesa, this week held talks with the government on the possibility of a bilateral summit between the two parties at a neutral venue.

And rightwing analysts speculate that various fighting groups are likely to jump at the chance of entering negotiations as long as the new forum has a different name. At both ends of the spectrum Codesa is a dirty word, each side would be seen by its supporters to be capitulating if it joined the existing body.

While most agree that the Conservative Party in its current state will not enter negotiations with bodies, such as the African National

Recommendations by UN secretary-general Boutros Boutros-Ghali, taken up by Justice Richard Goldstone, that the security forces and private armies open themselves up to investigation, and of a general amnesty and the future involvement of 30 foreign monitors, are feeding optimism about a possible resolution to the problem of violence.

The relatively low death toll after the week of mass action can in part be ascribed to the role of the UN monitors. The announcement of a larger group of more permanent observers will surely raise hopes of curbing the bloodshed.

The proposal of a general amnesty and inspection of the government's security forces and private armies of other parties has provoked heated response from various quarters, but many believe

Congress, which do not represent ethnic states, it is widely believed that the "new right" within the CP, following a breakthrough from the party, will enter negotiations. The CP executive met yesterday in a last-ditch attempt to prevent a split between the hardliners and the new right led by Potchefstroom MP Beyers Naude.

Meanwhile, the PAC is pursuing its goal of a top-level summit with the government. "If the regime satisfies us, we can enter into bilateral talks with the view to entering an alternative forum (for negotiations)," PAC publicity secretary Barney Desai told *The Weekly Mail*.

But how much impact the PAC would have on negotiations is open to question. In a recent Centre for Policy Studies paper, entitled "Liberalisation and Negotiation: The Pan Africanist Congress in the South African Transition", that headway in this area would allow a political settlement to follow smoothly.

Director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa Frederik van Zyl Slabbert believes the proposal of a general amnesty and the infusion of foreign mediators into the national peace process will open a new arena for negotiations. "The extent to which these make progress will determine the pace of political negotiations," says Slabbert. "The climate of violence has bedevilled the situation and negotiations (in this sphere) will have to run alongside political negotiations or precede them. Without a workable agreement on the violence, the process cannot move."

Foreign intervention in violence paves the way for a similar mediating role in negotiations. While some parties continue to scoff at the need for a for-

Johannes Ramete argues that the PAC, given its limited strength on the ground, is incapable of achieving its "decolonisation model" of change — transfer of power.

The movement also lacks the organisational capacity to derail negotiations, argues Ramete. This realisation and "its lack of options as it remains outside the process may explain why its leaders still appear to be positioning the movement to enter the negotiations process."

In Ramete's view, the PAC is unlikely to have any significant impact on a negotiated settlement, even if it does participate. "Despite the fact that it represents an important strand in 'liberalisation' thinking, its influence on the negotiation process and the system which emerges from it will remain limited," he argues.

With the UN secretary-general's recommendation that observer missions, such as that undertaken by special envoy Cyrus Vance, continue on a "quarterly basis or more frequently, if the situation warrants it" the role of the international community is likely to increase.

While most observers agree that the deals already struck at Codesa are likely to provide the basis for renewed talks, not all see the broad, unwieldy Codesa structure, with its 400-odd individual participants, as ideal. A future body would have to be smaller — some observers say periph-

eral parties should be weeded out altogether. Bilateral talks, "where real agreements are hammered out", are likely to be the focus of renewed, more streamlined negotiations.

The prospect of involvement in negotiations of a wider range of groups to the far left and far right of the political spectrum is viewed with optimism in most quarters. However, it is more apparent than ever that progress turns critically on the relationship between the two major players, the ANC and the government.

"We can't run away from the reality of the South African situation: the two key contenders in the conflict are the government and the ANC," says Valli, adding that PAC participation will be "incidental" to the political process.

Democratic Party leader Zach De Beer agrees: "It'll be a good thing if the other groups come in, but the key players remain the Nats and the ANC. When they agree on something, it happens. When they disagree, nothing does."

De Beer cautions against an arrogant disregard of other parties, particularly Inkatha. But, like other politicians, he advocates a renewed emphasis on bilateral talks which will speed up the process. "If they make up their minds, they can talk to the others to make them come along."

Institute for Multi-party Democracy executive chairman Oscar Dhlomo agrees that bilateral talks will play an increasingly central role. The need for a formal, "symbolic" body like Codesa may have come to an end, he says, other than to endorse bilateral agreements, which may start in earnest in two to four months. "Any new forum should leave out some of the peripheral parties and maintain contact with them through consultation."

In Dhlomo's view Codesa had many weaknesses, not least that it was undemocratically assembled. While he believes in the need for a wide range of participants, these, he says, should not be central to the process.

David Welsh, political scientist and key advisor to the DP in Codesa's working group on constitutional issues, predicts that a much smaller reconstituted forum will be in place by mid-September. While plenary sessions will probably be open to the media, he believes the real clinching of deals will continue to take place in smoke-filled rooms between smaller working groups of the major actors.

He foresees the possibility of a government-ANC pact to carry the country through the transitional period of joint control, paving the way for elections. Such a pact, underpinned by international guarantees, would be an interim measure, a "short way of getting out of the logjam".

'No more meetings with Govt'

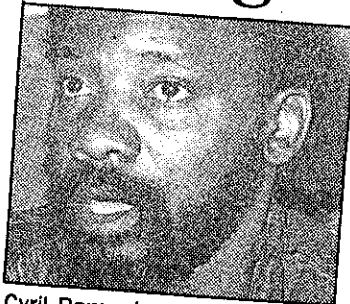
By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter 14/8/92

After an abortive secret meeting between top-level ANC and Government delegations on Sunday, the ANC has refused any further meetings.

But the organisation has kept open the lines of communication with the Government, saying that any "practical implementation" of its demands could be addressed through the office of ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

The ANC said the Sunday meeting — arranged by the Government — was fruitless since there had been no visible movement by the Government.

The ANC national working committee yesterday endorsed a recommendation by the national executive committee (NEC) that any further request for meetings with the Government be refused.



Cyril Ramaphosa . . . spoke to Government on Sunday.

Unhappiness exists in some ANC circles about the meeting, saying it was a transgression of an NEC decision in June that negotiations could resume only after the NEC had reviewed the situation.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma last night said the meeting was not viewed as a transgression of the NEC decision because the ANC negotiators had not entered into discussions with the Government.

The ANC denied that the talks, arranged by the Government, signalled the resumption of negotiations.

"Prior to this encounter the ANC had been given the impression that the Government was willing to respond positively in writing to the fourteen demands contained in our memorandum of June 23 1992. In the upshot it emerged that there has been no visible movement on these issues on the Government's part.

"The meeting was consequently fruitless," the NWC said.

The meeting took place on Sunday between ANC negotiators Mr Ramaphosa, Thabo Mbeki, Jacob Zuma and Joe Nhlanhla and a Government team that included Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers, as well as senior officials.

ANC slams door shut on govt overtures

8/PAY 14/8/92

BILLY PADDOCK

(11A)

THE ANC last night suspended all talks with government "on any issue", including the release of prisoners, because of government's "evident bad faith".

The decision by the ANC's national working committee extinguishes the hopes of government and the international community that talks would resume soon.

Earlier yesterday, government announced its acceptance of the UN report, which includes several concessions to key ANC demands — sufficient, government believed, to set negotiations back on track. But its concessions fell short of the ANC's expectations.

An ANC statement disclosed that a

weekend meeting between the two parties was at government's initiative. While the ANC had believed government was prepared to respond positively in writing to the 14 ANC demands, it had emerged this was not the case.

The ANC had decided to accept the recommendation of its negotiations commission to "refuse any further requests for meetings with the government".

Government announced it had approved a plan for a general amnesty for political and other common law offences committed by the security forces, state officials

and private armies. At a news conference yesterday, government announced it had accepted "in principle" UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's recommendations for the release of prisoners and investigations into its security forces.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said a blanket amnesty was the only way to fulfil the UN's recommendation to "wipe the slate clean and bury the past".

Coetsee said the amnesty plan was a result of bilateral negotiations between government and the ANC, where broad

□ To Page 2

Door shut

8/PAY 14/8/92

(11A)

From Page 1

agreement was reached on the main principles and elements.

However, the ANC criticised government's amnesty plan for holding political prisoners "hostage, as a lever to extract concessions from the ANC". It insisted on the unconditional release of political prisoners.

It reiterated that, contrary to the impression government was trying to give, it did not support a general amnesty. The question of amnesty was the province of an interim government.

The ANC also said the amnesty would be premature before universal franchise, and it would mean security force members implicated in violence would not be prosecuted. This the ANC rejected.

It also disputed Judge Richard Goldstone's statement that amnesty was required to facilitate investigations. In the normal course of their work, the courts could grant immunity to witnesses.

Coetsee said government had reservations about investigating the security forces. He indicated that because the

SADF and SAP were not private armies, they should be dealt with differently from Umkhonto we Sizwe, Apla and other forces.

Coetsee said 450 ANC political prisoners would fall under this amnesty, as would those awaiting trial and others still in exile because of the existing definition of indemnity.

He said the plan would have to have a cut-off date.

In terms of the other UN recommendations, Botha said:

□ The call for a total ban on the public display of weapons had to be discussed with Goldstone because "delicate aspects were involved".

□ Government fully agreed that the hostel issue was urgent and had to be handled through the peace committee;

□ Government agreed with a code of conduct for mass demonstrations; and

□ Government supported the recommendation that it should provide the money and staff for the peace structures.

Key SABC, PAC meeting today

3/10/44 147/192
THE outcome of today's meeting between the SABC management and the PAC would determine whether the campaign to force companies to withdraw advertisements from the corporation would go on, the PAC said yesterday.

But the Durban-based Mwasa Support Committee, headed by former National Soccer League (NSL) GM Roger Sishi, has started writing to companies calling on them to withdraw advertisements from the SABC.

The PAC last week announced the launch of a campaign against the SABC, in solidarity with the Mwasa strikers, warning companies to withdraw advertisements or face mass action.

The ANC/Cosatu alliance also announced plans to embark on such action "probably next month".

(11A)
THEO RAWANA

PAC national campaigns committee chairman Ntsudeni Madzunya said the campaign had been postponed pending the outcome of today's meeting. The PAC had a list of targeted companies, but that would be released after the meeting.

The Mwasa Support Committee, which comprises 20 Natal-based political, civic, labour, cultural and journalists' organisations, says in its letter the cancellation of advertising contracts with the SABC would force management to resolve the dispute.

"For the sake of peace within the black community, you are asked to consider the possibility of terminating an advertising contract with the SABC," reads one letter to Lion Match in Durban.

THE ANC's inquiry into the treatment of detainees in its camps in exile will expose shocking abuses and put the burden of blame on a senior office-bearer currently working in the organisation's headquarters.

Mzwai Piliso, head of human resources for the African National Congress, was chief of security and a national executive committee member when the abuses occurred and has been directly implicated in some of the assaults on prisoners.

Piliso said yesterday: "I have no guilty conscience ... I carried out instructions as best I could under the circumstances of the time."

However, though the commission of inquiry has been criticised for lack of independence, its report is expected to put pressure on the ANC to take disciplinary action against Piliso.

Piliso was relieved of his post as chief of security and his entire department was closed down at the ANC's 1985 conference in Kabwe, Tanzania, after the allegations of abuse of prisoners began to emerge. But no further action was taken against him and he is presently responsible for administering ANC training programmes, and bursary and other study schemes.

The report is expected to clear Piliso's successor, current head of security Joe Nhlahlaha, and military leaders Chris Hani and Joe Modise of responsibility for the abuses. The evidence that emerged backed their claims that they had "cleaned up" the way the camps were run after taking over from Piliso.

The inquiry was effectively an internal one: it was appointed by ANC president Nelson Mandela and two of the three commissioners are ANC members. It was also hamstrung by the refusal of members of the Returned Exiles Committee, now aligned to Inkatha, to give evidence.

However, there are indications that the commissioners, concerned about their credibility, are

Senior ANC officer will bear the blame

w/m ail 14/8-20/8/92 IIA

A senior African National Congress office-bearer is expected to be named as the chief culprit in the abuse of detainees in exile.

By ANTON HARBER

determined to make the report hard-hitting. It is understood that they were horrified at some of the testimony they heard from 17 former ANC detainees, including evidence about detention without any form of trial for up to five years and gross physical abuse of prisoners.

The commissioners — Gilbert Marcus, Louis Skweyiya and B Mabandla — finished their hearings this week and are currently writing their report. It will go to Mandela and then be released, since part of the terms of reference of the inquiry is that it should be made public.

They are expected to recommend that action be taken against the culprits and that the organisation consider some form of compensation for the victims. They are also expected to suggest that their report not be the end of the matter and that there should be further inquiries.

Interviewed yesterday, Piliso said the inquiry was only important to those who did not understand the situation the ANC was in at the time of the abuses. "We were in a certain state at the

time. We were a movement in struggle and had to confront certain problems. It (the ANC) had to have an attitude towards those things. We are in a different period now," he said.

"Over 500 of our cadres were poisoned in the camps and it was very fortunate that no one died as was intended. Five South African Air Force aeroplanes bombed the place and destroyed every building. This was the situation we were in.

"The commission is important for those who do not understand this setting. For the rest of us, it is of no importance," he said.

Asked his view on a recent admission by Hani that there had been abuses in the camps, Piliso said: "I don't care what he says ... If you are convinced in yourself that you carried out instructions as best you can, that is all that matters."

Asked if he feared disciplinary action, he replied: "If you had a certain responsibility given to you by the movement, if you believe you did everything possible to do that successfully, what happens afterwards does not really matter. I am convinced I did as best as I could under the conditions that pertained at the time."

About whether he regretted what he had done in the camps, he said: "I have no guilty conscience." Asked if it was true that he had personally taken part in physical abuse, he said: "I don't think there is a single one of them (detainees)

who can say that I did."

The ANC's response to the report will play a critical role in deciding whether the organisation is able to put to rest the controversy over the treatment of detainees, which has plagued the organisation since its unbanning. Already the inquiry has drawn flak from other political organisations and the rightwing International Freedom Foundation has set up its own inquiry under Durban advocate RC Douglas. This inquiry, however, is likely to be seen as no less partial than the ANC one.

Douglas has disputed criticism of his inquiry, saying that the fact that the IFF has instructed him will have no effect on his findings: "The fact that they have initiated it means nothing to me. I will do my job as a professional.

"I am a pretty independent soul. I have done work for the ANC in Natal and made findings favourable to them and unfavourable to Inkatha."

The ANC's inquiry, Douglas said, was fundamentally flawed: "They have breached the fundamental rule that you cannot judge yourself."

Some ANC members, however, believe their own inquiry could present an opportunity to deal with the problem in the way that their counterparts in Namibia never did.

Just this week, Africa Watch of New York released a report stating that Namibia still had not healed the wounds of war because of the reluctance of both Swapo and South Africa to come clean on the abuses of the past.

The ANC is in a comparatively fortunate position in that, unlike Swapo, its most senior leaders — such as Mandela and general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa — were not in exile at the time and therefore cannot be implicated in any way. They therefore have an interest in putting to rest a problem that is not of their making.



NEW CONTROVERSY OVER TORTURE IN ANC CAMP...

RETURNED exiles committee leader Patrick Hlongwane is a bitter man on a personal vendetta. Bent on making the African National Congress pay for the harsh treatment he received in its detention camps, Hlongwane this week appeared on television threatening to assassinate high-ranking officials and cadres in retaliation for atrocities committed in the camps.

He is also furious about the "false allegations" of his being a police spy.

But the ANC has a documented confession which paints a very different picture.

In an interview with *The Weekly Mail* this week Hlongwane said the "confession", which claims to reveal the true extent of his police connections, was given while he was "under pressure" because he feared for his life — "I wanted to satisfy them." He gave his interrogators "information I knew they would believe".

"They think they are intelligent but they are in fact stupid."

He has challenged the ANC to make its intelligence report available to a commission or neutral body made up of, among others, Amnesty International, the South African Council of Churches, the United Nations, International Freedom Foundation and the Organisation for African Unity.

He was also "willing to point out the graves of those murdered by the ANC in exile, which has already been admitted to by the ANC through (Umkhonto weSizwe) chief of staff Sipiwe Nyanda".

Then — he believes — all the allegations ever made about him will backfire in the ANC's face. "It has backfired already," he said, referring to the admission by Nyanda and South African Communist Party general secretary and former Umkhonto weSizwe commander, Chris Hani, of camp atrocities.

Hlongwane said he had "offered his life" to organisations such as the Port Elizabeth Black Congress (Pebco) in 1979, eventually becoming an organiser. However, the ANC document reports that Pebco was just one of the organisa-

A returnee tells why he can't forgive the ANC

w/ Mail 14/8-20/8/92 (1/1A) (S) (S)

Accused of being a police spy, returned exile Patrick Hlongwane counters that his confession was forced out of him when he was tortured in an African National Congress camp. By LINDA RULASHE (S)

tions he infiltrated in the eastern Cape.

He is guilt-ridden, believing that his mother died in a 1985 petrol bomb attack by comrades "because of my political involvement. She was never involved in politics", he said.

He lays the blame squarely on the ANC, saying: "I don't care if I was to die at the hands of the ANC, because their hands are full of my mother's blood."

Fuelling allegations of police collusion, the Returned Exiles Committee (REC) has set up offices in Lindelani outside Durban at the residence of Inkatha leader Thomas Shabalala who has been "sympathetic" to their plight.

Born in Port Elizabeth where it is alleged most of his work as an operative took place, Hlongwane said he was not willing to reveal his background because he feared that part of his life would be distorted by the media.

"Besides, I do not see why I should go back as my mother was killed following instructions by the ANC." He sarcastically added: "If you want to know more, go to the ANC"

The little he would reveal was that he joined the South African Students Movement while schooling in Port Elizabeth and is "a product of black consciousness".

Talking about his time in ANC camps — of which he says he still bears the political scars — Hlongwane said he was made to take off his clothes and stand in a cell for the whole night in water up to his waist.

"The next day, my left hand was put in boiling tar and I was burnt with hot tea. There were times when I was punished with no water or food for three days.

"Shots were fired next to me and I was then forced to sign the confession."

Hlongwane said he was later transferred to Novastlasau, the central prison in Luanda, Angola where he was kept for three weeks on death row.

When transferred to an ANC safe house, he said he witnessed police spy Olivia Forsyth being "treated as a slave."

"We couldn't communicate but I am prepared

to testify that she was beaten up day and night. She was ill treated like me. I read about her after she escaped," he said.

Hlongwane said he was again transferred to Quatro in the northern part of Angola where he was "deprived of his right to get food, movement and to voice my feelings.

"We used to eat half-cooked beans from Cuba, rotten mielie-meal from the Soviet Union and were forced to eat monkeys, snakes and dogs."

Hlongwane has sent letters to the Goldstone Commission and the state president, calling for a meeting to explain why he made his assassination threat.

"Over 200 parents who are looking for their children have come to me since last year December," he said.

The International Freedom Foundation (IFF), a rightwing Washington-based pressure group, has claimed that more than 500 people were still being held in these camps and that detainees had been tortured or executed. In July, the organisation instructed advocate RS Douglas to conduct an inquiry into alleged torture, murder and other human rights violations in these camps.

Douglas, who has consulted various organisations such as Amnesty International and Red Cross International, said he would be hearing evidence from the end of August.

"Maybe then the truth will come out and justice will be done."

Hlongwane said if that failed to bring ANC cadres "to justice", REC's men would start their own assassination campaign as threatened. He announced last weekend that 200 former exiles had undergone training in Israel and had infiltrated ANC ranks around Durban.

His threats have been linked to recent assassination attempts of fiery ANC Natal Midlands leader, Harry Gwala, who escaped death after gunmen fired on his car in Edendale near Maritzburg last Tuesday. His deputy, Reggie Hadebe, was wounded in another gun attack on a funeral in which an ANC official was killed nearly two weeks ago.

NEWS Minister tells cops to be impartial • New moves on negotiations welcomed

'Adapt or else' - Kriel

Sowetan 14/8/92

By Monk Nkomo

MINISTER of Law and Order Mr Hernus Kriel yesterday warned policemen that they would be dismissed if they failed to adapt to the realities of the new South Africa.

Speaking at a medal parade at the police college in Pretoria West, Kriel told policemen to act professionally in their duties in order to regain the confi-

■ Peace process depends on police professionalism:

dence of the communities they served.

The South African Police, he added, were under tremendous pressure from various sectors, including their communities, which wanted better crime prevention methods.

"We will only be able to handle this pressure if we work harder, more professionally, treat everybody equally, be better trained and reach out to the com-

munities we serve," he said.

"Our aim is to be impartial and adapt to the new South Africa. Any member of the police force who fails to adhere to these conditions will be dismissed or suspended," Kriel said.

Kriel said police were going to play a key role in the peace process in the country. A young police constable fainted while on parade.

Azapo hails UN plan

(11A)

■ United Nations proposes neutral chairman for talks:

Sowetan 14/8/92

THE Azanian People's Organisation would consider participating in democracy talks under a neutral convener as recommended by the United Nations.

But it still insisted on a two-sided arrangement at a neutral venue, publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said yesterday.

Addressing a news briefing in Durban, Moodley said Azapo remained committed to its stance on talks with the

Government and noted that the African National Congress had moved closer to its position on international involvement in negotiations.

The ANC was also "talking more strongly" of a Constituent Assembly and had admitted that Codesa had failed.

"If (Transkei leader, General Bantu) Holomisa resigns from the Transkei to sit with the liberation movements, Azapo will welcome this." - Sapa.

NEWS

ANC's torture chief named

w/mail
14/8-20/8/92

(11A) (SPP)

*Camps probe that Mandela ordered
uncovers widespread abuses ...
and pins blame on a key official*

THE African National Congress' inquiry into the treatment of detainees in its camps in exile has uncovered evidence of shocking abuses, for which it blames a senior headquarters official.

Ex-security chief Mzwai Piliso, a former national executive committee member, has been directly implicated in some of the assaults on prisoners.

The inquiry was appointed late last year by ANC president Nelson Mandela, following widely published allegations of torture in the exile camps.

The report, to be submitted to Mandela next week, is expected to clear military leaders Chris Hani and Joe Modise of responsibility for abuses. The evidence that emerged indicated they had "cleaned up" the camps after taking over from Piliso.

PAGE 5

Eskom 'not swayed' by campaign

ANC in new drive to block foreign loans

BIDNY 14/8/92
THE ANC early this month circulated to dozens of major financial institutions in Europe and the Far East an appeal that they keep in place financial sanctions on SA and, in particular, refuse to participate in the \$150m-\$200m bond issue planned by Eskom for next month.

ANC NEC member and chief representative in London, Mendi Msimang, said yesterday he believed the letter, dated August 4, contributed to persuading Eskom to shelve the plan.

His initiative was accompanied by representations to Eskom in Johannesburg and London by the ANC and the End Loans to SA (Eltsa) organisation, and an Eltsa demonstration outside Eskom's London office last Friday.

But an Eskom spokesman denied yesterday that the decision, announced this week, to postpone the bond issue was influenced by these factors.

Msimang, who wrote the letter, said it had been sent to all major financial institutions in Germany, the UK, Switzerland, Austria, Ireland, Belgium, France, Italy and South Korea.

It said new loans to SA before the establishment of an interim government "make neither political nor commercial sense". It added that ANC president Nelson Mandela had indicated in February that "the repayment of foreign debts incurred by the present regime in the normal course of administration before financial sanctions were imposed . . . may have to be renegotiated to ensure a democratic government is

not unduly burdened by such debts".

Elaborating yesterday, Msimang said the ANC accepted that a future government had to take over the debts of previous governments and was bound to repay loans. However, an ANC government would attempt to renegotiate those loans to enable it to concentrate its limited resources on the alleviation of poverty.

In the letter, Msimang argued that the negotiating process was attributable to "a climate of (NP) complacency to which international banks have contributed by their premature actions" of violating financial sanctions.

He added that a comprehensive foreign loan strategy had to be devised by an interim government. If groups like Eskom went to the market unilaterally, this would be a fragmented effort.

An Eskom spokesman said the decision to postpone the bond issue preceded the ANC and Eltsa initiatives. The decision had not come about "through persuasion by any group, including the ANC. Eskom's business decisions and actions are well considered in terms of present and future circumstances."

Eskom was "in communication with the ANC international affairs department" about recent ANC and Eltsa statements.

"Eskom's integrity as an apolitical utility serving all South Africans is beyond question," he said.

ANC international affairs spokesman Aziz Pahad said Msimang's initiative was in line with ANC policy.

11A
ALAN FINE

A matter of restoring trust

STAR 14/8/92

11A ~~11A~~

THE negotiations at Codesa broke down primarily over a matter of trust. Trust over a commitment to democracy. Trust over the process to constitution-making. And, above all, trust over the issue of violence.

The UN secretary-general's recommendation, endorsed by Mr Justice Goldstone, that there should be a full-scale investigation into the activities of the SADF, SAP, the Kwazulu police, the ANC's MK and PAC's Apla opens up a new opportunity of restoring trust in the vital area of violence and security.

Perhaps we expected too much, too easily, too quickly from Codesa. Perhaps we should have delved deeper into the implications of the dramatic clash between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela at Codesa 1. Perhaps we should have assessed Codesa both against the magnitude of the task in which we South Africans are engaged and the unique circumstances surrounding our negotiation process.

The circumstances in which the negotiation process commenced were unique. At the time the pro-

cess was opened up, in February 1990, South Africa was a deeply divided nation caught up in a low-intensity civil war.

If the normal historical pattern of events had followed, the conflict would have grown stronger until one side had won. However, something that no one had predicted happened: an ethnic Afrikaner, leader of an embattled minority, sitting in Tuynhuys, decided to negotiate before he had lost.

A black South African, leader of an oppressed majority, sitting in prison, decided to negotiate before he had won.

These two acts of political daring created a unique opportunity for South Africans to negotiate a new future but also placed severe strain on the attitudes and behaviour patterns that had been developing in their constituencies.

The danger of a gap developing between the leaders, now committed to negotiation, and their support base, conditioned for conflict, was real.

Mr de Klerk sensed this danger when he lost the Potchefstroom by-election and promptly called a referendum in an attempt to consolidate his support base and

strengthen his position at the negotiation table.

Mr Mandela sensed this at the time of Codesa 2 when he called for mass action in an attempt to consolidate his support base and strengthen his hand at the negotiation table.

Where do we go from here? How do we get the formal negotiations back on track?

I say formal because it is important to realise that while the negotiations at Codesa are at a standstill, the overall process of negotiation is far from dead.

The written demands and responses shuttling back and forth between the ANC and the Government are an important form of negotiation.

The meetings between Saccola, representing the employers, and Cosatu, representing labour, to discuss the matters arising out of the constitutional impasse represented a significant broadening of the process of negotiation.

Indeed, despite their apparent fractiousness, all the leaders remain committed to negotiation. All the political organisations continue to subscribe to Codesa's Declaration of Intent.

We do not have to start negotiating from scratch. But we do have to start by restoring trust, trust between the ANC and the Government and more particularly between Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk. This demands conciliation in three key areas: the issue of violence, the concept of democracy and the essential features of the constitution-making process.

● Violence:

The Government, by its deeds in addition to its words, will have to persuade the voteless citizens of our country that it is serious, determined and effective in bringing an end to violence.

Clearly, the Government is not solely responsible for bringing an end to violence, but equally clearly, as the government of the day, it has the prime responsibility for maintaining law and order and bringing peace to our people.

If Mr de Klerk's Government is not capable of discharging this critical governmental responsibility on its own, consideration will have to be given, inter alia, to setting up a multiparty transitional executive council for security matters, along the lines agreed to in Working Group 3, even before

there is a fully fledged interim government of national unity.

● The concept of democracy:

All South Africans will have to face up to the reality that the full democratisation of government at all levels will mean that, within the framework of the new constitution, political power at present exercised by a minority will be transferred to the people of South Africa as a whole.

The Government will have to accept that, subject to constitutional checks and balances to prevent the abuse of power, democracy involves majority decision-making processes.

The ANC for its part will have to dispel the concern that democracy could degenerate to "the tyranny of the masses".

● Constitution-making process:

Both the Government and the ANC say they want the new constitution to be drawn up by an elected body which is bound by the general constitutional principles agreed to at Codesa. Both say they want a multiparty interim or transitional government of national unity.

Yet, it was the differences over the inter-relationship of these two

structures that finally led to a breakdown at Codesa.

The Government put prime emphasis on the interim constitution. The practical effect of this was that the constitution would be drawn up by Codesa and that the process of transition would be protracted.

The ANC on the other hand put its emphasis on the elected constituent assembly. The practical effect of this was that the constituent assembly, in addition to drawing up the constitution, would usurp the function of the legally constituted Government.

Both the Government and the ANC will have to agree on a time-frame and on appropriate deadlock-breaking mechanisms.

Constitutions can always be amended at some future stage. However, the sooner South Africa has a new democratic constitution and a representative and accountable system of government, the better for our economy, our stability and our nation as a whole.

Mutual trust, which is critical in the process of constitution-making, will not be restored by remote control. □

● Colin Egin is Democratic Party MP for Sea Point.

VIOLENCE

The Harry Gwala theme

11A

~~11A~~

FM 14/8/92

ANC militant, Harry Gwala — and those of his ilk — will bear critical co-responsibility if a culture of political tolerance is to take hold in this country. Though the image of the man, based on his flights of violent rhetoric, may suggest otherwise, Gwala denies that he is a “devil with horns” bent on wresting power through violence.

On the contrary, the ANC's controversial Natal Midlands chairman and member of the ANC's national executive committee, is adamant that he's misunderstood and a man of peace. “Liberation is still possible with minimal bloodshed,” says Gwala, who recently turned 72.

This picture of himself is clearly at odds with his popular image. The London *Independent*, for example, says: “At first inspection Gwala is a most unsavoury character. He is a self-confessed killer, a man whom people in his own organisation fear to cross and a hardline Marxist who applauded the Soviet coup attempt last year.”

Gwala is frequently portrayed as a blood-thirsty firebrand who “sends his boys” to attack Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) warlords. He maintains that these allegations are untrue. He does have personal bodyguards since there have been two attempts on his life. “And I'm only a warlord if that is a person who organises people to defend themselves against attack. I do not, in the ordinary sense, advocate attacking others. I believe in peaceful coexistence.”

(Soon after this interview, there appears to have been another attempt on Gwala's life, when, on the second day of last week's stayaway, gunmen in a speeding minibus fired on an ANC gathering at Edendale where he had just addressed a group of demonstrators. The windscreen of Gwala's car was smashed but he was uninjured.)

Gwala says people seem to think that the IFP should be allowed to act with impunity without the ANC defending itself. “I admit that our people in retaliation attack those who have killed their next of kin and destroyed their homes. They use the old law of Moses — an eye for an eye.”

Does he believe in an eye for an eye? “I don't know, but it is a person's natural reaction, when attacked, to respond by hurting the enemy.”

He also distances himself from the ANC's inflammatory “mock trials” of its opponents, though the ANC offices in Maritzburg are festooned with “wanted” posters for people “guilty” of apartheid crimes. They include President F W de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

“We've never had a mock trial here. What we did was indict David Ntombela and other warlords and demanded that the Attorney-General charge them.”

The simpler route of laying charges with the police would have been a waste of time,

he maintains, since the police plotted the murder of ANC people (a reference to the Trust Feed case).

Clearly, non-violence in Gwala's eyes does not mean turning the other cheek. Peace, he asserts, is “imposed the way Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin did it, not the failed conciliation of Chamberlain. That is what we have done here in the valley (the Valley of the Widows in Edendale, where he lives), with considerable success in the Midlands. We prevent Inkatha from doing what it wants and punish it for killing people here. The places where we have imposed peace include Richmond, Greytown and Nxamalala. It was costly in terms of lives because people were attacked and they defended themselves,



but those places are now very peaceful.”

However, Gwala's gloved-fist approach has been less successful than he would have people believe. Gunfire again echoed through his region (often called SA's “Lebanon”) recently, with an armed attack on an IFP rally at Estcourt and another on an ANC/Umkhonto we Sizwe funeral procession. Two Gwala lieutenants were wounded — one of them fatally — during the second attack. The Human Rights Commission points out that 35 people died in political strife in Natal Midlands in June.

Gwala, of course, also sees peaceful pressure as a tool for change. “Liberation is not the sole prerogative of the ANC. The Church and the Black Sash have done a great deal in terms of peaceful pressure. Mass action is another avenue which is meant to be non-violent.”

Even whites can participate in mass action, Gwala adds — without irony or malice — when they visit the ballot boxes every five years. That sort of pressure from within, together with international coercion, could still prevent a bloodbath, he believes.

Gwala admits to the sort of bitterness which breeds extremism. He says he has good cause. He grew up in a school of hard knocks and blames apartheid directly and indirectly for the deaths of his wife, daughter

and some of his closest friends. He also blames it for the wanton destruction of homes and people and for his two paralysed arms. Yet bitterness about these and other things “does not cloud my political judgment . . . Some of my closest friends were and are white,” he asserts. “Incidentally, those who taught me politics were white. Precisely because of that, I relate to people rather than colour.”

Gwala quite clearly doesn't fit into any conventional warlord mould. The frail former Robben Islander, who confesses to a love of classical music and poetry, is courteous to a fault when he entertains in his modest but immaculately kept township home near Maritzburg.

Nor is he a stereotype Marxist — a doctrine he has adhered to for nearly 50 years. To him, Marxism remains untarnished by the demise of the Soviet system and he's not modified his beliefs one iota. But he says those beliefs include being a democrat who would accept defeat at the polls in free and fair elections.

“Those who associate Marxism with violent revolution don't understand the concept.

“Marx understood revolution to mean change from one social system to another. Ending apartheid and giving everyone the vote is a revolution. Bloodshed need not necessarily be part of the equation.”

However, contesting those elections with, for example, the IFP, doesn't really sit that well with him. “They'll collapse quicker than Muzarewa's government in Zimbabwe without their State funding, so competing with them won't be an issue,” he maintains.

Another area where Gwala is seen as a bit “different” is with his comrades on the ANC's national executive committee. However, he says he knows of “no big differences between myself and other members of the executive. Our differences simply relate to how liberation should be achieved, so they are differences of method not principle. And what organisation doesn't have those?”

Areas where Gwala has gone out on a limb have included being against talks with the IFP in Natal after the ANC was unbanned and also being against the ANC negotiating with government until it had sought a mandate from the people. Though his view never prevailed in either case, he suggests that subsequent events, including the spreading of ANC/IFP hostility and the collapse of Codesa, have proved him right.

Clearly Gwala is an enigma, particularly to whites. He is a man of considerable intellect, but as he puts it: “When people meet me they expect me to breathe fire. When I don't, they think I'm acting.”

It is not enough for leaders like Gwala to pay lip-service to peace and democracy. They are the people who can make it happen if they really want to. ■

11A (S) (S)

PAC army to meet police

THE Azanian People's Liberation Army and the Police and Prison Officials' Union will hold talks on the killing of policemen, Popcru general secretary Peter Nkuna said yesterday.

The meeting will take place in Zimbabwe or Tanzania early in September.

Apla, the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, regularly claims responsibility for attacks on policemen in South African townships.

Sowetan 14/8/92

Mandela holds out hand to de Klerk

THE African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela has urged a "tidal wave" of action to secure political reform, but says he would resume negotiations with the government as soon as President F. W. de Klerk agreed to demands for democracy.

The president made conciliatory noises of his own later. Mr de Klerk said his administration had been talking to the ANC and he was ready to expand the talks into fully-fledged negotiations.

"He needn't speak to me from the lower part of the Union Buildings. There is an open door. He needn't kick doors down," said Mr de Klerk, referring to the colonnaded seat of white power swamped by a black tide of protest.

Later the UN Secretary-general, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, recommended that about 30 UN observers should be stationed in South Africa to mark the occasion with the National peace secretariat, set under an all-party peace accord last September.

As Mr Mandela spoke at the end of one of the biggest marches in South Africa's history, thousands

of exuberant but disciplined ANC supporters occupied the amphitheatre below the Union Buildings, the government headquarters in Pretoria, hoisted the ANC flag and chanted for the installation of Mr Mandela as president.

But their "occupation" of the terraced grounds below the Union Buildings — a traditional site of

By Patrick Laurence
in Pretoria

white power — had been pre-arranged and the general atmosphere was friendly, raising hopes that the stalled negotiations would be resumed.

Referring to the ANC flag fluttering over the podium where Mr Mandela was seated, the ANC secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, said: "We look forward to the day when he [Mr Mandela] will be the one in the office that F. W. de Klerk occupies illegitimately."

Mr Mandela had a message for President de Klerk: the people wanted peace but they wanted it on the feet, not their knees. The

general tone of his speech was, however, conciliatory. Later he said: "I would like to heal wounds."

In his speech Mr Mandela said the two-day general strike was "one of the greatest events in our history". But he then added: "We have not come here to gloat. We are here to take South Africa along the road to peace and democracy."

If the de Klerk administration responded in the "same spirit", then the way would be opened for the first "urgent and critical step" forward after the impasse since the Boipatong massacre in mid-June: the establishment of an interim government of national unity.

In his response, Mr de Klerk said: "[The government] agreed a long time ago in principle that there must be a transitional government of national unity. There is no fundamental difference of opinion between us. We must negotiate how to get it."

He confirmed that parliament would meet again in October to give legislative substance to some of the decisions taken at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

Rallying cry to future female parliamentarians:

Your sisters need YOU!

The dearth of women in positions of political power in this country was discussed at the anniversary of National Women's Day. **Rehana**

Rossouw reports:
SOUTH 15/8-19/8/92

WOMEN who can represent the aspirations of their sisters in a future parliament should be identified today so that women's demands are not sidelined in a new South Africa.

This was one of the messages delivered at a commemoration of National Women's Day at the Baxter Theatre on Sunday.

Hundreds of singing, cheering women gathered to mark the 36th anniversary of the women's march to the Union Buildings to protest against the extension of pass laws.

Speakers included Ms Baleka Kgositsile, secretary general of the ANC Women's League; Ms Thenjiwe Mtintsho, of the league's Eastern Cape branch; Professor Kader Asmal of the ANC national executive committee; and Mr Tony Yengeni, ANC Western Cape secretary.

"The image most people have of women is an image of mothers," said SACP member Ms Zo Kota, who represents the party on Code-sa's Gender Advisory Committee.

Kota said in countries like Pak-



SENDING A MESSAGE: Ms Thenjiwe Mtintsho speaks her mind as Prof Kader Asmal looks on

istan and Britain, where women were appointed to the highest political offices, it was questionable whether they used their positions to improve the lot of women.

"In this country (Minister of Health) Rina Venter is in the cabinet but our conditions have not changed," Kota said.

"Can we... are Rina Venter

with Victoria Mxenge and Ray Alexander?

"We are building a new South Africa. Let us identify women who are going to represent the aspirations of women in parliament.

"Let us identify women who understand that the imbalances in our country have to be addressed."

"In developing countries like

South Africa women are worse off in terms of living and working conditions," she said.

"It is almost legalised in this country that women are inferior to men. There is no equal pay for equal work and maternity and child benefits are a problem.

"You women are going to vote for the government of this country

soon. Are you going to elect politicians who are going to suppress you?"

Kota urged women to vote in "big numbers" to determine what sort of government they wanted. But women also had to continue their struggle for equality because "votes without economic power are meaningless".

The ANC Women's League (ANCWL) called on all women to get involved in ending the violence in the country.

In its Women's Day statement the ANCWL said women should use the occasion to raise their voice against ritual killings and rapes which were rampant in some parts of South Africa.

"Women are killed and widowed, children are brutally killed and orphaned. The Boipatong massacre is one of many incidents where women and children were senselessly assaulted in their sleep," the statement read.

"Women want a society in which we will all feel free to move about without being molested."

The ANCWL said there had been much progress in the past year in drawing up a Charter of Women's Rights.

The launch of the Women's National Coalition in April had been a stride forward in co-ordinating the charter campaign through a democratically elected forum.

Mass action: 'We were ready to talk to ANC'

The government allowed mass action to go ahead, so the ANC should return to the negotiating table as soon as possible, Minister of Constitutional Development, **Roelf Meyer**, right, told **Rehana Rossouw**.



REHANA ROSSOUW: What is your response to the ANC's week of mass action? Some people described it as a black referendum and said the response showed that blacks overwhelmingly supported the ANC's demands.

ROELF MEYER: From the government's perspective the mass action was not necessary because the door was always open for negotiations and there was no need for additional pressure to bring about negotiations.

Do you expect the ANC to take a tougher bargaining position now, or do you think its leaders will be more able to return to negotiations and make compromises, if need be? The mass action campaign was probably meant to build a support base (for the ANC) more than anything else. For that reason we had not opposed the idea. I don't think mass action will make it easier to force us to make compromises at the negotiating table.

So you don't think you are going to be facing tougher ANC bargainers when negotiations resume?

If I read Mr Mandela's speech correctly (at the Union Buildings), he was not trying to gain points for negotiations. It would be totally wrong and detrimental for negotiations if that had been the approach of the ANC. I don't expect them to take that approach.

Two weeks ago the government partially met the ANC's demand for a ban on carrying dangerous weapons. Why did this take so long, and are there any other concrete plans as regards, for example, hostels, which would clear the obstacle of violence and make way for negotiations?

There are some practical difficulties in this regard. I know from past experience some of the difficulties that occurred with the hostel situation. In certain ways the ANC could be of help to resolve them — where we need community involvement and approval. If we act in any way against a hostile situation to improve the situation it could have

Sou TH 15/81-19/8/92
'We have the same problem with our constituency as the ANC has'

negative effects and not solve anything. I would advocate that in this regard they come back to the negotiating table.

As far as the constitutional demands are concerned, the ANC is emphasising the constituent assembly as a departure point. We are saying there should be a transitional constitution to provide for a constitution-making body. I believe we are not that far apart from each other. The ANC's demands around the constitution making body are the key stumbling block in getting us back to the table.

Transkei's military ruler, General Bantu Holomisa, himself a securocrat, believes that security-minded elements in the cabinet and state apparatus are calling the tune in government policy now. In his view, people like yourself and the state president are being either sidelined or won over by hardliners. Your comment?

This is absolute nonsense. The president is calling the tune and the ministers in each portfolio. No minister would allow himself to be dictated to by outsiders. I certainly will not be dictated to by outsiders.

So who influences government thinking most? Is it the Broederbond, military intelligence, or the NIS? Is there a longterm strategy with a set

of coherent goals?

We have a cabinet government; the state president is absolutely rigid about this. The final decisions on matters of government are taken jointly by politicians. This happens every day. I can confirm it absolutely. Yes, there are advisors but the decisions are only taken by politicians.

Today, as far as government policy and decisions are concerned, there are no outside influences. I will not go along with a decision I can't live with.

The government refused to concede a 70 percent majority principle for constitution-making at Codesa 2, and then agreed to this after negotiations had already broken down. Why the change? Was there a deliberate move to stall negotiations?

This is an incorrect perception. In working group two, before things broke down, there was a proposal from the National Party of 70 percent. But then the ANC came with something new, at the very last moment, about a referendum. If I look back at things I feel the ANC was forcing a deadlock.

So the government had no ulterior motive — you had no reason to stall the talks?

We are able to keep pace with the negotiations. We were, in fact, prepared to move faster so that we could pass legislation before the end of the parliamentary session. It's a pity. I think the true picture is that the ANC alliance decided not to continue. It's not the government

that is at fault.

An interesting factor is that although Cosatu was not a member of Codesa — it was decided Codesa would be made up of political parties and structures — they suddenly appeared one day and said they had instructions to come and participate and that they were doing that under the banner of the ANC and SACP. That raises questions of who is influencing the ANC.

Are there changes you would suggest for the structure and openness of the negotiation process, changes that might help to avert deadlock, public confusion and ignorance?

The openness of Codesa is a complaint on our side as well, we have the same problem with our constituency as the ANC has. We have to look seriously at how to involve the public in what we are doing.

We have to open negotiations — not physically in the negotiating rooms — but get the results to people quicker. There can be no negotiations through public demonstrations and pressure. I don't believe that when we sit and negotiate the public eye can be there all the time. We wouldn't be able to reach compromises and we'll deadlock again.

I believe the ANC has a problem with taking their constituency along. The problem is that our constituency as well doesn't like compromises.

The major problem with our constituency at the moment is the mass action. It went down badly in their minds. That's why we didn't interfere with the mass action. We allowed it to go ahead.

FW, Mandela on 'hotline'

STAR 15/8/92

PETER FABRICIUS
Political
Correspondent

PRESIDENT de Klerk and African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela spoke on the telephone yesterday in an effort to revive talks after hardliners in the ANC alliance pulled the plug on tentative efforts this week to break the negotiations deadlock.

After a secret top-level meeting last Sunday — which, according to the Government, was to be followed up by another meeting on Thursday or yesterday — the ANC's national working committee abruptly terminated dialogue with the Government on Thursday.

Senior government sources said the NWC decision came "like a bolt from the blue" and blamed "internal strife" in the ANC. Some government sources said they believed a meeting could still take place at some level soon — but others

feared the NWC decision could have introduced another long delay.

The NWC statement was a reaction to the disclosure of the meeting on Sunday between an ANC delegation under secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, his deputy Jacob Zuma and international affairs director Thabo Mbeki, and a government team under Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and Public Enterprise Minister Dawie de Villiers.

Differences

It is understood that at this meeting lengthy discussions were held about points of difference between the two sides and ways to resume formal



MANDELA: Telephone link with De Klerk.

negotiations.

Meyer said in a statement last night he believed that the ANC negotiators had been "rapped over the knuckles" by hardliners. This tallies with independent information that the Sunday meeting took place without the knowledge of certain key ANC alliance players who were furious when they found out.

The ANC and the Government have offered diametrically opposed interpretations of this meeting. The NWC said the Gov-

● TO PAGE 2

Hotline

● FROM PAGE 1

ernment had requested the meeting and the ANC had responded in the belief that the Government would merely present its response to the ANC's ultimatum containing 14 conditions to be met before negotiations could be resumed.

The NWC said that it emerged that the Government had not moved visibly in its response to the demands and so the "fruitless" meeting was terminated.

But yesterday Meyer challenged "numerous inaccuracies" in the NWC statement. He said the Government had not initiated the meeting alone. Both sides indicated beforehand that they regarded it as essential.

Mandela to attend memorial

ANC president Nelson Mandela and Mrs Graca Machel, widow of the late Mozambican president Samora Machel, will be among the guests at a two-day colloquium at the University of the Western Cape.

The event is to mark the 10th anniversary of the death of Ruth First, a prominent ANC member and the wife of SA Communist Party leader Joe Slovo. She was killed by a letter bomb in her office in Maputo on August 17 1982.

Mr Mandela will deliver the keynote address tomorrow night at a special ceremony where an award will be presented to a senior journalist for "reportage characterised by exceptional initiative and courage

in the spirit of Ruth First's work". Mrs Machel, a former Mozambican minister of education, will present a paper at the colloquium tomorrow morning.

Other speakers at the two-day seminar, which deals with "The possibilities of radical transformation in Southern Africa after negotiations", include the ANC's Albie Sachs, Thozamile Botha and Frene Ginwala, and the SACP's Jeremy Cronin.

Some of the issues to be discussed include education, local government, health, the media, trade unions and the role of women.

The colloquium will be opened by UWC rector, Professor Jakes Gerwel.

5/11/82 (C/M) 16/8/82

(11A)

GLOVES ARE OFF

C/Pres 16/8/92

By **SEKOLA SELLO** and **THEMBA KHUMALO**
THE fragile and often stormy two-year political honeymoon between the government and the ANC seems to be over. (11A)

Events of the past week indicate that the rupture could be permanent. (11A)

As relations between the two main players in the negotiations reached another low, the ANC leadership is reported to be in an angry mood and threatening to launch more punitive mass-action campaigns.

The ANC's international affairs director Thabo Mbeki has been dispatched to the United Nations headquarters in New York to brief UN special envoy Cyrus Vance on the latest developments and also to lobby for international support.

According to ANC sources, Vance was "shocked and appalled" to learn that the government was now linking the release of remaining political prisoners to a general amnesty.

The government also accused "ANC hardliners" of being responsible for the current political impasse precipitated by the ANC decision this week to call off future bilateral talks.

The National Working Committee of the ANC suspended talks with the government after a top-level meeting on Sunday where Pretoria put forward proposals linking the release of about 400 political prisoners with a general amnesty.



THABO MBEKI ... Lobbying for support.

The ANC said it attended the Sunday meeting expecting to discuss the 14 demands it made to the government before it could resume negotiations. The government on the other hand insists that Sunday's agenda was open-ended.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said according to their information, the ANC's four negotiators who held talks with government last Sunday were given "more than a rap on the knuckles" by hardliners within the organisation.

The ANC delegation at the meeting was made up of Mbeki, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, his assistant Jacob Zuma, and Joe Nhlanhla, a member of the National Executive Committee. The government was represented by Meyer and Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers as well as senior officials.

In the wake of the latest deadlock an ANC official told a press briefing the mood was "quite volatile" among delegates who felt cheated by the government's latest stance. He added the tripartite alliance was now consulting extensively with potential allies outside the alliance with a view to deliver the final blow to Pretoria with more mass action.

The Azanian People's Organisation has indicated it would consider being part of mass action.

Another source said the ANC was particularly uneasy with a general amnesty because it would set free prisoners like Capt Brian Mitchell, sentenced to death in Maritzburg for the 1988 killing of 11 villagers at Trust Feed in New Hanover, Natal.



STRONG ARM OF THE LAW ... Even kids were searched when security forces moved into Sabokeng's Zone 7 this week as part of a "clean-up campaign".
■ Pict EVANS MBOWENI

Watch out Africa, here we come!

By **PULE MOKHINE** in Harare

CONFIDENCE is high in the South African soccer camp as the final countdown begins for their historic 1994 African Nations Cup qualifying match against Zimbabwe in Harare today.

The match, which starts at 3 pm, will be screened live on SABC TV.

Yesterday, SA coach Stanley Tshabalala declined to predict a victory but expressed cautious optimism that his team would win.

"We are not taking anything for granted, but we have nothing to fear and we believe we are good enough to win. Our preparations have gone well," said SA captain Mark Tovey.

For many Zimbabweans, SA are favourites to win the first of what will be six qualifying matches against Zimbabwe, Zambia and Mauritius, which could take them to the finals in Tunisia in March 1994.

But a South African victory is anything but a foregone conclusion, and many believe they will be hard-pressed to earn a draw.

Injuries and administrative bungling have combined to force coach Stanley Screamer Tshabalala to make a number of changes to the side.



Is the PAC preparing for talks?

9/Pres 16/8/92.

Logjam may be broken

By SEKOLA SELLO

(11A)

THE PAC this week held ground-breaking talks with the government leading to speculation that the movement has abandoned its hardline position on negotiations and is now ready for talks.

Since the PAC walked out of the Codesa preparatory talks in November 1991, the movement has been insisting that it will with the government outside SA, under the chairmanship of a neutral person to discuss the modalities of a constituent assembly leading to the transfer of power.

Following this week's preparatory talks between the government and the PAC with more substantive discussions expected soon, does this signal a shift on the PAC's previous hardline stance on negotiations?

According to a paper by Johannes Rantete, a researcher with the Centre for Policy Studies, the movement has been making shifts in its position for some time now.

The paper, written before the organisation announced its meeting with Pretoria, highlights the dilemma faced by the PAC leadership on whether to enter negotiations or not.

Armed struggle

Rantete argues that much as the PAC spokesmen talk about "intensified armed struggle", the organisation lacks the capacity and the human and material resources to wage such a struggle.

Staying outside the negotiations gives the organisation time to concentrate on building structures on the ground and recruiting members. It is also not compromised by entering into controversial agreements on issues like

detention without trial during the transition period.

In reality Codesa has become a two-bloc forum. On the one side is the government and those aligned with it like Inkatha. On the other is the ANC and allies the SACP, TIC/NIC and the homelands which have jettisoned Pretoria.

Although the PAC can argue that the government in particular has moved considerably in meeting some of its crucial demands, there is no doubt that the organisation is bound to enter negotiations at one point or another.

Rantete correctly points out that when the organisation withdrew from the pre-Codesa preparatory talks, it stated that it had not left the process permanently and would consult its constituency on the issue.

The PAC is now in a position to enter negotiations with government without losing face. Earlier predictions that by boycotting the negotiations they risked being marginalised have not materialised.

To some extent, the PAC's argument that Codesa would fail has been vindicated. Almost all the parties at the negotiations are now agreed that a new forum is needed to break the political logjam.

That the PAC is already preparing itself for future elections is not in doubt. Recently, a high powered delegation led by national organiser Maxwell Nemasizivhanani and secretary for political affairs Jaki Seroke undertook a trip to China to study party building.

Barring some dramatic developments, it looks like the PAC will soon announce its entry into negotiations, even if this is not at Codesa.

THE two-year-old honeymoon between the ANC and the NP government is over.

The sweet talk and many friendly telephone chats between leaders of the two organisations in the middle of the night have been abruptly put on hold by ANC hardliners.

The diplomacy, mature political debates and friendly smiles we were getting used to on national TV now seem to be a thing of the past.

We will no longer hear words like: "FW de Klerk is a man of honesty and integrity who has changed the history of SA."

Also, it seems we will no longer hear Nelson Mandela being feted as a dignified true statesman, or upheld as a man who surprised the world by showing no bitterness to those who jailed him for 27 years.

What went wrong?

Is this the same marriage that produced the historic Grootse Schuur and Pretoria Minutes and gave birth to Codesa?

This marriage opened doors for De Klerk to enter

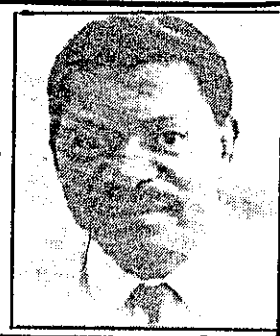
□ MY WAY

With Khulu Sibiya

No more sweet talk

~~2001~~ 11A

CP rep
14/8/92



countries where no other white SA leader had ever ventured. It changed the perceptions of many whites about the ANC and blacks in general.

It destroyed the CP in the "Yes" or "No" referendum which has now also resulted in the CP split.

It allowed blacks to take to the streets in their thousands, venting their anger at being unable to vote in the country of their birth.

But like many marriages, this one was bound not to last forever. Was it built on solid ground, or was it simply a coming-together for the sake of convenience? Whatever the case, it was good while it

lasted. Sad to say though, it's over now.

Let's examine briefly what went wrong.

Firstly, the ANC should have realised that liberation has never been handed over on a silver plate. The government would never have given in to all the demands.

The deadlock at Codesa Two was an indication of how far De Klerk's government was willing to go.

Most important, the ANC seemed to have misread the signals coming from the government about its willingness to immediately usher in democracy.

The ANC sped to the negotiations table, leaving

their grassroots support baffled and confused about negotiations.

Suspending Codesa and calling for mass action was a facesaver to redress this mistake.

However, hardliners within the ANC are still not satisfied. They want all talks, including private conversations between Mandela and De Klerk, put on hold until there are visible signs of a future democracy.

Also, the possibility of the PAC and Azapo getting into negotiations has forced the ANC to change its tune when dealing with the government. In the eyes of its followers it has to be seen to be uncompromising and in control of the

situation.

The PAC and Azapo want nothing short of a transfer of power. They may be a small group compared to the ANC, but they cannot be dismissed lightly.

This divorce between the ANC and the government is seen by many black people as a blessing in disguise. The government, it is maintained, will now be faced by a formidable team – even if the three liberation movements do not form a patriotic or united front.

Also, the government cannot bank on the CP alliance – earmarked to join Codesa after the split – whose sole purpose will be to fight for a white homeland.

The IFP and other homeland leaders have lost confidence in the NP and they too are likely to go in different directions.

The marriage with the ANC is something De Klerk should have tried to save.

Divorce spells doom for the NP and strengthens the move towards liberation by black people.

Premiums set to rise sharply

LIFE insurance policy premiums particularly for young people will increase because of AIDS, a spokesman for Southern Life said at a seminar on AIDS yesterday in Johannesburg.

The insurance industry had recognised that the HIV virus, which can lead to full-blown AIDS, "is going to become a killer of young people in a big way", Paul Truyens said.

The industry's ability to provide life assurance to the average man in the street might become endangered, he warned, unless it introduced changes.

Testing applicants for the HIV virus itself would become common.

"The second thing that will happen is that there'll be a steady increase in the premiums that young people will have to pay."

"Even though a young person might be tested negative and is given life assurance, the younger he is the more likely it is he might still become positive because he has not changed his (social) behaviour." — Sapa.

SACC probe into ANC under way

AN SA Council of Churches (SACC) team which plans to visit ANC camps to test claims of maltreatment and disappearances also wants to inspect government installations used in the covert war against the ANC.

SACC Justice and Social Ministries director John Lamola said the SACC had been given the go-ahead two months ago to begin interviewing people who claim family members had gone missing in ANC camps in Africa. The ANC had camps in Angola and still has a presence in Uganda and Tanzania.

Lamola said the SACC was planning to visit the ANC's camps once a full list of missing people had been drawn up. He said the SACC team had been in contact with a number of ANC dissidents who had returned from exile complaining of maltreatment.

"Our intention is to go with a list of names. The visit will involve international church figures," Lamola said.

He said the visit to the camps, permission for which was granted by ANC president Nelson Mandela last week, would probe alleged human rights violations committed by the ANC in exile.

"We have stood against human rights violations of the apartheid regime. We

PATRICK BULGER

should not overlook what has happened outside the regime," he said.

Lamola said the SACC wanted to visit government installations used during the undercover war against the ANC, in particular Vlakplaas police camp, which renegade policeman Dirk Coetzee said was used as a base for attacks on anti-apartheid figures.

Meanwhile, the commission of inquiry appointed by the ANC to investigate conditions in its camps had not completed its report and would sit for another day, a source close to the commission said.

The source denied that the commission had named ANC administrative official Mzwai Piliso as being primarily responsible for abuses in the camps.

The source said the commission's terms of reference were limited to an investigation into conditions of detention, allegations of maltreatment and complaints about loss of property.

The ANC said a report would be submitted to Mandela and that there would be no comment on the issue until he had studied and made public its findings. The ANC said it had committed itself to publicising the findings when it set up the commission.

Buthelezi issues fresh appeal on peace to ANC

MSINGA — Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday issued a fresh invitation to ANC president Nelson Mandela to join him in a bid to end the carnage in the country.

Addressing the people of Msinga and neighbouring districts in Natal, Buthelezi also rejected the concept of a troika consisting of him, Mandela and President F W de Klerk ruling the country.

"I want no alliance with the ANC... All I have said is that unless Dr Mandela, Mr de Klerk and myself come together to combat violence, violence will flourish.

"I say today to Mandela yet again, act against the violence with me. I say to him, have the courage to go back to your very own suggestion that you and I should share platforms to combat the violence.

He also slammed the ANC's withdrawal from Codesa. "The going is going to get tough because of political tensions created by the ANC's refusal to go back to the negotiation process."

Meanwhile, eight people were wounded in Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, when attackers armed with AK-47 and R-1 rifles fired on the police but missed their target, wounding bystanders instead.

The wounded were treated at a clinic in the township. On Saturday, two bodies were found, police said in their daily unrest report. One had been shot and another hacked and stabbed to death.

On Saturday night a commuter was shot dead and another seriously wounded when they were attacked by unidentified gunmen on a train in Soweto between Phomolong and Dube stations.

No arrests were made.

Two bodies with hack wounds have also been found at Ivory Park, Midrand, where a taxi war claimed four lives last week.

ANC alliance 'is hoping to topple govt

THE ANC and its allies may be preparing for a new round of mass action to force government to comply with their demands.

August 3-4 may be more than government can withstand.

An apparent hardening of the ANC's attitude towards a return to negotiations and little sign that government was preparing to meet demands for an end to violence, an interim government and a constituent assembly, will influence ANC decisions on mass action.

President F W de Klerk telephoned ANC president Nelson Mandela at the weekend, only days after the ANC's national working committee ruled that, while talks remain suspended, the office of ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa would be the only channel through which government could communicate decisions that could lead to talks resuming.

Senior ANC officials believe that government is "on the ropes" and that two more bouts of mass action similar to that which culminated in the general strike of

According to ANC sources, government officials at different levels of seniority have been trying to initiate discussions with the ANC in the past few days.

PATRICK BULGER

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus yesterday dismissed speculation of an early return to talks. She said this was just disinformation spread by government.

Marcus said there was still a fourth phase of mass action to come and that it would be the subject of discussions among ANC structures and its allies in Cosatu and the SA Communist Party. In this phase of mass action — dubbed "Exitgate" by alliance figures when mass action was announced in June — the government is forced from power.

"As part of the process of bringing about

with further mass action' (11A)

democratic change, there could be other phases," she said. Referring to the weekend conversation between Mandela and De Klerk, Marcus said De Klerk was trying to say the government's door was open for negotiations. However, the ANC wanted agreements relating to its 14 demands before its started talking again.

Hopes for an early return to talks have also received a setback from the UN's intention to maintain a relatively low profile in SA. There had been hopes earlier that international involvement could provide the ANC with a victory stemming from mass action to back its decision to return to talks.

Last week, ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki flew to New York for a meeting with UN envoy Cyrus Vance to try to persuade him that SA needed more than the 30 monitors he had recommended. The matter will be discussed in the UN Security Council today.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer said at the weekend hardliners in the ANC had gained the upper hand in decisions on a return to talks. Meyer said the ANC team that met government last week to discuss political prisoners had been "rapped over the knuckles" by hardliners.

● Comment: Page 6

Impasse not over yet - ANC

■ **PRESSURE ON** No talks unless 14 demands

are met immediately:

11A ~~11A~~ ~~11A~~

By **Ismail Lagardien**
Political Correspondent

Sowetan
17/8/92

THE POLITICAL IMPASSE since the collapse of Codesa 2 three months ago is not over yet, the ANC has said.

Unless the Government moves substantially on the ANC's 14 demands of June 23, and releases all political prisoners forthwith, there will be no meetings between the two, the movement said.

It also understood that the United Nations special envoy, Mr Cyrus Vance, has piled on the pressure for the Government to move on the release of political prisoners.

The ANC yesterday confirmed that a single channel - between Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer - has been established for the Government to respond to the 14 demands only.

Mr Carl Niehaus of the ANC yesterday in-

sisted: "This channel was not opened for any negotiations, only for Government to respond to the 14 demands."

The ANC and Vance have expressed their "horror" after Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee has apparently backed off from an undertaking to release the remaining political prisoners, and his coupling of the release with a general amnesty.

This "sudden" call for a general amnesty, the ANC believes, was inspired by "the almost daily revelations of State complicity in violence and about the role of State officials in serious human rights' violations and abuse of power which resulted in crime and in some instances murder".

Meanwhile, the UN Security Council will today discuss the report of its secretary-general Mr Boutros Boutros-Ghali, which calls for, among other things, the release of all political prisoners. The report has the backing of most of the major seats in the UN security council.

Mass action is being called the ANC president's 'referendum', writes R W Johnson

Mandela's stayaway 'mandate'

STAR 18/8/92

~~11A~~ 11A

THE claim is now being widely advanced that the recent mass action, and in particular the two-day stayaway, constituted Nelson Mandela's "referendum", in which he won a handsome "mandate" from his black constituency analogous to that which De Klerk's won from his white constituency in March.

This claim is in some ways hard to understand. It is still far from clear that mass action was ever Mr Mandela's idea: more convincingly paternity suits could surely be laid at the doors of Jay Naidoo, Peter Mokaba or Ronnie Kasrils. Of the ANC leaders, Mr Mandela always seemed the most aware of the economic damage mass action would do.

Then again, he was actually out of the country for most of the crucial build-up to mass action; that is, in terms of the referendum analogy, he was away during the campaign — in Iran, then Tehran, the Emirates, Saudi Arabia, France, even on Olympic holiday in Barcelona. And from Paris, in

the mistaken belief that the Saco-Cosatu accord was in the bag, he even announced that the stayaway would last for a single day, sounding mightily relieved that the strike was off.

To interpret the ensuing two-day strike as a vindication of his views would seem to require considerable mental gymnastics.

There is also the worrying connotation that mass action was a democratic exercise. Yet the truth is that it was a classic example of commandism. From early on in the year, Mr Naidoo reportedly threatened a general strike in August, brandishing a most unlikely timetable for interim government and sounding much like a man who had long since decided on a general strike and was now merely trying to find grounds for it.

Individual unions never had much of a say about the stayaway and certainly workers themselves were never allowed a vote about it, even though it was certain to cost some of them their jobs. Similarly, neither pupils nor parents had any real say in the school boy-

cott decision. Normally the ANC insists that consultation is the essence of democracy, but the strike was called without any attempt at consultation with Nactu, let alone independent unions, the PAC or Azapo. Similarly, in the course of mass action various venues were unilaterally "re-named", despite the normal ANC insistence that there must be consultation.

The strike itself was enforced by the virtual transport shutdown and the environment of non-voluntarism which is now part of township life. This is not to say that all those who stayed away did so only as a result of intimidation. But in any case township dwellers now generally believe they have lost the freedom to choose whether they work or not, or attend school or not; the question of choice simply doesn't arise once a stayaway or boycott has been declared. People can lose freedoms in freedom struggles.

So in what sense was mass action a referendum? For there clearly was a sense in which the ANC regained an oppositional

identity with supporters who had felt disoriented, even disaffected, faced with the ANC's constructive engagement in Codesa, in which it felt it had renewed its contract with its constituency.

The interesting point is just how narrow this constituency was. The media concentrated on crowd size; for its centrepiece rally in Pretoria, with extensive bussing-in and free trains, the ANC managed a good weekend crowd of 60 000; in Cape Town, perhaps 25 000; and a march of 15 000 in Port Elizabeth. Nowhere else did crowd size approach five figures.

Perhaps more significant were the absentees. Nafcoc, Sabta and other representatives of black commerce were notably unenthusiastic about mass action, and no significant churchman felt able to give his public support.

The most important Indian newspaper, *The Leader*, was openly critical and there was no mistaking the lack of enthusiasm for mass action throughout the Indian and coloured communities. Many of the usual ANC-aligned groups

such as Contralesa, the NIC and TIC, Cosaw and so on, were very quiet. If one attended the rallies one was struck by the absence of the "white liberal" wing of the ANC and by the prominence of an SACP hard core. And, of course, outside the special case of the Transkei, mass action was an exclusively urban phenomenon, indeed, very largely a metropolitan one.

What all this suggests is that the ANC was mobilising — at times not unimpressively — in deeply adverse conditions which had the effect of sloughing off the more marginal elements of its coalition. The remaining core appears to be made up of several elements: a powerful rural base in the Xhosa heartland of the Transkei; hubs of small-city support around Port Elizabeth and Maritzburg, the heritage of the impressive organisational impact of Govan Mbeki and Harry Gwala respectively; and less defined coalitions of metropolitan support in which trade union militants and student activists are probably

the key elements. What is really striking is the central importance the ANC placed on renewing its "mandate" from this core group, among whom the insurrectionary spirit of 1983-86 still burns strongly, even if this could be achieved only at the expense of alienating critical support elsewhere.

In this phase of its struggle, this may have been a necessary move for the ANC, but it was, nonetheless, a dangerous game in a pre-electoral period. For the mass action core-group is too narrow and too strongly centred around the SACP to be an election-winning coalition: the tactics necessary to rally the activists could well lose the country at large. As the ANC moves back towards negotiations and ultimately towards the hustings it would do well to realise that it needs to reassure not just whites, Indians and coloureds but, quite crucially, the black church, business and professional groups on whom the country's future depends, and whose voice has been all but blotted out in the tumult of the last two months. □

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PARENT AND
BIDAY 18/92
agreement

Government meets PAC again today

PRETORIA (11A) The restructuring of the negotiations forum will be one of the main items on the agenda in the second meeting between the PAC and government today.

Amid speculation that Codesa's committee and sub-committee system could be "streamlined", PAC vice-president Dikgang Moseneke said yesterday the convening of a constituent assembly and an alternative negotiations forum would top the agenda.

Moseneke expected the discussions to be more focused than last week's meeting, which he described as a "getting to know each other" meeting.

Today's meeting would deal concretely with areas in which agreement could be achieved and those where it could not.

The PAC would also be seeking clarity on the form of a transitional authority to oversee elections for a constituent assembly and a

TIM COHEN

top-level summit at a neutral venue under a neutral chairman, Moseneke said.

Government had placed the issue of violence on the agenda while the PAC would be raising the issue of a general amnesty, an area in which the government and the ANC have serious disagreement.

The PAC was seeking a general amnesty which would include an amnesty for crimes in which members of the PAC's armed wing Apla may have been involved after the indemnity cut-off date in October 1990.

The nature of the crimes and the cut-off date were still under discussion, he said.

But he added that the existing cut-off date, which he pointed out referred to indemnity rather than amnesty, was "ridiculous".

WHO sticks to its health warnings

LONDON — The World Health Organisation (WHO) stood by its advice to cut out fatty foods, puddings, cream and butter yesterday despite claims that there was no evidence its advice would lower the risk of heart disease.

WHO health protection policy director Dr Jean Rochon denied WHO's nutrition guidelines were fanatical. The guidelines include being cautious with alcohol.

The organisation was criticised

Own Correspondent

BIDAY 18/92
in a report by the Social Affairs Unit, a right-of-centre think tank, which said evidence showed diet had little or no effect on heart disease. The report also said a half bottle of wine with lunch or a brandy before going to bed could be much better preventive medicine than all the cholesterol guidelines combined. — Daily Telegraph.

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ure: BRIAN HENDLER



CHAMP IN THE DOCK ... World super middleweight boxing champion Chris Eubank (right) arrives at Haywards Heath court in Brighton, England. He pleaded not guilty to a charge of careless driving in which his car left the road. A man was killed in the incident.

PAC Government in follow-up talks

■ Preparation for full-blown summit: Sowetan 18/8/92

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress and the Government hold follow-up talks today and similar meetings with black consciousness groups are in the pipeline.

The meeting to be held in Pretoria is a continuation of last Tuesday's talks between the two parties at a Jan Smuts Airport hotel to prepare for a full-blown summit.

PAC secretary for foreign affairs and delegation chairman Mr Gora Ebrahim said yesterday the agenda would still include a constituent assembly, transitional authority and a neutral venue and chairman.

A future meeting between PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu and State Presi-

dent Mr FW de Klerk would be an item on the agenda and not the main issue as suggested in earlier reports, Ebrahim said.

The Black Consciousness Movement of Azania and the Azanian People's Organisation might also engage the Government in bilateral discussions on transitional mechanisms and a constituent assembly.

Speaking from Harare, Zimbabwe, yesterday, BCMA spokesman Mr Vuyisa Qunta said a "facilitator" who was neither linked to the BCAM/Azapo nor the Government would inform the two parties on his recommendations soon.

Qunta said his movement could only engage the Government in real negotiations outside South Africa and under a neutral chairman.

Meanwhile, the ANC and PAC have denied that they were planning to discuss strategy with Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe.

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NOW IN BOXE

NEWS IN BRIEF

Govt and ANC slated

GOVERNMENT and the ANC have been criticised for their respective handling of land and rural development issues.

Association for Rural Advancement co-ordinator Richard Clacey, said in his annual report yesterday government's decision to arbitrarily dispose of 3-million hectares of state land to the homelands pointed to an attempt to use the transition process to restructure land dispensation in a way that would pre-empt attempts by a future government to institute more far-reaching reforms. (1A)

Of the ANC Clacey said the land question had yet to receive serious attention from a movement positioning itself as a major alternative to apartheid rule. He questioned whether the concerns of rural people were high on the ANC's agenda.

S(DAY) 18/8/92

PAC to hold talks with Govt again

STAR 18/8/92
By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The PAC will take another tentative step towards negotiations tonight when it again holds talks with the Government in Pretoria.

Tonight's meeting, to be held at the Burgerspark Hotel, is a follow-up to one held by the two parties at the Airport Sun hotel last Tuesday — which lasted for three hours and was described by Constitutional Development Minister

Roelf Meyer as "fruitful and constructive".

PAC legal and constitutional affairs secretary Willie Seriti yesterday confirmed that the meeting would go ahead.

Mr Seriti said his organisation would be represented by the same six-man delegation which attended last week's meeting, led by foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim.

A well-informed PAC source told The Star there were two main issues on the agenda of tonight's meeting: vio-

lence and alleged attacks on security forces by the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

The PAC's political leadership has consistently refused to comment on, or condemn, Apla's activities, and has routinely referred questions to Apla's headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

● PAC relief and aid secretary Patricia de Lille and national executive council member K Mkalipi led a PAC delegation

in a meeting with the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Brian Jenkins, in Cape Town yesterday.

Mrs de Lille said her delegation had briefed Sir Brian on the PAC's position on negotiations, and told him "the PAC's participation will bring some content to negotiations which will lead to some gains for the dispossessed African people".

Mrs de Lille said the mayor expressed his concern about future economic development in the country.

ANC spells out its rejection of amnesty

STARZ 18/8/92

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The ANC yesterday reiterated its opposition to a general amnesty, saying its "sudden promotion" by the Government related to "accumulating evidence of senior ministerial and security force involvement in assassinations and violence".

Listing five "serious misconceptions about the nature, content and implications of granting a general amnesty to cover all forms of past wrongdoing" in the country, the ANC said the De Klerk government did not have the competence to grant amnesty.

The ANC said crimes against humanity, perpetrated in various forms of apartheid, were "the most serious crimes in international law", and the way a general amnesty was now being presented equated the acts of those who opposed apartheid with those who acted "to maintain this vile system".

"Indemnity must be granted to those who are prepared to come forward with information that will provide an understanding of the past and help put an end to the ongoing mayhem.

"But as long as governments allow or encourage their forces to act with contempt for human rights, as long as the agents of repression believe they can kidnap, torture and murder without fear of discovery or punishment, the cycle of violence will never be broken," said the ANC.

The ANC also said:

● The question of political prisoners — who had either served sentences or sought individual indemnity from future prosecution — could not "be muddied with the amnesty issue". The Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes of 1990 laid down procedures for dealing with politically motivated activities.

A general amnesty would grant full indemnity "for hit squads, operatives of the State Security Council, perpetrators of torture, killings and assassi-

nations for undisclosed acts and for unidentified persons".

● An integral part of a general amnesty was not only knowledge of past deeds, but also acknowledgement of the past.

● Absolving the military or police of capital crimes, torture or ill-treatment would place its members above the law, and "cripple the principle of equality before the law which underlies a future democracy".

● The stability of a democracy was not built on granting concessions to the military on issues pertaining to "its violent intrusions into civilian life", and exonerating would perpetuate fear and intimidation.

● It could not be assumed that amnesty, "an act of generosity", would bring an end to a tradition of covert activity.

The ANC said the people of South Africa had suffered as victims of apartheid. If a general amnesty simply swept all the misdeeds under the carpet, the clamour for justice would increase "from all those who have been harmed".

PAC man suspended

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke had been suspended as editorial director of SA's leading black publishing house, Skotaville, for political activities, Seroke alleged yesterday.

Skotaville chairman Kheba Mthembu denied the suspension had anything to do with Seroke's PAC involvement. PAC deputy secretary-general Thobile Gola said Seroke would devote all his time to the PAC.

B/DA/19/8/92

(11)

news in brief

PAC official suspended

BLACK publishing house Skotaville Publishers has suspended its editorial director for belonging to a political organisation. (11A)

Mr Jaki Seroke, Pan Africanist Congress secretary for political affairs, yesterday said the matter was being handled by his lawyer.

A letter informing him of the suspension on June 18 said the action was taken against him for insubordination and for belonging to a political organisation. Sowetan 19/8/92

Mr Kehla Mthembu, chairman of Skotaville's board of directors, said Seroke was suspended for internal reasons which he was not free to comment on.

PAC talks progress

Sowetan 19/8/92

11A 3/11/92

■ **BROAD ACCORD** PAC, Government make

headway in talks on armed struggle, other issues:

THE Pan Africanist Congress and the Government last night made "substantive progress" in the second round of talks including headway on the thorny issue of the PAC's armed struggle.

In a joint statement after a three-hour meeting in Pretoria, they announced that agreement had

been reached on a future constitution-making body which the PAC referred to as a constituent assembly.

Follow-up talks were also proposed which could finalise a meeting between President FW de Klerk and PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu.

See story page 2

Sowetan 19/8/92 (11A)

Pat Hlongwane is a spy - ANC

Sowetan & Radio Metro
Talkback



with Tim Modise

AFRICAN National Congress legal adviser Mr Matthew Phosa last night reiterated his organisation's allegations that the Returned Exile Committee chairman, Mr Patrick Hlongwane, had been a police spy.

Phosa was speaking on the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show hosted by DJ Tim Modise.

"It's a pity that Hlongwane is not with us here (in the Johannesburg studio). He might have recognised my face," Phosa said.

He said he met Hlongwane in Kampala where he had allegedly confessed to the killing of "many activists" while a police spy in South Africa.

Speaking from an SABC studio in Durban, Hlongwane, denied the allegations.

He said the organisation tortured

him and forced him to confess that he had been a police spy.

"I left the country because I wanted to talk with the ANC about their communist Freedom Charter, and not to be put in a concentration camp where people were treated like slave," Hlongwane said.

He compared the ANC's prison camps in Quatro, Angola, to Hitler's concentration camps.

Phosa said Hlongwane had not left the country to join the ANC because he hated the organisation.

"We should not waste our time with people like Hlongwane espe-

cially at the time when our country is in the process of reconciliation."

Mpho Mazibuko, Sebokeng.

"I can only answer questions related to Quatro (ANC prison in Angola) and not whether I poisoned people in Lusaka," Hlongwane.

"We should avoid having uncultured people like Hlongwane on the air," Brian Lareng, Dobsonville, Soweto.

"Pat must tell our people why so many people were nearly killed

because of poisoning in Lusaka. He nearly killed them."

Phosa.

"I hate to answer stupid questions from stupid people. Here I'm dealing with a monster (ANC). The ANC has burnt my home and has necklaced my mother."

Hlongwane.

"We are going to defend our members and the community against the ANC's communist disinformation."

Hlongwane.

next *Talkback* topic

THE South African soccer team, after credible performances against Cameroon, was brought down to earth with a bump when it was thumped 4-1 by a vastly superior Zimbabwean national squad on Sunday.

What measures must be taken to bring the country's squad up to international standards? What do you think is wrong with South African soccer?

Dial the hotline (011) 714-8063

PAC, Govt in breakthrough

Sowetan 19/8/92

(11A) ~~2/2/92~~

■ **SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS** Problem of neu-

tral venue is no longer a thorny issue:

THE GOVERNMENT AND the PAC made "substantive progress" in their second round of talks last night, according to a joint statement after a three-hour long meeting.

The two parties reached an agreement on a future constitution-making body and on the thorny issue of the PAC's armed struggle.

They also agreed that:

- A new constitution should be drafted by an elected constitution-making body (which the PAC referred to as a constituent assembly);
- The principle of constitutionality should be adhered to during the transitional process;
- The process and framework leading to the election of a constitution-making body should be negotiated "at a more representative forum" than Codesa;
- The transition should be peaceful; and
- A process of registration for a common voters' roll should start as soon as possible.

In addition, the PAC said it would rethink its armed struggle once the process towards a democracy had clearly started.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, who led the Government delegation, said the Government had emphasised the need for a peaceful transition, the cessation of violence and the end of the armed struggle.

"The PAC indicated that once we have clearly embarked on a peaceful process towards an elected constitution-making body, they would change their position (on the armed struggle)."

The PAC's Mr Gora Ebrahim, said his organisation had "listened carefully" to the Government's viewpoint on violence, and agreed that there was no room for violence once a democratic system was in place in South Africa.

Ebrahim said while the PAC still believed negotiations should be held at a neutral venue under a neutral chairmanship, this was an issue which should be discussed.

ANC tunes strategy

STAR 19/8/92

11A

Although bilateral ANC-Government talks are not taking place, the ANC continues preparing its negotiating strategy.

Patriotic Front members at Codesa yesterday held a summit on negotiations in KwaNdebele, and the ANC and its regions meet tomorrow in a two-day negotiations consultative forum in Johannesburg.

When talks were broken off on June 23, the ANC said it would convene a summit "to unite and mobilise our people against continued white minority rule and for democracy".

After ANC and Government negotiators met 10 days ago, the ANC national executive committee last week reiterated the organisation's position that no constitutional discussions with the Government would take place until the Government had met the ANC's demands. — Political Reporter.

PAC and Govt again

STAR 19/8/92

discuss negotiations

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

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The PAC and the Government held talks in Pretoria last night in an effort to facilitate the PAC's entry into negotiations.

Last night's meeting, held at the Burgerspark Hotel, is a follow-up to a meeting held at the Airport Sun Hotel last Tuesday. Last week's meeting was described as fruitful by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

The question of violence, alleged attacks on security forces by the PAC's military wing the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), and the holding of elections for a constituent assembly were on the agenda of last night's meeting.

A well-informed PAC source told The Star that most of the items on the meeting's agenda were the Government's — the

PAC's having been addressed at last week's meeting.

During a press briefing at the end of last week's meeting — the first between the PAC and the Government on South African soil — Mr Meyer said his delegation had raised its concern about Apla attacks on policemen and was waiting for the PAC's response.

The PAC's political leadership has consistently refused to comment on, or condemn, Apla's activities and has referred questions to Apla's headquarters in Dar-es-Salaam.

The PAC source said: "We will just listen to their views and put ours across. We might then tell them we will put their views to the Apla leadership."

The delegations were led by Mr Meyer and PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim. A press conference was expected to be held after the meeting.

Time to tell our stories

STAR 19/8/92

BOSSIA 11A

ALL contributors to the Breaking The Logjam series seem to agree that we have not yet reached a stage where it would be accurate to say we have finally failed to reach a peaceful negotiated constitutional settlement.

But the least that can be done at the moment is to question the manner in which we have gone about trying to reach this settlement.

In other words, we need to ask if the negotiating forum we created was the best vehicle that could have been devised to transport us to a democratic, post-apartheid South Africa. We need to ask if enough preparatory work was done by way of building mutual understanding and removing unnecessary stereotypes among the negotiating parties.

We also need to wonder if the right questions have been posed at the negotiating forum and if the various parties in this forum have been afforded time to "tell their stories" and honestly enunciate their fears and concerns about the

future democracy we are trying to build.

It is my view that none of these preliminary steps to negotiation were taken to a satisfactory degree. The result of this omission is now showing in the way all parties are trying to harness the future constitution to enunciate hidden fears and concerns that were not stated beforehand.

If we accept that a constitution is the embodiment of a nation's fears, concerns, suspicions, aspirations and hopes then we must first address these earnestly before we begin the task of drafting a new democratic constitution. I fear that if this is not done parties will continue to talk past each other for months without any visible progress. In fact, under such circumstances, the more parties try to talk the more the misunderstanding among them deepens.

As most contributors have rightly stated, the cause of the present stalemate is not so much the type of constitution we need or the majorities we need to ratify it. On the contrary, the stalemate is

caused by lack of consensus on how we reconcile majority rule with minority concerns and thereby ensure that minority parties buy in to the envisaged constitutional settlement in such a way that they can be relied on to uphold and defend it.

The other level of the stalemate has to do with uncertainty on the part of possible losers in a future election, that the possible winners can be relied on to guarantee an irrevocable commitment to democratic principles in post-apartheid South Africa and that, if this commitment is undermined, something tangible and effective can be done to save the citizenry from the tyranny of the majority.

It is in attempting to grapple with this constitutional dilemma that some of the parties tend to propose the tyranny of the minority (or what the ANC calls a loser-takes-all formula). The obvious challenge here is that a mutually acceptable compromise needs to be found by the negotiating parties.

In seeking honest answers to

these questions, we face a real problem. In negotiations these questions are normally posed and honestly answered with the assistance of a third party who enjoys a certain measure of mutual trust.

For instance, the NP is unlikely to say in public that it fears majority rule because it believes this will most probably translate into black majority rule and a possibility of reprisals and reverse discrimination and hostile domination.

The ANC is unlikely to say in public that it is prepared to compromise as much as possible provided the compromise does not turn the new government into a completely lame duck incapable of adopting policies to redress past socio-economic disparities and thereby address the expectations of the voteless majority.

Similarly, the IFP is unlikely to say in public that it fears the possible consequences of an ANC-dominated government given the state of animosity that exists between the two organisations and which is likely to endure right into

post-apartheid South Africa.

It is difficult to foresee any way forward which does not accept the need for the negotiating parties to enlist the services of independent facilitators and mediators.

It is these people and not the negotiating parties themselves who are capable of listening with empathy to the fears, concerns, hopes and aspirations of the various parties.

Cyrus Vance could well be the answer but he would need to spend far more time in this country, develop a far deeper understanding of the socio-political dynamics at play here and adopt a far more hands-on approach to this task than is possible in terms of his present UN mandate.

The negotiating parties would do well to declare a moratorium of at least a month on further constitutional kite-flying and instead use this period to hold confidential bilateral talks about their fears, concerns, suspicions and aspirations.

The two days of private and open-hearted talks suggested by

the NP might partially serve this purpose if properly planned. But the bilateral talks would have to be extended to include the IFP. Somebody such as Mr Vance could be invited to these confidential talks as a facilitator and empathetic listener. For me this is far more urgent and important than calls for a hasty reconvening of Codesa which is in any case not suitable for the negotiation strategy we now require.

Finally, I endorse the sentiment already expressed by all contributors that violence must end, that the verbal war among leaders must stop forthwith and that peacekeeping structures like the National Peace Committee and the Goldstone Commission must be given legal teeth to use against leaders and parties who continue to flout the Peace Accord with impunity.

Otherwise these structures will soon lose whatever credibility they retain. □

● *Dr Dhlomo is executive chairman of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy.*

news in

PAC slammed 11A

A FACTION within the Pan Africanist Students Organisation has criticised the leadership of the Pan Africanist Congress for its involvement in talks with the Government. *Sowetan 20/8/92*

The group, which describes itself as the Wits Region of the students' organisation, said its weekend congress had resolved that the "imperialist-sponsored negotiations" would not address the aspirations of African students, who wanted the present education system replaced with "a socialist one under a socialist government". "We therefore distance ourselves from all these sell-out manoeuvres on the part of the 'leadership'," the movement said.

ANC regions to hold crucial talks

11A

Sowetan 20/8/92

■ Constitutional negotiations to come under review:

By Themba Molefe

ALL regions of the African National Congress are to hold a two-day consultative conference, beginning today, to review constitutional negotiations.

However, the organisation is likely to stick to its stance of not talking to the Government unless its 14 demands had been met.

The organisation pulled out of Codesa following the June 17 Boipatong massacre.

On Tuesday the ANC met its partners in the Patriotic Front, including homeland leaders and the Labour Party, at KwaNdebele to assess the negotiations process.

"The PWV region believes it is not

yet time to resume negotiations because all the 14 demands presented to the Government have not been met," said regional spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa.

He said it was likely all regions would adopt a militant stance and pressure the national leadership to maintain its current position.

Meanwhile, the Pan Africanist Congress yesterday said no other meetings were being planned with the Government following agreements reached on Tuesday on a future constitution-making body or constituent assembly.

PAC secretary for foreign affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim said follow-up talks would be between himself and Government chief negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer.

(117) CT 20/8/92

Azapo agrees to 'talks-about-talks'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), following the PAC's lead, has taken the first steps towards joining the negotiation process — under defined conditions.

It said yesterday that an "international facilitator" would meet the government today in talks-about-talks.

Although some of its initial demands may be impossible to meet, such as the call for a neutral venue outside the country, it is the first time that the black consciousness organisation has indicated a willingness to enter direct negotiations with the government.

Its conditions are similar to those first laid down by the PAC.

The PAC said after a meeting with the government on Tuesday that there were grounds for a peaceful transition to a new political dispensation and their talks were "constructive and positive".

An agreement had been reached that a new constitution should be

drafted by an elected constitution-making body, the PAC's foreign affairs secretary, Mr Gora Ebrahim, and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, said.

Mr Meyer said progress had been made towards involving the PAC in the negotiation process.

Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodely, said yesterday that an international facilitator would set out to the government his organisation's conditions for a meeting between the two parties.

Azapo's conditions for it to enter negotiations with the government are that the meeting take place at a neutral venue with an independent chairman; the agenda must be fixed; the government must give a clear indication of its preparedness to relinquish power by suspending parliament and reincorporating bantustans; bantustan leaders and all members of parliament, no matter which party they represent, should come as part of the government delegation; and the meetings must be open to the media.

ANC: no nationalised land

STAN 20/8/92

BLOEMFONTEIN — It was not ANC policy to nationalise land, but there would have to be redistribution, ANC agricultural spokesman Derek Hanekom told the annual congress of the Free State Agricultural Union in Bloemfontein yesterday. (114)

“ The challenge faced by the ANC was the unequal access to land. *[Signature]*

“ The greatest source of income in rural areas had been remittances from migrant la-

bourers, but as more people lost their jobs those on the land became more dependent on subsistence farming.

Mr Hanekom said the ANC proposed a land claims court to deal with people who had been forcibly removed.

He said the ANC land reform programme was not a socialist system.

He suggested a land tax on those not using land productively. — Sapa.

Church to mediate talks

Sowetan 20/8/92

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

■ **Botswana bishop agrees to broker talks with liberation movements outside South Africa:** 

A WORLD Council of Churches leader and head of the Anglican church in Africa is to act as negotiations broker between the Black Consciousness Movement and the Government.

Sowetan can today reveal that Archbishop Khotso Walter Makhudu of Botswana will chair the first meeting of the Government and joint Black Consciousness Movement of Azania and the Azanian Peoples Organisation.

The meeting to explore full fledged negotiations between major liberation movements on one side of the table, and the Government on the other, will be held outside the country and indications

are that it could be within a month.

Azapo is to announce today details of the behind-the-scenes activities to bring the "alternative negotiating forum" about.

The talks will be a sequel to a process started by the Government in February this year when an official of the Ministry of Constitutional Development and Planning, Mr Maritz Spaarwater, made overtures to Azapo.

Several meetings were held between Azapo officials and the Ministry during which agreement was reached about a neutral convener and an external venue.

It is understood Makhudu was approached by the BCMA, and after he accepted, the ministry officials indicated that they too accepted his credentials.

Makhudu is a member of the WCC presidium, president of the All Africa Church Conference and head of the Anglican Central African Province.

It is strongly believed Zimbabwe will be the likely host.

This development follows agreement between the Government and the Pan Africanist Congress on Tuesday on a future constitution-making body or constituent assembly.



Black Consciousness is as relevant today as it ever was, argues Dr Gomolemo Mokae of Azapo. Especially now, when white liberals have wormed and clawed their way into high-powered positions in the black liberation struggle. BC founding father Steve Biko would be horrified, he says.

BC needed to check white role

11A
C/Pren 2/8/92

EUREKA! Now I know: Black Consciousness is as relevant as ever!

After all these years we heard this confirmed by non other than SACP-ANC heavyweight Joe Slovo.

Slovo made this fascinating disclosure during a recent 702 radio talkshow hosted by John Robbie.

Slovo said attacks on whites by blacks were an "expected" consequence of massive and prolonged white racist oppression.

However, Slovo reassured Robbie that the "apocalyptic" view which saw blacks attacking their white oppressors en masse had not happened.

Why? Slovo said: "This is indicative of the ANC's grip on the masses." He also put it down to the ANC's policy of "non-racialism".

Obviously, it's a grip tight enough to prevent blacks attacking whites, but so loose as to fail to prevent them destroying each other.

Much has been written about blacks' so-called unlimited capacity to forgive, which commentators often mistake for *botho/ubuntu* - humanism.

But how does one explain why this black "civility" towards whites is so quickly replaced by murderous intent when directed among blacks?

We put it down to a dearth of BC.

Faced with our horrendous contribution to inhumanity - the "necklace" - it's no wonder that in 1991 the outgoing president of the South African Institute of Race Relations, Bishop Stanley Moga, called for a "return" to BC.

He said: "I can vouch for positive nationalism and Black Consciousness because I have seen it work. I have seen individuals and whole communities undergoing a metamorphosis because they have subscribed to, and practised BC."

"It is difficult for people who have been thus changed to be manipulated by others . . . People must be taught to think for themselves and not be steamrolled by mass thinking and mass hysteria."

Recently, during his visit to SA, Kenyan intellectual Prof Ali Mazrui lambasted white ANC liberals for preventing their black "comrades" from "doing their own thing".

White ANC thinker Albie Sachs was sincere enough to own up to the inordinate predominance of white intellectualism in the ANC.

At about the same time as Slovo made his Freudian slip, a former BC exponent who has developed a fondness for white liberals, Trofomo Sono, tried to disparage BC in the *Sunday Star*.

Of course, as he exploited his status as a former Saso president, Sono conveniently avoided mention of the fact that he had actually been the first, before Curtis Nkondo, to be kicked from presidency of a BC formation for his then-developing partiality to white tutelage.

But even as he tried to argue that BC was an effete force, he revealed that white liberals had clawed their way to positions of clout within the ANC.

Note well how virtually all the white former MK members - Carl Niehaus, Marion Sparg, Barbara Hogan, Grosskopf, - hold important positions within the movement as spokespersons, intellectual supports etc.

Where are the majority black cadres? How many are unemployed, destitute and in political oblivion?

Is this not - as Biko warned - "giving a black body a white head"?

"Powerlessness breeds a race of beggars who smile at the enemy and swear at him in the sanctity of their toilets; who shout "Baas" willingly during the day and call the white man a dog in their buses as they go home," wrote Steve.

FM 21/8/92

11A

timing only. This is a major shift for the Africanists. But it is less a case of deep political acumen on the part of the PAC than recognition that it has no other option but to talk.

The PAC was due to meet government for a second round of preparatory talks this week, following their successful meeting last Tuesday, at which it raised the question of an alternative forum to Codesa for future constitutional talks. Any change to the Codesa format, which many have thought likely anyway, will doubtless be claimed as a victory by the PAC. The important thing, however, is if this makes PAC entry into the process easier among its suspicious and militant followers.

Significantly, these bilateral talks are taking place inside the country. The PAC has always insisted on a neutral outside venue presided over by a neutral international chairman. That is why it claimed as a victory its meeting with President F W de Klerk in Nigeria last April. Such points of political purity are important to the organisation.

While the PAC seemed to be preparing to enter constitutional negotiations late last year, it appeared that its membership effectively scotched the move. But its leaders claim they pulled out of the multi-party pre-Codesa talks at the time because the ANC had reneged on an agreement in terms of which the two organisations would act as a front essentially to pursue the PAC view of negotiations.

What has made the PAC change its approach? In a paper by Johannes Rantete of the Centre for Policy Studies, it is suggested that the PAC's lack of options if it remains outside the process may provide the answer.

The PAC, says Rantete, lacks the capacity to achieve its "decolonisation" model of change, in terms of which "the regime" is forced to capitulate and simply transfer power to the liberation forces. Its lack of organisational muscle may prevent it from winning substantial support by remaining outside negotiations and capitalising on disaffection with the process.

Nor does it have the capacity to derail any negotiations. "There clearly is disenchantment with the process, but little sign of growing PAC support," says Rantete. It was revealing of PAC support that its stance against the recent ANC strike had scarcely any impact on the stayaway.

Even if the PAC does win enough support from its constituency for joining constitutional talks, it is unlikely to gain much: "A settlement reached if the PAC is party to talks may not be very different to one reached if it continues to shun them," says Rantete.

This seems to be its dilemma. Even though the PAC represents an important strand in "liberation" thinking, its influence in the negotiations and the system that emerges from it will remain limited. The central explanation for this lies in the fact that its vision of the transition as a decolonisation process "is simply unachievable in SA, by negotiation or by any other means."

PAC

FM 21/8/92

One ballot

11A

Ironically, at a time when the ANC has broken off all talks with government, its would-be rival on the far Left, the Pan Africanist Congress, seems to be looking for a way in. And, as if to vindicate PAC preconditions for joining constitutional talks, the ANC seems in a sense to have caught up with, or reverted to, the PAC position: that is, bilaterally sorting out demands with government for the removal of various perceived obstacles, as well as extracting a clear commitment on an elected constituent assembly, before negotiations proper may proceed.

It seems that the PAC is not, after all, marginalising itself. Having at one time been utterly opposed to negotiation with the "regime", the PAC now sees it as a matter of

ANC 'cannot delay progress'

Govt plans to press ahead with reforms

BIDA 21/8/92

GOVERNMENT would go ahead with legislation to reform the constitution in October — regardless of whether the ANC had returned to talks, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

At a news conference at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, he said government could not continue to "sit on its hands".

A conference would be held early in September where government would meet other political parties with similar policies, to discuss such issues as federalism.

He said government's reasonableness should not be mistaken for weakness; it would not bow to pressure and mass action but would continue governing until there was a negotiated interim constitution.

Government was anxious to take steps to realise this aim and had no intention of allowing the ANC to delay progress.

"We dare not permit the negative and confrontational strategy of the radicals and communists in the ANC to disrupt progress to a full democracy," De Klerk said.

The ANC reacted angrily to his announcement, saying there was no future in negotiations that excluded the ANC. It warned those parties planning to meet government in a negotiating conference that their efforts would be fruitless.

De Klerk said the conference would decide on legislation to "further level the playing fields" and other constitutional issues. But he stopped short of saying this would include enabling legislation for an interim government.

He said he had met the DP and Inkatha yesterday and they had had constructive discussions about the way forward. He would be meeting the DP again and he was in regular contact with Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

BILLY PADDOCK

In response to questions De Klerk said this was not a threat to the ANC. "We cannot wait forever. The past three months of stagnation and mass action, which were heralded by the ANC's calculated obstruction of Codesa II, have been to great disadvantage to our country and all its people."

He said he wanted to see all the important role players back at the negotiating table. In the hope that talks would resume soon, government would work constructively in the weeks ahead to draw in the ANC.

He made it clear that government was not going to respond in detail to each of the ANC's 14 demands.

If negotiations were not back on track by September, the conference would go ahead so that progress could at least be made in the interim.

De Klerk said damage had been done to the economy and especially to the poor, with many losing their jobs as a result of the ANC pulling out of negotiations.

Foreign investors had been frightened off, schools disrupted, attitudes had hardened and millions of moderate South Africans were losing patience and becoming increasingly radical in reaction to the ANC's threats and excesses.

He said government was ready to take important preparatory steps to make progress possible.

"We also want to be satisfied that the ANC may be trusted to fulfil and honour agreements," he said.

It was in this framework that government and the NP would make every endeavour to resolve the deadlocks in the coming weeks but it insisted on tolerance, reasonableness and fairness.

THE Umtata Congress of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania unanimously adopted a resolution on negotiations.

The resolution said the PAC "is not opposed in principle to resolving the legitimate struggle for national liberation and self-determination through the mechanism of genuine negotiations".

It added that such negotiations must take place in a democratic forum with participants having a national mandate. Congress further decided that such negotiations must take place under a neutral convener and at a neutral venue.

The PAC from the outset has been demanding the establishment of an elected Constituent Assembly as the only democratic forum which can draw up the new, nonracial democratic constitution.

These basic principles were put by the PAC before the patriotic United Front Conference and received overwhelming support.

The PAC, as custodian of these fundamental principles, began to take concrete steps to implement them. Consequently, the first formal meeting between the PAC and the regime was held in Abuja, Nigeria, under a neutral convener.

Two issues were discussed at that meeting: the principle of neutrality and the democratisation of the negotiating forum.

Exploratory talks

In Abuja it was agreed that further exploratory talks should be held bilaterally on these and other issues. The Abuja meeting was followed by the bilateral preparatory talks at the Southern Suns Hotel in Johannesburg. At that meeting, the PAC placed the following items on the agenda:

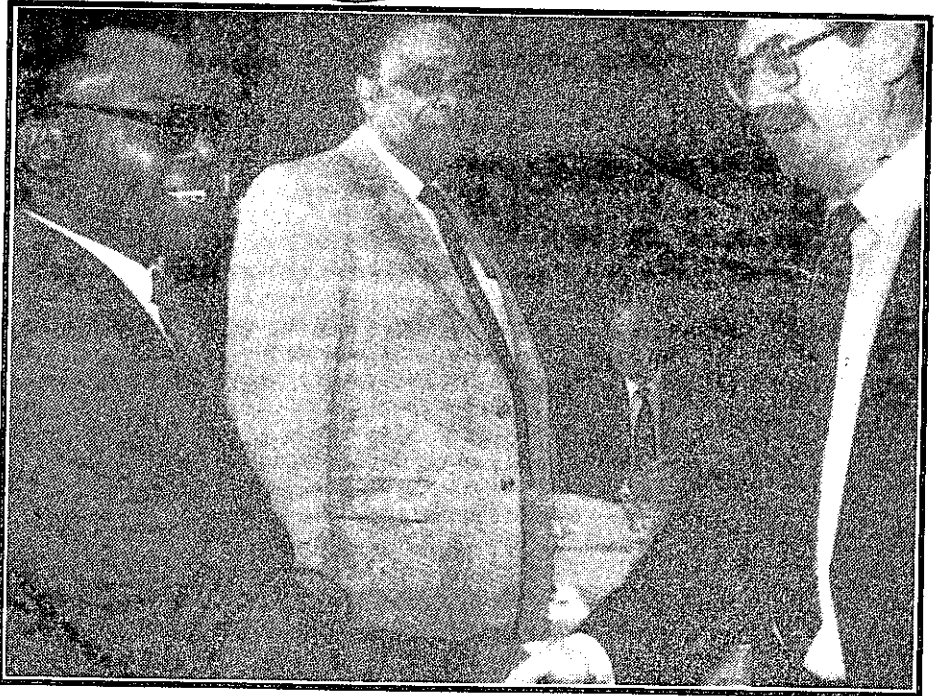
- (a) Constituent Assembly
- (b) new negotiating forum
- (c) transitional authority
- (d) preparation for a leadership meeting

This agenda was agreed to by the regime. However, the regime proposed two additional agenda items - violence and attacks on security forces. The PAC agreed to discuss these items.

After seven hours of discussions at the Johannesburg venue and at the Burgerspark Hotel in Pretoria, agreements were reached on the following principles:

1. The new constitution must be drawn up by an elected constitution-making body. The PAC refers to this as the Constituent Assembly.
2. A more representative negotiating forum must be established to negotiate the modalities and principles for the establishment of the elected constitution-making body, namely, the Constituent Assembly.
3. The process for establishment of the elected constitution-making body should begin soon with voter registration for a non-racial common

Gora Ebrahim, secretary for foreign affairs of the Pan Africanist Congress, explains the organisation's position after he led a delegation which met the Government on Tuesday 11A ~~11A~~ Sowetan 21/8/92



PAC's Willie Seriti shakes hands with the government's chief negotiator Tertius Delpert. Seen in the middle is PAC's Gora Ibrahim.

voters' roll.

4. A meeting at the highest leadership level is desirable as soon as the issues of neutral venue and neutral convener are settled.

The issues of violence and attacks on security forces were extensively discussed. On violence, the PAC said it was not involved in the senseless carnage ravaging the country but that the PAC made a significant contribution towards ending the violence. The use of the "necklace" was strongly condemned by the PAC and all component structures.

The various investigation teams, both internal and international, in their respective reports did not implicate the PAC in the present violence. Our cry has been and still is "Peace among the Africans". The late President of the PAC, comrade Zephania Mothopeng, offered to mediate between the ANC. The PAC has an implacable track record of taking initiatives to end the senseless carnage.

In the candid opinion of the PAC, the regime

must take the following steps to end the violence:

1. Expel all foreign mercenaries from the country under international supervision.
2. Disband all security formations.
3. Speed up elections to the Constituent Assembly.
4. Prosecute those in the SADF and SAP responsible for crimes.

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azania maintains the position that violence in the country is linked to the fact that we have an undemocratic system and only the establishment of a genuine democracy would end violence. The core problem, therefore, is to speedily draw up the new, non-racial democratic constitution. All else will follow!

In the meantime, the PAC will continue its efforts to reconvene the Patriotic United Front Conference as soon as possible. It is important that the oppressed and dispossessed majority speak with one voice. In unity lies our strength.

ARTS

Raising the dead from their brass coffins

21/8-27/8/92
 The need to reshape our lopsided history as it moulders the nation's museums has been accepted. As to how this might best be done is a pressing question for curators. Responding to an article run in *The Weekly Mail* at the time of the recent *Wits History Workshop*, DAVID SAKS of the *Africana Museum* draws back the dusty curtain to reveal rehearsals for a major revamp in progress

THE Berlin Wall came down nearly three years ago. Two weeks ago, tens of thousands of unfranchised South Africans massed before the hitherto sacrosanct portals of white power in Pretoria and made it clear that they were not going to wait much longer. The times, they are indeed a-changing, and institutions that do not change with them will be left behind. All this is uppermost in the minds of the staff of the *Africana Museum* as they prepare new displays in anticipation of the long-awaited move into its new premises behind the Market Theatre.

Mounting a museum display that attracts visitors is a difficult task under any circumstances. In this Instant Age, which requires ready information, quick solutions and immediate satisfaction, museums are in danger of becoming an anachronism.

At first glance, museum objects on display are ineffective as a medium of communication. After all, they don't sing or dance, tell funny jokes or even take off their clothes. Instead they sit there and require the visitor to generate a response by using his or her own imagination, an optimistic demand in the age of television.

In this area, the *Africana Museum* is, at present, further hampered by the type of display cases it has inherited. If the object of a history museum is to make the past come alive, these self-important brass coffins effectively entomb it. Without imaginative display techniques, they can turn a museum into a mausoleum, an unkind but not inaccurate designation.

These problems are compounded in South Africa by the challenging but highly sensitive matter of having to radically revise displays so as to make them more representative of the history of all the country's people. This, of course, is justified in its own right, but another crucial motivation is to make visiting the *Africana Museum* a relevant part of black South Africans' recreational and educational curriculum.

It is little wonder that blacks have generally avoided established museums like the plague. When racists like Robert Godlonton and power-hungry fanatics like Sir Harry Smith are put on a pedestal, when slavery is claimed to be a result of "Hottentots" refusing to work for the white man and when white seizure of land is implicitly, and often explicitly, represented as being justified in the light of the black man's supposed inability to live in a civilised manner, only a masochist would come back for more.

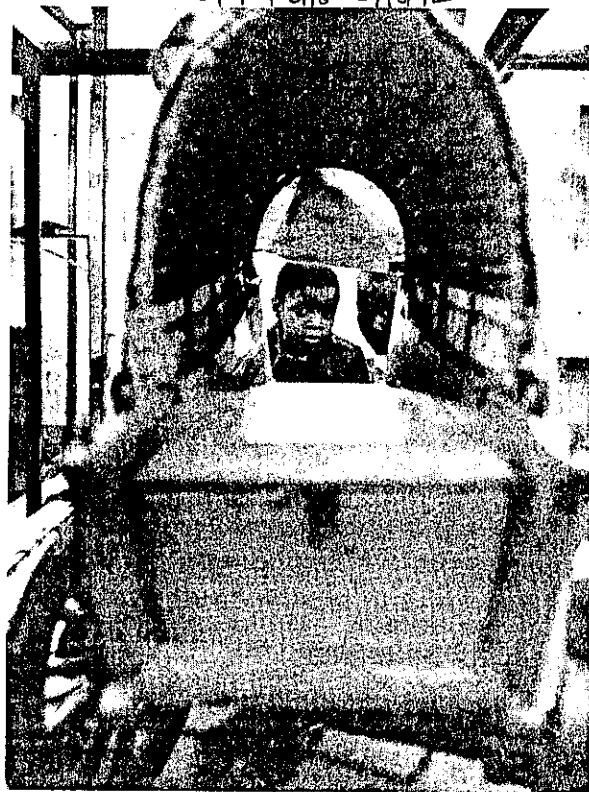
Moreover, little has been displayed on black history. The ploughshares and pruning hooks of the 1820 Settlers are interesting up to a point, but what about the material evidence of Shaka's kingdom? Or the Xhosa Cattle Killing?

Much thought about how to deal with these issues has gone into the planning of the chronological history displays for the new *Africana Museum*.

Take the well-worn Great Trek theme, for example. Instead of the usual Eurocentric "We were over here, found things intolerable and trekked over there" model reproduced ad nauseum in a zillion textbooks, a more Zulucentric paradigm (ie "We were over here minding our own business when suddenly a whole lot of wagons came rolling over the hill") is being experimented with.

Nor is the Mfecane to be represented merely as a period of destruction and devastation (melodramatically portrayed in the history books in such a manner as to give civilised white people gooseflesh and feel glad, after all, that they are in charge). Rather it is to be incorporated in a general theme covering African state formation in the early 19th century when nations like the Zulu, Swazi, Sotho and Ndebele came into being. Controversial issues will be confronted directly.

No more will visitors be given the impression that the Anglo-Boer War was all about commemorative mugs or an ox-wagon beautifully carved by a POW from the jawbone of an ass, playing cards depicting an avuncular Kruger and a portly Rhodes or jingoistic doggerel scribbled after the relief of Mafeking. There were also concentration camps, and not only white people died in them.



Ox-wagons ... Now what were they for again?

Photo: GUY ADAMS

The nightmarish world of apartheid South Africa needs to be recreated, the oppression and dispossession and struggle for freedom. One idea was to create "Apartheid Land", a surreal display of passbooks, newspaper headlines and "Whites Only" signs hanging at unusual angles from the ceilings.

Live casts showing Hector Peterson being carried away on June 16 1976 could be used, in the process concretising modern South Africa's most famous image. Up to date displays showing township violence, protest marches, referendums and negotiations would conclude the chronological sequence, indicating that the past is not dead but that, on the contrary, it has resulted in what we are today.

South African history did not, of course, begin with the arrival of the Dutch, and this will be made clear by displays detailing the lives of the early inhabitants. The 1652 settlement is regarded as just one more stage, albeit an important one, in the country's history.

Van Riebeeck, naturally, will have to be stripped of his iconographic status and reduced to his proper stature. Perhaps the conscious myth-making of later white historians might itself make an interesting subject for display.

What applies to individuals also applies to events which must also be scaled down when necessary.

A good example of an event in South African history whose significance has been blown out of all proportion is the (unjustifiably capitalised) First British Occupation 1795-1803.

Once given a great deal of attention in the old *Africana Museum* displays, it is to be drastically reduced and reincorporated within a general theme dealing with the evolution of government at the Cape.

Nor will the history of the eastern Cape be shown to have started with the 1820 Settlers. And without minimising the Anglo-Boer War, it will be demonstrated how the ruthless attrition employed by the British to bring the Republics to their knees was preceded by similar tactics by the Transvaal Boers during the Mapoch and Malaboch campaigns in the 1880s and 1890s.

These are just some of the approaches needed if "A New Museum for a New South Africa" is to be more than a trendy catch-phrase.

All across the spectrum, from sport, to education, to Miss South Africa competitions, South Africa is changing.

The *Africana Museum* aims to become a dynamic part of this process, not a belated reflection of it. Like living in South Africa today, it is often a frustrating and traumatic process, but there is also that optimism that comes with building a greater tomorrow.

Jim Joel on at Wits

SIX of South Africa's brightest young musicians, all either final year or post-graduate students of the Wits School of Music, will compete for the JCI Jim Joel Scholarship in the Great Hall over the first few evenings in September.

They are baritone Adam Kirkaldy (fourth year B Mus), flautist Derek Pennell (post-graduate performer's diploma), pianist Nicola Harris (final year licentiate), and sopranos Lisa-Jeanne Lorenz (post-graduate), Orna Shifren and Natalie Lotkin (both final year licentiate and B Mus).

The schedule of performances is: Wednesday, September 2, from 8pm; Lotkin and Shifren, each accompanied at the piano by Wits B Mus graduate Waldo Malan.

Thursday, September 3, 8pm: Kirkaldy, with pianist Jacqueline McCarthy. Lorenz, with pianist Malcolm Nay.

Friday, September 4, 8pm: Harris, Fennell, with pianist Jill Richards.

Saturday, September 5, 8pm: Finalists' recital and announcement of the winner.

Attendance is free but for the Saturday recital a moderate admission fee will be charged.

As a matter of fact ...

It was incorrectly reported in last week's *Weekend Mail* that Santu Mofokeng had received the Mother Jones Award for his series of photographs showing men at work on the New York City subway restoration project. Mofokeng, in fact, has won the prize for his work-in-progress *Distorting Mirrors*, an examination of the relationship between the public and private images ordinary Soweto people hold of themselves. He will use the cash part of the Mother Jones Award to complete this series.



featuring:

JONAS GWANGWA
 Back Waters Blues Band
 Wits Band: Yumani

at the bozzoli hall, wits.
 on friday the 21st of aug.
 at 7:30 pm.

adm: R10 for students, R15 for non Students.

SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENT'S CONGRESS (SASCO)

NEGOTIATIONS

IIA

FM
21/8/92

Now you see it

Just as most observers were expecting constitutional talks to start again within weeks, the ANC announced it was stopping all negotiations with government until it had received a satisfactory response to its 14 demands presented on June 23.

The immediate cause for this apparent hard-ball approach appears to have been its inability to effect the release of political prisoners. According to one ANC spokesman, asked about last week's vanished optimism, part of the problem is that the press was simply swallowing what it was being fed by government. ANC president Nelson Mandela's Union Buildings speech, while highly conciliatory, did in fact reiterate the ANC's preconditions for talks to resume.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer, however, suggested that the ANC negotiating team that had earlier met government, in what had appeared to be a positive session, had been rapped over the knuckles. This implied a difference of approach within the ANC.

Meanwhile, both sides seem to be playing a dangerous game and each day in such a climate holds the potential for another crisis such as Boipatong to flare up, observes UCT politics professor Robert Schrire.

Both government and the ANC are stuck with a dual reality, he says. On the one hand they realise there is no alternative to negotiations; on the other, this does not mean that negotiations will necessarily succeed.

However, the pressure to get talks restarted is greater on government since it is responsible for administering the country and preventing a slide into anarchy and economic regression.

The ANC is not under such pressure. Moreover, it still has within its ranks some true believers in the option of a revolutionary victory seized from below, as opposed to a relatively peaceful, bourgeois transfer of power from above. Importantly, though, this school does not include Mandela and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa. As Schrire sees it, their breaking off of talks with government and pursuit of mass action are aimed at ensuring sufficient pressure on government, so that when talks do resume they will focus on the key issue with the reasonable assurance of not breaking apart again.

Schrire points out that when President F W de Klerk made his historic speech in

February 1990, he was in effect offering the ANC co-partnership in running SA — power sharing, in short. To the ANC, this has never been on. Its view of a normal democracy means and always has meant majority rule and the right of a majority party at the polls to make mistakes. It rejects any rigged power sharing system.

It has become increasingly clear to government, says Schrire, that its constitutional game plan is not going to succeed. Hence the concessions have virtually all come from government's side, as an analysis of its shifting bottom line would show.

However, government is not yet convinced that the only guarantee for whites does not lie in a constitution which enshrines their position in a coalition government, instead of being based on what it achieves at the polls. This is at the root of the ANC's tougher approach and preconditions for resuming negotiations: that the majority party should form the government and of its own volition to bring in minority parties if it wishes.

Once this fundamental issue is resolved, says Schrire, all other obstacles, including the ANC's 14 demands, will easily be resolved.

As they stand, the demands obviously cannot be met point by point. Things are far more complex than pretending that the violence, for instance, can be turned on and off at will. The ANC, of course, knows this — hence its insistence that talks can start again only once government has given a "satisfactory response" to those demands.

It is not necessarily a question of each of the 14 points being met as such — rather, that there be "meaningful, visible movement — for example; on the issue of the release of political prisoners." Other matters raised by the ANC in this regard concern the carrying of weapons in public and the fencing of hostels.

So there is flexibility for both sides in satisfying the so-called 14 demands, which really boil down to three: steps to curb the violence, an interim government, and commitment to a sovereign elected constituent assembly. One needs to distinguish when a group is rhetorically playing to its gallery and what it is actually looking for.

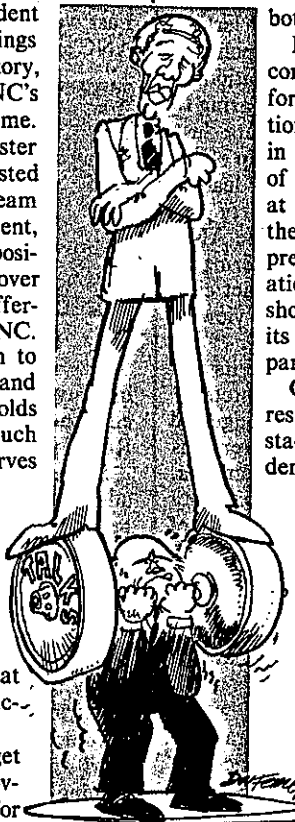
Following last week's conciliatory post-strike speeches by Mandela, it did indeed seem that negotiations would resume within weeks. Government certainly expected them

to. What seems to have scuttled this optimism, it now transpires, was, as the ANC sees it, government's pussyfooting over the question of the release of political prisoners.

According to the ANC, undertakings and definitions in this regard were reached long ago in the Pretoria and Groote Schuur minutes. Moreover, government had also given such an undertaking to UN special representative Cyrus Vance, says the ANC, now accusing Pretoria of bad faith. Clearly fed up with the seemingly endless talks over this issue, Mandela this week returned to charging that De Klerk was involved in the violence.

Meanwhile, the ANC has reiterated its rejection of a general amnesty which would include the security forces, unless and until those involved come forward to declare their deeds in the interests of understanding the past and preparing for a democratic future.

While he is not blindly optimistic about the prospects for negotiations, says Schrire, viewed in the light of SA's past the negotiations have so far progressed reasonably and as well as could have been expected. ■



MOTOR INDUSTRY WAGES

Waiting on Toyota

Nervous vehicle manufacturers hope Toyota will fall into line this weekend when employers and unions try to hammer out a final agreement on wages and job security. If not, they fear further conflict if negotiations drag on into a fifth month. The dispute has already resulted in a week-long industry strike.

Agreement is nearly two months overdue. Discussions, which began in April, were due to provide a new package to take effect from July 1. But differences, particularly on union demands for an extension of the year-old moratorium on lay-offs, delayed matters.

With the exception of Toyota, there now appears to be virtual consensus between employers and the National Union of Metalworkers (Numsa) on the form of the new agreement. FM 21/8/92

Toyota, which did not attend national bargaining forum meetings during the recent two-month strike at its Durban plant, has agreed to honour minimum-wage agreements reached in its absence. As part of the written agreement ending the Toyota strike, the company bound itself to abide by the forum's wage conditions. But the agreement with Numsa also decreed that job security should be a matter for the company and union to decide.

In other words, at the same time as it was seeking an industry-wide agreement, Numsa

11A
Azapo
STATE 2/18/92
gets ready

for talks

DURBAN — The Azanian People's Organisation has appointed Archbishop Khotso Walter Makhudu of the Central Africa Province of the Anglican Church as a "facilitator" to open discussions with the Government.

Speaking in Durban yesterday, Azapo publicity secretary Strini Moodley said Archbishop Makhudu would meet the Government and "set in motion discussions for criteria to be filled".

Mr Moodley said that provided Azapo's preconditions were met, direct discussions between Azapo and the Government would begin by September 12 and be completed within six months.

A subject for negotiation would be a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution.

Mr Moodley said the negotiations would be open and public, and Azapo would insist on liberation movements joining the negotiating forum. — Sapa.

Students back PAC-Govt thaw

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

11/4
STIA 21/8/92

The Pan Africanist Students' Organisation (Paso) has come out in support of the Pan Africanist Congress's involvement in negotiations with the Government — and bitterly denounced a faction within its ranks which this week criticised the PAC leadership.

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Paso's PWV regional leadership said it stood firmly behind the PAC's attempts "to reach a speedy resolution on the issue of one person, one vote", saying that that represented "the only democratic format to empower the African people and resolve the

land question".

The organisation launched a scathing attack on a group which this week denounced the PAC leadership for its involvement in talks with the Government, saying "imperialist-sponsored negotiations" would not address the aspirations of African students.

The group, which described itself as the Wits region of Paso, distanced itself from "these sell-out manoeuvres on the part of the leadership" and called upon Paso members not to attend the organisation's August 28-30 national congress in Durban.

At the press conference, Paso PWV regional secretary for tertiary institutions Thapelo Dikotla said there was no Wits region

of the organisation and denounced the group as "an extension of the notorious liberation movement-bashing agencies of the regime".

"As far as we are concerned, there exists only a PWV region of Paso, which fully supports the national leadership of Paso led by our revolutionary party, the PAC, under (the) disciplined and able leadership of president Clarence Makwetu," Paso said

Paso, which called on its members to attend the Durban congress, said it would not in future ensure the safety of SABC journalists when attacked by its members if the corporation continued to give "cover-age to State-sponsored hooligans".

Legislation for transition in pipeline

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government has already prepared legislation for the short session of Parliament in October to take the transition process forward.

And the ANC and Government's top negotiators are to meet again today to try to get negotiations back on track.

President de Klerk said at a press conference in Pretoria yesterday that he would be calling a summit next month of the Codesa parties that favoured the idea of strong regional government or federalism.

He also said the Government was ready to take important preparatory steps to make progress in transitional arrangements and had no intention of allowing "elements in the ANC to delay progress".

It emerged yesterday that ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer were to meet today.

ANC and Government negotiators met secretly two weeks ago, but the ANC said afterwards that the meeting had been fruitless. However, the ANC kept open the line of communication between Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer.

Mr de Klerk stressed yesterday that the Government did not intend going it alone without the ANC. But it did intend going ahead with "certain preparatory steps like levelling the playing field and preparing what in any case would have to be done".

Legislation had been prepared or was being prepared.

The September summit of federalists was not intended to form a front against the ANC or to launch a go-it-alone option. The idea would merely be to discuss the mechanics of federalism and where regional or federal borders should be.

He said that during the past three months, substantial damage had been done to the economy, foreign investors had been frightened off, schools had been disrupted, violence had increased and millions of moderates were losing patience.

De Klerk moves to consolidate power base

W/Mail 21/8 - 27/8/92
The state president has called a meeting of some Codesa parties to debate a regional solution, (11A)
reports PHILIPPA GARSON

PRESIDENT FW DE KLERK yesterday moved to consolidate his support base by calling a meeting of all parties to Codesa which subscribe to "basically the same fundamental constitutional principles".

At a press conference in Pretoria yesterday he announced that these parties are scheduled to meet in early September.

The move can only be interpreted as a veiled threat to the African National Congress that while it delays getting back to negotiations the government is consolidating its own power bloc.

However, De Klerk denied that the initiative was part of a "go it alone" strategy excluding the ANC or an attempt to form a moderate front.

But he said the government "could not sit on our hands in the meantime" or "wait forever" and it was timely to start debating the logistics of a regional solution — such as the demarcation of borders — with those who shared the same vision.

The president announced that he had held talks earlier in the day with the Democratic Party and with Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in this regard.

While reaffirming the government's commitment to negotiations that would have the support of the "overwhelming majority of the people", De Klerk slammed the ANC for its "calculated obstruction of Codesa II" and the negative repercussions of mass action.

Questioned on the ANC's 14 demands, De Klerk gave no indication of further concessions in the pipeline, but stressed that further communication with the ANC would not take place via the media.

"The ANC — particularly the radical and communist elements in its ranks — has to bear the blame for this retrogression and the damage it is causing the majority of our country's people, including those people on behalf of whom the ANC is purporting to act," he said in a statement.

De Klerk said the quest for a negotiated settlement should not be mistaken for weakness on the part of the government. "We have the responsibility to continue governing the country under the present constitution. We shall do so until it has been replaced in a constitutional manner by a new, negotiated transitional constitution."

On the rugby test controversy, De Klerk said he did not want to become embroiled in the internal affairs of the sports bodies involved. Speaking generally, he said the National Party believed politics should be kept out of sport. He accused the ANC of trying to hijack sport, which was contributing to "the spontaneous counter-reaction of sports enthusiasts who hold other political views".

De Klerk urged "mutual tolerance" over the national flag and anthem controversy, which he said had the "potential to ignite a powder-keg". While he and other South Africans saw the existing flag and anthem as symbols of patriotism, he conceded that "other sections of the population view them differently" and acknowledged the need for "new, unifying symbols in a new dispensation".

Answering a question on tomorrow's Test match between the Wallabies and South Africans, he said the government supported procedures like "a minute's silence" for the victims of violence.

On the government's proposal for a general amnesty, De Klerk said it had been misconstrued as something that would happen all at once. Instead, a "phased approach" could be adopted, with agreements over the release of remaining political prisoners high on the agenda. The Pretoria Minute agreement had only covered certain categories. Other issues like unofficial military forces and undisclosed military caches had to be brought to the fore, he said.

THE WEEKLY MAIL

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All of 104 Frederick Street, Johannesburg.

NEWS Now Azapo goes to the negotiation table with the Government in three weeks

Early date set for negotiations

Anglican archbishop invited to help with talks between the two parties:

(Handwritten scribbles) *(11A)* *(SOWETA)*

Sowetan 21/8/92

By Themba Molefe and Sapa

TALKS between the Azanian People's Organisation and the Government would begin as early as September 12, the organisation said yesterday.

Azapo publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley said in Durban direct discussions would only begin when certain pre-conditions had been met.

Moodley said Azapo had appointed Archbishop Khotso Walter Makhudu of the Central Africa Prov-

ince of the Anglican Church as a "facilitator".

He said Makhudu would meet the Government and "set in motion discussions for criteria to be filled".

The talks would centre on the establishment of a constituent assembly to draw up a new constitution.

Moodley said negotiations were not a substitute for the armed struggle.

He said the negotiations would be open to the public. Azapo, he said, would also insist on liberation movements joining the negotiating forum.

Makhudu is a member of the pre-

sidium of the World Council of Churches and president of the All-Africa Church Conference.

He was invited to broker the talks by the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

This development is a sequel to a series of behind-the-scenes political activities initiated by officials of the Ministry of Constitutional Development in February.

It also coincides with historic meetings over the past two weeks between the Pan Africanist Congress and the Government. The Government and the

PAC on Tuesday agreed on future constitution-making.

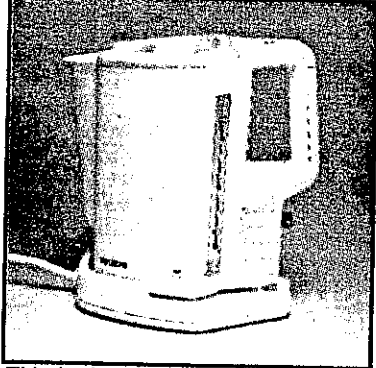
Meanwhile, Azapo's Natal regional organiser, Mr Patrick Mkhize, condemned the media "for its partiality".

He said while the harassment of journalists could not be ignored, there were various factors that contributed to it.

These included "the bias of some journalists, who are partisan and the manner in which some journalists behave".

He said the only way to end the harassment was for journalists to be impartial.

Stick-a-pic competition



This is the ninth puzzle piece in the Philips stick-a-pic competition. Cut it out and paste it on the appropriate square (9) on the entry form that appeared in *Sowetan* on August 11. The first prize is worth R13 000.

the..



New role for two former

Africa leaders

STAN 22/8/92.
TWO former African
leaders could be ap-
proached to arbitrate in
a dispute between the
Inkatha Freedom Party
and the ANC. (IFP) (IB)

As a result of the dis-
pute, the IFP has indi-
cated it would not attend
a meeting on September
14 of political groups
which signed the Nation-
al Peace Accord (IPA)

The dispute arose
after the IFP objected to
statements by ANC lead-
er Nelson Mandela in his
speech last month to the
UN Security Council.

NPC chairman John
Hall yesterday said it
was a "sensitive issue at
this stage". It is under-
stood the ANC has
agreed to the arbitra-
tors. — Political Staff.

STAR 22/8/92.

119 20775

Meeting raises hopes for resumed talks

HOPES that the negotiation deadlock could soon be broken rose yesterday after ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development and Communication Minister Roelf Meyer met to try to get talks back on track.

Although no statement was issued, government sources said they believed the meeting had gone "quite well".

The meeting came a

day after President F W de Klerk announced at a media briefing in Pretoria that the Government intended to press ahead with legislation to prepare for transition.

He said the Government was anxious to take steps towards a transitional constitution as soon as possible and had "no intention of al-

lowing elements in the ANC to delay progress".

The ANC said the intention of the one-on-one talks was to remove obstacles to resumption of formal negotiations. They would focus on steps to address the issues raised in earlier memoranda exchanged between the Government and the ANC.

PETER FABRICIUS and ESTHER WAUGH

De Klerk said the Government had already prepared some legislation — and was busy preparing more — to table at the short session of Parliament starting on October 12. He stressed that he was not

proposing a "go-it-alone" option. The legislation would be aimed at "levelling the playing field and doing what in any case would have to be done".

He also announced that he would be calling a summit next month of all the parties at Codesa which favoured the idea of strong regional gov-

ernment or federalism.

While De Klerk insisted that the idea of the summit was not to form a front against the ANC or to become a substitute negotiating forum, observers believe the tactic is intended to step up pressure on the ANC to resume negotiations.

The federalist summit would consist largely of

those parties at Codesa who formed an informal bloc opposing the ANC and its allies.

Yesterday the five breakaway MPs of the Conservative Party under Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers said they would attend the summit.

The Democratic Party was withholding a deci-

sion until it received more information about the purpose of the summit. DP leader Zach de Beer said he was always ready to discuss federalism with anyone but was not prepared to be manoeuvred into an anti-ANC front.

The summit seemed to have been conceived in a meeting between De Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Thursday.

RUTH FIRST: 'A beacon to all who love liberty'

SOA IIA
SOUTH
22/8 - 26/8/92

By Rehana Rossouw

RUTH FIRST loved gossip, Italian shoes and could shred the character of a person she disliked more efficiently than a food mixer.

But it was not these qualities people focussed on at a gala event at the University of the Western Cape on Monday night. More than 3 000 people came to hear about a respected activist, journalist and academic.

The 10th anniversary of First's assassination was commemorated with an academic colloquium at UWC and a ceremony for the Ruth First Commemorative Award for Journalism which attracted leading leftist intellectuals from the African continent.

Guests included ANC national executive members Mr Nelson Mandela, Mr Pallo Jordan, Mr Govan Mbeki and Mr Oliver Tambo, Ruth First Memorial Trust chairperson Mr Ronald Segal, Mozambican activist and academic Ms Graca Machel, Nobel literature laureate Nadine Gordimer and First's family, South African Communist Party chairperson Mr Joe Slovo, Ms Gillian Slovo and Ms Robyn Slovo.

Talking about her ability to shred characters, gossip and shop for shoes, Segal said: "Ruth made such an impact on my life that it is now inseparable from what I am today.

"Hardly a week has passed since she was murdered that I have not felt a sense of loss."

Speakers lauded First, relating personal stories and praising her contribution to political struggles.

"Ten years ago today, while I was in Pollsmoor prison, I felt terribly alone and shattered when I received the news that Ruth First had been assassinated," said Mandela.

"Most clearly I could see Ruth engaged in intense debate while we were at Wits University together; who uncompromisingly broke with the privilege of her wealthy background; who readily crossed the racial barrier that so few whites were, or still are, able to cross; a woman whose passion and compassion enabled others, including those from liberal and conservative perspectives, to play their part.

"It is a small consolation that her memory lives beyond the grave, that her freedom of spirit infuses many committed to an open society, rigorous intellectual thought, courage and principled action.

"Ruth spent her life in the service of the people of southern Africa. She went to prison for her beliefs. She was murdered because of her acute political acumen combined with her resolute refusal to abandon her principles.

"Her life, and her death, remains a beacon to all who love liberty."

Mandela said First's assassination was not only a personal tragedy of immense proportions, but was part of a pattern of the systematic elimination of leading opponents of apartheid.

Jordan said the life and work of First would continue to inspire journalists, revolutionaries and democrats of the African sub-continent for many years.

"For decades her investigative journalism made the men in Pretoria tremble," Jordan said.

Sunday Star journalist Mr Jacques Pauw explained how he had "stumbled onto" a story in a police bar in 1984 when he met CCB operative Captain Dirk Coetsee.

Coetsee confessed that he had killed seven people, including Ruth First.

"I went to my newspaper's library the next day to find out who she was, her name meant



RUTH FIRST: 'Inspiration to journalists, revolutionaries and democrats' Photo: Mayibuye Centre

nothing to me then," Pauw said.

He related how some of the mainstream newspapers treated the death of First. Two papers claimed Joe Slovo had been responsible for the death of his wife, a claim a London judge later described as the most vicious form of libel he had ever seen.

"Some of the media in this country created a culture in which atrocities like Ruth First's murder could happen," Pauw said.

A journalist who will continue to be inspired by First is 30-year-old New Nation reporter, Mr Enoch Sithole, who became the first recipient of the R10 000 Ruth First Commemorative Award for Journalism.

Sithole, who wrote stories revealing an alleged SADF plot to assassinate Transkeian leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa and a SADF signal authorising the "permanent removal from society" of activist Matthew Goniwe and others, said he received the award on behalf of the voteless and underprivileged of South Africa.

His work and that of his newspaper were dedicated to them.

TEN YEARS after her murder, Ruth First's ideals are recalled
in the search for radical transformation in southern Africa

In search of a future

STAR 22/8/92

(11A)

SOCIAL scientists of the Left marked the 10th anniversary of Ruth First's assassination in Cape Town this week. Appropriately enough, they saluted this zealous Marxist scholar by debating the odds for socialist transformation after apartheid. JO-ANNE COLLINGE reports.

RUTH First, exiled activist and socialist scholar, was assassinated 10 years ago in Mozambique. But she was more "alive" in South Africa this week than at any time since she left home 29 years ago.

Former colleagues, friends and family threaded personal anecdotes through scholarly analysis of her work and contribution at the Ruth First memorial colloquium at the University of the Western Cape.

They also highlighted the relevance of her research to a question of compelling importance to the Left as constitutional change hovers on the horizon: what are the prospects for radically transforming southern Africa after negotiations?

With the Soviet Union having failed, the socialist societies of Eastern Europe in tatters and the prospect of a seizure of power by the South African working class utterly remote, debate centred critically on the notion of an acceptably socialist middle path of "radical reform", falling short of revolution but which went beyond the mere tinkering of "reformism".

Italian political scientist

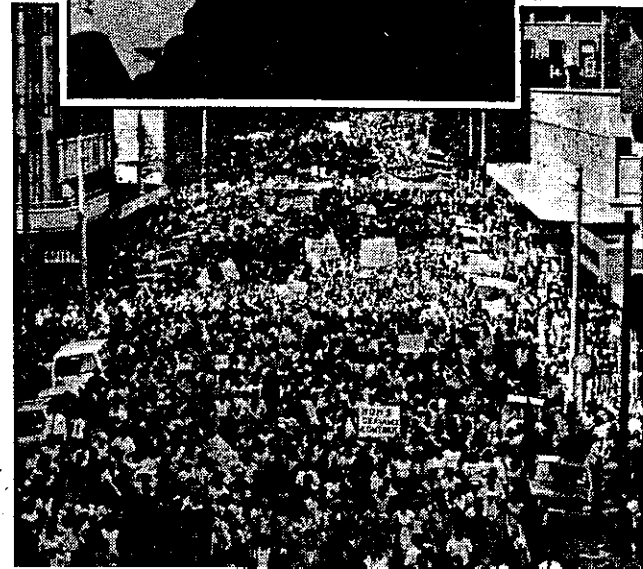
quium it was quite clear that organisations on the Left were uneasy that constitutional negotiations in South Africa might culminate in a pact between political elites which would allow no place in the process for what the SA Communist Party's Jeremy Cronin calls "the self-empowerment of the popular masses, spearheaded by the working masses".

Cronin himself had cast a jaundiced eye on the mass action campaign of the tripartite alliance (and he did so again at the colloquium), arguing that there were conflicting tendencies in the liberation movement. On the one hand, mass action was seen as a manipulable activity "to empower the negotiators so that they can bestow on the people their liberations", said Cronin.

On the other, it was portrayed as insurrectionist. And this, Cronin believed, was hopelessly unrealistic. In place of outright revolution, he posed the course of revolutionary mass struggle. This was closely paralleled by Wits University sociologist Eddie Webster's analysis of "radical reform" in the trade union movement and Canadian Marxist John Saul's use of the concept "structural



RUTH FIRST: Puzzled over how masses were robbed of the "political kingdom".



mission to the National Manpower Commission and the anti-VAT campaign, which paved the way for the institution of a tripartite (unions, capital and government) national economic forum.

No doubt big business would not cast these settlements in the same revolutionary light. Nor would ultra-Left critics of the notion of radical reform — who point constantly to the dangers of co-option — see mass resistance simply being defused by partially accommodating settlements.

Recognising this danger, Henry Chippeya — trade unionist-turned-academic — argued that there was nevertheless no evidence of a dilution of the radical demands of South African trade unions or of an erosion of their mass base as they entered into pacts with capital and Government.

Webster identified a perhaps greater danger of "tripartitism" in the labour movement — a danger of creating unionised workers as an elite among the oppressed classes, separating them from the jobless, the rural poor and a large slice of the corps of women workers.

CRONIN, at the same time, argued that mass struggle should not be geared solely to the central political process, to democratising negotiations. "Mass struggle is not simply the invention of political organisations or activists. To survive from one day to the next in a township, or

at Eduardo Mondlane University and never at a loss for a pungent phrase, came condemnation of "theological Marxists" harking back to "the sacred texts that were not written for 1992".

If civil society had become a fashion in the northern hemisphere, it was for the good reason that people had become fed

Organisations on the Left are uneasy that constitutional negotiations might culminate in a pact between political elites which would allow no place for the masses.

up with the ineffectiveness of political parties and had to find another way to pursue their interests.

He paid tribute to the richness of organisational life in South Africa — particularly to the formations of the disbanded United Democratic Front "and even the South African Chamber of Business". Collectively this meant "that you have ways and means of intervening in the State — whatever the State".

Well and good, particularly as far as the distribution of public goods was concerned. But as to the primary Marxist question of who controls production in society?

The colloquium didn't exact-

With the Soviet Union having failed, the socialist societies of Eastern Europe in tatters and the prospect of a seizure of power by the South African working class utterly remote, debate centred critically on the notion of an acceptably socialist middle path of "radical reform", falling short of revolution but which went beyond the mere tinkering of "reformism".

Italian political scientist Anna Maria Gentili pointed out that earlier collapses of African post-colonial governments had provoked, rather than de-

Ruth First examined why African governments were so susceptible to military coups or why initial commitment to social change quickly gave way to top-down rule.

feated, First's intellect. "The major theme running through the whole of Ruth's work (was) to analyse how the masses participated, and when and why they were dispossessed of the 'political kingdom' when (it was) conquered."

In her 1970 study, "The Barrel of a Gun", First examined why African governments were so susceptible to military coups or why, in cases like Ghana and Tanzania, initial commitment to social change quickly gave way to top-down rule.

She argued that the creeds of African socialism and negritude obscured differences between the elites and the general population. "Once independence had been achieved, the elite addressed itself single-mindedly to its interests," she wrote.

"They had become heirs to a State that they had, with few exceptions, little inclination to change. They had criticised not so much the system as its incumbents. With independence, they were the incumbents."

Long before the First collo-

quium, Cronin. On the other, it was portrayed as insurrectionist. And this, Cronin believed, was hopelessly unrealistic. In place of outright revolution, he posed the course of revolutionary mass struggle. This was closely paralleled by Wits University sociologist Eddie Webster's analysis of "radical reform" in the trade union movement and Canadian Marxist John Saul's use of the concept "structural reform".

These and other participants were very clear that every sign of mass action was certainly not the workers' revolution being delivered piecemeal. They contended that the mass struggle had to be cast in a certain way to be radical, or revolutionary and to begin to change the balance of class forces in society.

IT HAD to contain the element of self-empowerment by the masses and be propelled and defended from below, said Cronin. Furthermore, it was action waged in the conviction that different classes had a fundamental antagonism even if their interests temporarily coincided or complemented each other, and it sought "partial ruptures" with the status quo.

Saul adhered to the idea that radical reform had to be taken in the full awareness of long-term socialist goals and had to avoid "self-containment". It was cumulative in a strategic sense — it did not end with mere improvements, but forces furthered concessions at a later stage; and it was cumulative in the sense of leaving "a residue of further empowerment, in terms of growing enlightenment or class consciousness and in terms of organisational capacity, for the vast mass of the population".

Eddie Webster, in partnership with Labour Bulletin editor Karl von Holdt, agreed with Saul, but chose to look at the question from the other end of the telescope: the trade union movement in South Africa had



ON THE MARCH: Communist Jeremy Cronin says mass action is waged in the conviction that different classes have a fundamental antagonism.

a two-decade history of radical reform. It had done it — and socialists at large could learn from what it had done.

For Webster and Von Holdt the radical battles could be traced from the registration of

mass-based unions in the wake of the Wiehahn Commission, through the struggles for national bargaining in industrial councils, the overturning of offensive clauses of the Labour Relations Act, the unions' ad-

ditional bargaining of the corps of women workers. **C**RONIN, at the same time, argued that mass struggle should not be geared solely to the central political process, to democratising negotiations. "Mass struggle is not simply the invention of political organisations or activists. To survive from one day to the next in a township, on the factory floor, in a village in the devastated countryside, requires struggle."

And here, with consideration of the role of civic associations, youth and women's groupings, rural land claimants and the like, a relatively benign cat was loosed among the pigeons.

The SACP's Blade Nzimande challenged the idea that these associations — fashionably described as a group as "organs of civil society" — could effectively function outside the political establishment, with no formal link to State structures. He argued for a re-examination of the early Soviets, and that it was not illogical to have mass organisations that "build State power" and are at the same time autonomous.

Nzimande's argument found little support. Far more prevalent was the view that associations in civil society, representing widely diverse social strata, could be a means to challenge the State (where necessary) and a means for pursuing class interests. Speakers on land reform, gender issues and affirmative action referred repeatedly to the class fault-line which ran through all such arenas of change.

The theoretical difference on "civil society" has a real and present reflection in organisational life, of course, in a sharp debate being waged on the relative role of ANC branches and civic associations in relation to "substantial" issues of township life.

From former Mozambican security chief Sergio Viera, now holding the post First held

United Democratic Front — and even the South African Chamber of Business". Collectively this meant "that you have ways and means of intervening in the State — whatever the State".

Well and good, particularly as far as the distribution of public goods was concerned. But as to the primary Marxist question of who controls production in society?

The colloquium didn't exactly ignore the question. There were critical appraisals of the economic failure of Tanzania, the significance of national bargaining rights for trade unions in relation to industrial planning and training, and London economist Laurence Harris's challenge to conventional "market socialism" as a useful way of understanding the dynamics of mixed economies.

Harris pleaded for a "new economics of feasible socialism, arguing that as political change required a fine understanding of class interests, economic transformation demanded a much more dynamic and detailed grasp of how intermediate economies worked."

ALTHOUGH failure of socialist economies worldwide had given rise to the perception that the economic rationale for socialism was defective, "I hope we can do more than simply accept the nostrums of business leaders", concluded Harris. "And I know that, whatever ideas we can generate in our political-economy debates, Ruth would have subjected them to comradely, but merciless, attention."

The delayed South African tribute to Ruth First's life reflected socialist intellectuals' work in the subcontinent as strong on moral conviction despite their "non-theological" Marxism. Equally strong — as ever — on their critique of the status quo; feeling their way, through patches of precisely researched history, to new notions of the State in society; and still groping at vague shapes of a socialist economic theory.

Parliament is funding an ANC office



ANC SPACE: ANC MP Jan van Eck in the parliament-funded office set to be used by the ANC for anti-parliamentary work

Photo: Yunus Mohamed

By Quentin Wilson

11A ~~3012~~

SOUTH 22/8 - 26/8/92.

DID YOU know an ANC office in Claremont is funded by parliament?

Not only does the "White House" pay rent, phone bills, water and electricity — parliament also foots the bill for a secretary plus 38 flights a year for an ANC member.

Why? Because ANC member Mr Jan van Eck gets parliamentary funds to run a constituency office for political organising.

The former DP MP for Claremont switched to the ANC in April this year but kept his parliamentary seat, enabling him to channel his MP perks to the ANC's benefit.

The ANC Claremont branch will move into Van Eck's office next week and will use parliament facilities for anti-parliamentary work.

"We find the situation rather funny, but for once the people can control some of the money the government has," Van Eck says.

While many other MP's have SA flags, which are dished out to them every year, on their desks, Van Eck has an ANC flag on his desk and a UDF poster on the wall.

Van Eck says the government has launched "a vendetta" against him.

On June 3, Van Eck was expelled from parliament because he said Mr PW Botha, the previous state president, knew about the assassination of four Cradock activists in 1985.

He refused to retract — meaning his allowance was cut by a third.

"It makes the government angry that we use my parliamentary allowance for ANC activity," he said.



New forum to replace Codesa if PAC joins?

NEWS ANALYSIS: By NORMAN WEST

THERE are signs that the main black liberation bodies may soon gather around a "square" negotiation table to face establishment-orientated parties with a more focused approach at a new forum, which would replace the problem-plagued Codesa.

The irony is that the much-demonised — and self-marginalised — Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) could emerge as the facilitating force in such a new alignment, as evidence grows of a more pragmatic approach by the movement to a negotiated settlement in South Africa — and hopefully an end to the debilitating violence.

The PAC's secretary for publicity and information, Mr Barney Desai, who was part of its delegation in bilateral talks with the government this week, said the issue of an alternative forum and venue for further talks still remained "unresolved".

Mr Desai said Codesa was "a cumbersome body of motley participants" — some self-appointed and others "elected" on ethnic tickets — "many of dubious credibility".

Even the government now appears to agree that Codesa must be replaced by a more streamlined body. So the PAC vows to continue boycotting Codesa because it feels it is a discredited forum "that cannot deliver true freedom".

Deputy president of the PAC, Advocate Dikgang Mosekene, says that, ideally, if an alternative forum to Codesa is created, the PAC would prefer to have all liberation movements — including the ANC and Azapo — speaking with one voice to expedite the democratisation of the country.

But the PAC is sticking to its demand that "real negotiations must take place at a neutral venue under a neutral chairman". As non-negotiable as that might seem, in the inexact "science" of politics, "non-negotiables" are often replaced by "win-win" compromises.

By repeating that the PAC would want the ANC and Azapo to jointly press for democratic elections leading to a Constituent Assembly, Mr Mosekene was clearly holding out the olive branch to his brothers-in-the-struggle.

The ANC will have nothing to lose if it reacts to the PAC with a reciprocal gesture, resulting, once more, in a true Patriotic Front of liberation movements.

THE GAME ... Dr Marius Pienaar of Tygerberg Hospital with the game he invented to teach people about Aids. Picture: JACK LESTRADE

Aids game teaches via fun

By EVE VOSLOO

A YOUNG Cape Town doctor has developed a board game to teach people — especially teenagers — about Aids.

"Aids — the Game" will be in the shops next month, said its inventor, Dr Marius Pienaar, 32, this week.

Dr Pienaar, a gynaecological registrar at Tygerberg Hospital, said the game had the backing of the Department of Health and various research organisations and would retail at about R40.

"About a year ago I came into contact with a pharmacist's wife who said she did not want her children to visit their grandmother in hospital in case they came into contact with an Aids patient," Dr Pienaar said.

"It made me realise that even educated people did not read pamphlets or other information on Aids and that there was still widespread ignorance about it."

with money at the start of the game, which they can spend on condoms or on Aids research. There is a separate board to score a player's spending on research, and another way to win the game is to reach the top rung of this board.

"The game is a lot of fun," said Dr Pienaar. "Even the most conservative and inhibited person gets involved and openly discusses sex and Aids."

The "people" each player tries to keep alive go through various stages of the disease — they become infected, sero-convert, get clinical Aids and die.

On their way around the board, the players land on

blocks which include risks like drug overdoses, unprotected sex with prostitutes, sex with multiple partners and taking part in an orgy, which infect their "people".

Burst

They also have options like refusing intravenous drugs, having social contact with Aids patients or discussing sex and Aids with teenagers, for which they collect money — with which they can buy condoms or invest on research.

"The game teaches people that you cannot get Aids from social contact with Aids sufferers and contains lots of other information —

for instance that you cannot get it from mosquito bites, that condoms sometimes burst and that vaseline dissolves latex, so should not be used with condoms," said Dr Pienaar.

"It teaches that when it comes to high-risk behaviour, people have choices." The game has been shown to various churches which have endorsed it as inoffensive.

Part of the proceeds from sales are to go to the research fund of Tygerberg Hospitals department of obstetrics and gynaecology.

The game could also be exported as there appears to be nothing of its kind available elsewhere in the world, he said.

Alive

Dr Pienaar took about a year to devise his game. It involves each player getting cardboard "people" who are involved in different sexual relationships, depending on where a counter lands on the board. The object of the game is to keep the "people" alive and Aids-free by avoiding unsafe sexual contacts or using intravenous drugs.

Players are also issued

Unite against Aids, says mayor

By GLENDA NEVILL

THE greater Cape Town community should focus on presenting a strong, united front in the fight against Aids, says the Mayor of Cape Town, Mr Frank van der Velde.

Mr Van der Velde was speaking this week at the launch of the Resource Directory for HIV and Aids, published by the Western Cape branch of the Aids Training, Information and Counselling Centre.

The directory offers vital information — including phone numbers, addresses and contacts at Aids groups — on Aids awareness, education and care and related issues such as the policy of the government, other political parties, movements and trade unions as well as details on Aids networks throughout the country.

The 80-page directory, sponsored by Engen, covers legal issues, diagnostic procedures, counselling, hospices and home care, spiritual support groups and complementary health care (alternative medicine).

Mr Van der Velde said one of the main problems facing Aids workers and victims was overcoming the myths about the disease which still prevailed.

"Many people still think of Aids as a homosexual disease and it is not until the guy next door gets it and dies that the man in the street is confronted with the reality of Aids," Mr Van der Velde said.

The Resource Directory for HIV and Aids is available from Atic (☎ 400 3400) at R25. All profits go to the Aids Foundation.

Catalyst

What has spurred the PAC to become part of the talks about talks at this point, Mr Mosekene says, is that many of its previous demands have become part of the present political currency. One of these is that a sizeable group of international UN monitors are on their way to South Africa and the UN is set to play a key role in monitoring moves towards a peaceful transition.

And the prospect of Mr De Klerk calling a "summit" next month of like-minded parties who all favour a federal solution for South Africa — including the Inkatha Freedom Party — seems to present the right catalyst for the Patriotic Front to regroup.

This may mean that instead of a round table at which numerous groups would sit, there seems to be a growing possibility of a future square table with only two sides.

This would certainly go a long way to help expedite solutions on points of disagreement on modalities leading to what both sides say they want ... free and fair elections leading to a constitution-making body representing all the people of the country.

While the PAC and the ANC call it an elected Constituent Assembly, Mr De Klerk and his summit partners may, for reasons of political expediency, call it something else — but, semantics aside, it seems everyone could now be heading in the same direction.

All agree that the motivation of groups on either side of the table must be to legitimise the structures that rule the country with a colour-blind vision and a racial unconsciousness, instead of black or white divisions.

According to Mr Mosekene, the reason the PAC is perceived to have changed from hardline non-negotiable demands to full participation in "preparatory talks" is because the government has changed its stance. He claims it has agreed to a basic PAC demand — to jettison "convoluted concepts" of caretaker interim executive structures as proposed at Codesa — for the reality of one-person, one-vote elections for a Constitutional Assembly.

The "modalities" of such a body, they agreed, would have to be negotiated in a "more representative forum".

VERWOERDS JOIN ANC



Dr Hendrik Verwoerd

'We hope that our work within the ANC will, in some small way, make up for the hurt caused to so many people by Dr Verwoerd, the Verwoerd name and the policy of apartheid which he personified'

MELANIE VERWOERD

ST Times 23/8/92

TWO members of the Verwoerd family have joined the ANC. They are grandson Wilhelm, 30, and his wife, Melanie, 25, who is an executive member of the ANC's Stellenbosch branch. Wilhelm's father, Professor Wilhelm Verwoerd, is Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's eldest son.

A geologist at the University of Stellenbosch and a member of the Conservative Party, Professor Verwoerd refused to comment on his son and daughter-in-law's decision to join the ANC. Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's widow, Betsie, 92, lives at Orania, the Afrikaans "homeland" near Kimberley. She could not be reached for comment.

By EVELYN HOLTZHAUSEN

Wilhelm Verwoerd, whose grandfather outlawed the ANC in 1960 when he was prime minister, said he had only recently joined the ANC and did not want to discuss his membership of the organisation "at this stage".

Apartheid

But his wife, Melanie, an executive member of the ANC's Stellenbosch branch, said: "I know our membership might be hurtful to the Verwoerd family, but I hope we can talk about this and learn to accept one another's points of view.

"We hope that our work within the ANC will, in some small way, make up for the hurt caused to so many people by Dr Verwoerd, the Verwoerd name and the policy of apartheid which he personified," she said.

"We decided to join the ANC because it is the only

organisation in which we believe we can be comfortable and really work for change.

"We don't think that everything the ANC does is right. There are elements of its policy with which we disagree."

Orania founder Professor Carel Boshoff, who is married to Mrs Anna Boshoff — one of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd's two daughters — said Wilhelm and Melanie's decision to join the ANC was their personal decision.

Wilhelm and Melanie, who both have BA degrees in the theology, were married in Stellenbosch in 1987. A former Rhodes scholar, Wilhelm is studying for a doctorate in philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch.

They have one child, Wilme, 2. Melanie, who is studying for her master's degree in philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch, is expecting their second child in December. Melanie, who matricu-

lated at Bloemhof Girls' High School in Stellenbosch, said she grew up in a *verligte* home.

Her father, Dr Philip Fourie, is a senior lecturer in applied mathematics at the university and her mother, Lenie, is a secretary in the computer science department of the Department of Forestry.

She said her parents supported the National Party. "They said they respected my decision to join the ANC, but would not do so themselves."

Exiles

Wilhelm was two years old when Dr Verwoerd — known as the architect of apartheid — was fatally stabbed in the heart by a parliamentary messenger, Dimitri Tsafendas, on September 6 1961.

He was too young to remember his grandfather, said Melanie.

She said her husband had undergone a political "awakening" when he went to Utrecht in Holland and



WORKING FOR CHANGE ... Melanie Verwoerd wants to break down prejudice in Stellenbosch

Picture: TERRY SHEAN

then to Oxford as a Rhodes scholar in 1986.

There he met ANC exiles and came to understand their point of view.

Melanie said Wilhelm, whom she knew as a teenager, had sent her banned political literature from London and she, too, met exiles when she joined her husband at Oxford.

The differences in their political opinions to those of the Verwoerd family were no more clearly illustrated than on the day of the referendum earlier this year.

She and Wilhelm arrived at the polling station sport-

ing "yes" vote stickers while her parents-in-law campaigned for a "no" vote.

Later that day she attended an ANC rally at the Kayamandi township outside Stellenbosch and was elected a member of the Stellenbosch ANC executive.

"I think Wilhelm's family believe that our

political point of view stems from naivety and that when we 'grow up' we will come to our senses.

"They do not often discuss politics, but we feel the pressure which comes from being members of the Verwoerd family."

She and her husband were at Oxford when ANC president Nelson Mandela was released.

They could have remained in England but decided to come home to work for political change.

"We met Mr Mandela when he visited the university last year and we knew we had made the right decision.

"He asked us about Mrs Betsie Verwoerd and asked us to give her his regards. What impressed me most

about him was his lack of bitterness," she said.

Previously active in the fight to improve conditions of work and pay for domestics, Melanie is now campaigning for better housing for Kayamandi residents.

"The biggest lesson I have learned is that the more you get to know black people, the more you realise just how little there

is to fear.

"If I can work to break down racial prejudice — especially in a conservative town like Stellenbosch and especially with a name like mine — I believe I will have contributed in some small way to put right at least some of the wrong which has for so long been perpetrated on the majority of our people," she said.

New forum to replace Codesa if PAC joins?

NEWS ANALYSIS: By NORMAN WEST

5 Times
(CM)
23/8/92

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THERE are signs that the main black liberation bodies may soon gather around a "square" negotiation table to face establishment-orientated parties with a more focused approach at a new forum, which would replace the problem-plagued Codesa.

The irony is that the much-demonised — and self-marginalised — Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) could emerge as the facilitating force in such a new alignment, as evidence grows of a more pragmatic approach by the movement to a negotiated settlement in South Africa — and hopefully an end to the debilitating violence.

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Even the government now appears to agree that Codesa must be replaced by a more streamlined body. So the PAC vows to continue boycotting Codesa because it feels it is a discredited forum "that cannot deliver true freedom".

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Operation face-saver

SI Times 23/8/92

11A 3000A

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Correspondent

THE government and the ANC have discussed proposals aimed at ending the negotiations impasse without either side losing face.

The proposals were explored at a meeting between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa in Johannesburg on Friday.

They will now go to the Cabinet and the ANC's national working committee for further consideration.

A source close to the meeting said yesterday that Friday's discussion centred on "face-saving" mechanisms that would result in the talks resuming without a winner-loser situation being created.

The proposals are aimed at finding the middle ground between:

- The ANC's insistence that the government meets 14 specific demands which relate to stopping violence, the establishment of an interim government

and a sovereign constituent assembly before it resumes negotiations;

- The government's belief that to do so would amount to capitulating to the ANC.

The source said mechanisms to address violence had been discussed at the meeting. They included revamping the National Peace Accord structures, an increased role for the international community and the implementation of the UN Security Council resolution.

Election

The UN resolution calls for the widening of the investigatory powers of the Goldstone commission and deployment of UN monitors to assist National Peace Accord structures.

By putting these structures in place, the government would be in a position to say it was serious about addressing con-

cerns about violence. But it would not be seen as capitulating to the ANC's specific demands.

Another matter that was extensively explored at Friday's meeting was the ANC's call for the election of a sovereign constituent assembly.

The government is concerned that such a body would be able to override agreements on general constitutional principles reached at Codesa.

The source described the meeting as exploratory and promising. Further communication between the two parties is expected soon.

Meanwhile, a senior cabinet minister has squashed speculation that the September conference of political parties announced by President FW de Klerk this week was an attempt to sideline the ANC

from negotiations or consolidate a pro-government front.

He said the meeting was a follow-up to a similar conference held on July 2 with the Codesa parties that held similar views on basic constitutional principles such as federalism.

Agreed

President De Klerk also announced this week that if formal negotiations had not resumed by then, the government would introduce legislation aimed at "levelling the playing field" when Parliament sat in October.

The cabinet minister said that even if it was forced to adopt this course of action, the government would not implement the legislation until it had been agreed to.

He added that legislation that would be introduced in the short October session would relate to interim measures leading up to the holding of elections for a constituent assembly.

Nelson Mandela to visit townships

ANC president Nelson Mandela is scheduled to visit Maritzburg and the Natal Midlands region from Friday August 28. (11A)

ANC midlands regional deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe said Mandela's visit is expected to last three days during which he is to tour strife-torn townships. CJP ren 23/8/92

He is to address rallies at Richmond and Imbali and hopes to visit the spot at Howick where he was arrested in 1962.

He also will address a fundraising dinner in Maritzburg on August 29.

Know your history to know yourself

THE ANC's department of the arts and culture co-ordinator Wally Serote released a statement after mass action hit Pretoria's State Theatre recently.

In the statement which, among other things, dealt with the ANC's proposal for a joint working group made of Performing Arts Council of the Transvaal (Pact) representatives and democratic structures, Serote touched on Afrocentric culture.

It said: "Let Eurocentric culture be expressed to its fullest, but this cannot be at the exclusion and expense of Afrocentric culture . . ."

US scholar Molefi Asante, 50, speaks in a measured tone, but you cannot miss the missionary zeal with which he elaborates on Afrocentrism as a simple idea that points out that for 500 years Africans have lived on the intellectual terms of Europeans. But the African perspective had finally come to dinner, he told *Newsweek* magazine last year.

One of his supporters, Dr Charles Finch, in explaining to the magazine what Afrocentrism was and what it stood for and wanted to achieve, said: "Blacks must reconstruct their historical memory. No nation, no race can face the future unless it knows what it is capable of. This is the function of history."

When talking about the grip of Afrocentrism on black America, Leonard Jeffries, another Afrocentric exponent, bluntly charges that it is a "counter to a worldwide white conspiracy to oppress blacks."

Afrocentrism has been a controversial issue in American society for almost a decade, and has touched every facet of African-American life. The biggest fight is among scholars and commentators, with whites calling Afrocentrism racist and separatist. One of America's celebrated historians Arthur Schlesinger Jr. said last year: "What this fellow Asante has been saying, essentially, is that Africa is the source of all good and Europe the source of all evil."

During a visit to the US last year, deputy editor ZB Molefe spent some time with prominent Afrocentric scholar and writer Molefi K Asante. Asante told Molefe that Afrocentrism was basically an idea that told people of colour worldwide to learn about their achievements and, in a hostile world dominated by white culture, to demand a future based on them. Having swept across black America in the 80s, Afrocentrism is now beginning to rear its head in SA's political vocabulary. *CPA 23/8/92 11A*

To add fuel to the Afrocentric fire in the US early this year a white scholar, Andrew Hacker, published his *Two Nations: Black and White. Separate, Hostile, Unequal*.

It is a disturbing book which offers an up-to-date and profound analysis of the conditions that keep blacks and whites dangerously apart in their ability to participate fully in the American Dream. "We have been sold a bad deal," Asante said from his Temple University's department of African-American Studies office in Philadelphia, as he traced what went wrong for blacks in America since they were freed from slavery.

Asante argues that the critical moment was the historic 1954 Brown vs Board of Education US Supreme Court finding that "separate was not equal". But for Asante, this decision had a devastating effect on American blacks.

"Every institution had to be integrated. What happened was the destruction of black institutions. The black middle-class left and there was nothing. The integration movement stole the economic heart of blacks."

"We consequently lost the economic and cultural battle. African people lost their connection to cultural resources. For example, when I grew up in a segregated school in Georgia I knew my history and songs. Now my child goes to a desegregated school where they don't teach them our history. Our children have become crazy. There is a crisis of values."

Asante does not pull his punches when he says this crisis of values has led to African-Americans assuming

that white culture is best.

"There is nothing better for us (people of colour worldwide) in the world than our historical experiences. If you want to look at honour, bravery. We have that in our history." Asante also points out that the rise of Afrocentrism has led African-Americans to study Africa's culture.

In fact, according to Asante, this has led to his people making profound discoveries about themselves. Afrocentrism, Asante asserts, seeks to make African-Americans discover that "we understand that European culture is dominant in our country, but we don't want to be subservient to the European experience".

Asante broke into America's African-American political consciousness in 1980 when he published his best-selling *Afrocentricity* which had a difficult birth. Most of the prominent publishers in the US would not touch it. He finally published it himself with the help of an African-American publisher.

The book became the fastest selling publication since the ground-breaking *The Miseducation of the Negro*. He has since become a prolific Afrocentrism writer with more than 30 books to his credit.

Asante, whose mentor was the great African scholar Cheikh Anta Diop, also argues that African people are the oldest people in the world. Because Africa is the birthplace of mankind and civilisation, Afrocentrism urges people to start studying African civilisation, as opposed to the Greeks who are said to be the founders of civilisation by legions of scholars who for years deliberately downplayed African history.

Asante declares that "now the New (African) Man" has arrived in America. Even one of black America's oldest and well-known civil right movements, the conservative National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is beginning to take notice of what he and his fellow travellers are saying.

On the other hand, Asante looks at the Reagan administration years - called the Age of Greed - as a blessing in disguise for the Afrocentric movement. There was a realisation by African-Americans that they could help themselves as a people. His people, adds Asante, also discovered that they are "a historic people who have won many struggles".

"What it (Afrocentrism) has done," Asante observes, "is aided an environment of discussion. People (African-Americans) who are architects are now asking why they are not designing buildings that reflect their cultural heritage."

Black Power

He adds: "Afrocentrism is not a separatist movement, but a development movement. It is an intellectual interpretation of the Black Power movement. It has gone from an emotional point to the articulation of ideas."

Nor is it a racist or anti-semitic movement, but is about placing African people "within our own historical framework" he says. On the other hand, he points out that Afrocentricity believes that in order to have a stable society "we must have a society that respects difference".

Asante sees Afrocentricity having a profound and lasting role in a post-apartheid SA: "We (African-Americans) have gained politically in this land. We have 7 000 elected officials, but our political power is weak. It is what I fear for SA. Unless you have control of educational power, you will have a situation where the people will serve the interests of those who are not in the majority."



WALLY SEROTE . . . Eurocentricity in the arts must not be at the expense of Afrocentricity.

PAC plays peace-broker role (11A)

THE Southern OFS region of the PAC wants to talk to the ANC about the destruction of property and intimidation during a provincial administration strike last month at Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein. *C/S/AN 23/8/92*

PAC regional chairman Mofihli Likotsi said on Friday that strikers and non-strikers had clashed during the action which was apparently part of the ANC's rolling mass action.

About 24 houses were burned in attacks on non-strikers and two people had died - apparently at the hands of ANC members.

Likotsi said it was time for the organisations to stop intimidation and destruction of property.

Lame-duck Codesa

By SEKOLA SELLO and Sapa

FEDERALISM will be high on the agenda when a lame-duck Codesa resumes early next month.

The meeting between the government and several political groupings which subscribe to the idea of a federal SA was announced by State President FW de Klerk this week.

The resumption of Codesa without one of its key players - the ANC - was announced at a news conference in Pretoria.

The ANC, which opposes federalism, has sharply criticised the move, saying contrary to government denials it smacks of "going it alone".

De Klerk has denied this and charges that the government was forming a front against the ANC. However, he warned that radicals and communists within the ANC could not be allowed to impede the democratisation process.

Although the full list of those who will take part has not yet been announced, it is expected they will come mostly from parties who had taken the government's line at Codesa.

The decision to reconvene Codesa came after De Klerk held separate talks with Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and DP leader Zach de Beer.

Among the other parties expected to attend the talks are Dikwankwetla (Qwa Qwa), Ximoko Progressive Party (Gazankulu), the Labour Party (House of Representatives), the National People's Party (House of Delegates) and the Ciskei government.

These parties are known to be strong advocates of federalism. They are also considered an opposition bloc to the ANC and its alliance partners in Codesa which includes the SACP, the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses and the Transkei, KaNgwane and Kwandebele governments.

ANC slams bid by govt, ~~to go it alone~~ bantustans CIPREM 23/8/92 to go it alone

The position of the Venda and Lebowa governments is not yet clear.

De Klerk said he still wanted to see all important players back at multi-party negotiations, adding the September meeting would be held only so some interim progress could be made.

He warned that the government would not yield to mass action and blamed radicals and communists within the ANC for the deadlock in negotiations.

De Klerk rejected claims the government was linking the release of political prisoners to a general amnesty to "safeguard its hide and that of the security forces". He said the disclosure of crimes and a general amnesty would have to be discussed at negotiations.

Regarding the row that erupted over raising the flag and singing *Die Stem* at last Saturday's rugby test against the All Blacks at Ellis Park, and the minute of silence required at yesterday's test match at Newlands, De Klerk said the NP had stated that it supported all procedures whereby people could reflect on the terrible scourge of violence.

However, he accused the ANC of "hijacking" sport and said this had led to tension. He warned that the row about the anthem and the flag could "ignite a powderkeg".

He called for calm and tolerance, but acknowledged there was a need for new unifying national symbols.

Unity in 2 years — FW

Cipres 23/8/92
STATE President FW de Klerk indicated yesterday he would be sharing power with ANC leader Nelson Mandela within two years, according to an interview aired in Australia.

De Klerk told Australia's Special Broadcasting Service that full democracy would be in place in two years' time.

"I'm sure that we will sit together in a government of unity," De Klerk said of himself and Mandela.

"We cannot again hold an election to

(11A) (300A)
the exclusion of black South Africans," he added.

De Klerk said his announcement that talks on a democratic SA were to continue without the ANC was not an attempt to exclude that group.

He said a united SA may have a new anthem and a new flag.

De Klerk said the South African economy was "inherently sound and ready for a takeoff". — Sapa-AFP

Investigate ANC, says IFP

C/P/AN 23/8/92

11A (15)

THE Inkatha Freedom Party is to ask the Goldstone Commission to investigate alleged ANC involvement in the massacre at Mpushini, outside Folweni, south of Durban.

IFP Umlazi branch head Reuben Mfeka said on Friday the IFP would ask the Goldstone Commission "to probe into the alleged abuses of members of the ANC's self-defence units".

Mfeka called on the ANC to

account for S'bu Mkhize, labelled by police as the country's most wanted man, being buried with ANC honours.

The IFP also called on the ANC to explain why its members who allegedly took part in Tuesday's attack were wearing security force uniforms.

Mfeka alleged that "ANC members are attempting to implicate and discredit security force mem-

bers and in doing so are creating a climate of ungovernability".

ANC media officer Dumisani Makhaye called on the police to "produce evidence" of security force uniforms being found on ANC members.

He said Mkhize was a respected member of the ANC and not a criminal. His only crime was that he refused to "do the bidding" of the IFP. - Sapa

Winnie
SI Times
puts the
23/8/92
ANC in
a tizz *(11A)*
(again)

By CHARLENE SMITH

WINNIE MANDELA has defied her suspension from the ANC's Women's League by changing the locks on her office doors to prevent entry, and by addressing up to four meetings a day.

The suspension in May came after she apparently recruited squatters and members of the PWV regional executive of the league to stage a sit-in at the ANC offices to protest against her removal as head of the ANC's welfare department.

In terms of her suspension, she may not act in any way as a representative of the Women's League, or do any political work or address meetings.

But Mrs Mandela has entered possibly the busiest phase of her career, often working six-day weeks and addressing up to four meetings a day.

Serious

The ANC National Executive Committee, which is scheduled to begin disciplinary hearings against her and 15 Women's League regional executives within the next two weeks, has been in a state of confusion over her disregard for its orders.

Her removal as head of the welfare department came after serious irregularities were discovered in the department's books, including an attempt to defraud the department of R400 000.

The ANC has referred all requests for comment to the Women's League, which has refused to make any statement.

New forum to replace Codesa if PAC joins?

NEWS ANALYSIS: By NORMAN WEST

STimes
(CMJ)
23/8/92

(11A)

THERE are signs that the main black liberation bodies may soon gather around a "square" negotiation table to face establishment-orientated parties with a more focused approach at a new forum, which would replace the problem-plagued Codesa.

The irony is that the much-demonised — and self-marginalised — Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) could emerge as the facilitating force in such a new allignment, as evidence grows of a more pragmatic approach by the movement to a negotiated settlement in South Africa — and hopefully an end to the debilitating violence.

The PAC's secretary for publicity and information, Mr Barney Desai, who was part of its delegation in bilateral talks with the government this week, said the issue of an alternative forum and venue for further talks still remained "unresolved".

Mr Desai said Codesa was "a cumbersome body of motley participants" — some self-appointed and others "elected" on ethnic tickets — "many of dubious credibility".

Even the government now appears to agree that Codesa must be replaced by a more streamlined body. So the PAC vows to continue boycotting Codesa because it feels it is a discredited forum "that cannot deliver true freedom".

Deputy president of the PAC, Advocate Dikgang Moseke, says that, ideally, if an alternative forum to Codesa is created, the PAC would prefer to have all liberation movements — including the ANC and Azapo — speaking with one voice to expedite the democratisation of the country.

But the PAC is sticking to its demand that "real negotiations must take place at a neutral venue under a neutral chairman". As non-negotiable as that might seem, in the inexact "science" of politics, "non-negotiables" are often replaced by "win-win" compromises.

By repeating that the PAC would want the ANC and Azapo to jointly press for democratic elections leading to a Constituent Assembly, Mr Moseke was clearly holding out the olive branch to his brothers-in-the-struggle.

The ANC will have nothing to lose if it reacts to the PAC with a reciprocal gesture, resulting, once more, in a true Patriotic Front of liberation movements.

Catalyst

What has spurred the PAC to become part of the talks about talks at this point, Mr Moseke says, is that many of its previous demands have become part of the present political currency. One of these is that a sizeable group of international UN monitors are on their way to South Africa and the UN is set to play a key role in monitoring moves towards a peaceful transition.

And the prospect of Mr De Klerk calling a "summit" next month of like-minded parties who all favour a federal solution for South Africa — including the Inkatha Freedom Party — seems to present the right catalyst for the Patriotic Front to regroup.

This may mean that instead of a round table at which numerous groups would sit, there seems to be a growing possibility of a future square table with only two sides.

This would certainly go a long way to help expedite solutions on points of disagreement on modalities leading to what both sides say they want ... free and fair elections leading to a constitution-making body representing all the people of the country.

While the PAC and the ANC call it an elected Constituent Assembly, Mr De Klerk and his summit partners may, for reasons of political expediency, call it something else — but, semantics aside, it seems everyone could now be heading in the same direction.

All agree that the motivation of groups on either side of the table must be to legitimise the structures that rule the country with a colour-blind vision and a racial unconsciousness, instead of black or white divisions.

According to Mr Moseke, the reason the PAC is perceived to have changed from hardline non-negotiable demands to full participation in "preparatory talks" is because the government has changed its stance. He claims it has agreed to a basic PAC demand — to jettison "convoluted concepts" of caretaker interim executive structures as proposed at Codesa — for the reality of one-person, one-vote elections for a Constitutional Assembly.

The "modalities" of such a a body, they agreed, would have to be negotiated in a "more representative forum".

Winnie to stage a comeback?

1174 CT 24/8/92

JOHANNESBURG. — A drive for the reinstatement of Mrs Winnie Mandela appears to be underway.

Officials of the ANC Women's League PWV region met yesterday to discuss Mrs Mandela's suspension, but were non-committal when asked at a press conference if they were seeking her reinstatement as president of the region and head of the social welfare department.

"We are in the process of addressing the whole issue with the (national) leadership," said Mrs Beauty Selela, political affairs officer for the league's Boipatong branch.

"We are supportive of Mrs Mandela and the work she has done for the ANC," said league executive member Mrs Marjory Nkomo.

Participants at the meeting yesterday sang songs eulogising Mrs Mandela, who was suspended in May from her position as leader of the league's PWV region following a sit-in she allegedly staged in a bid to regain her social welfare post.

These developments followed shortly after Mr Nelson Mandela announced formally that he was separating from his wife, barely two years after the ANC leader was freed from



COMEBACK . . .
Winnie Mandela

life imprisonment.

At the press conference, the Women's League branded as destructive and defamatory a Sunday newspaper report that Mrs Mandela had removed the lock of her office doors and had conducted meetings in direct contravention of her suspension.

"We are strongly opposed to the article," said Mrs Selela, as other members demanded the source of the article.

She also released a letter by British parliamentarian Ms Diane Abbot, apparently faxed to the organisation yesterday, declaring British women's backing for Mrs Mandela.

"Women from all over the UK will be meeting at the House of Commons in the autumn to formally launch a support group in your name," the letter, addressed to Mrs Mandela, apparently said.

The ANC national executive committee is scheduled to begin disciplinary hearings against Mrs Mandela and 15 other women in the next two weeks over the demonstration at the ANC head office.

She resigned her social welfare post amid allegations of serious irregularities in the department's books, including an attempt to defraud the department of R400 000. — Sapa

Govt paves way for wider talks

CONSTITUTIONAL talks involving a broader range of players than Codesa will resume soon if a series of meetings between government and key political players bears fruit in the coming weeks.

Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday government was planning to meet the ANC, PAC, Azapo, the CP and its breakaway group Afrikaner Volksunie in the near future to discuss resuming stalled talks.

He confirmed he and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa on Friday discussed compromises around ANC preconditions. The talks had included a possible revamping of the national peace accord and demands for a sovereign constituent assembly.

Meyer said follow-up talks could take place once the ANC's national working

RAY HARTLEY

committee and the Cabinet had discussed the issues. He would not be drawn on dates.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday the national working committee would discuss the bilateral meeting on Wednesday.

Meyer, hinting that bilateral talks could tackle issues deadlocked at Codesa, said: "We want talks to resume as soon as possible. It would be wrong to get them (the ANC) back without a strong possibility of resolving the problems."

Meyer said he would meet PAC official Gora Ebrahim today. Government and the PAC were in disagreement about the process and not the substance of future negoti-

□ To Page 2

Talks

ations, he said.

It remained unacceptable to government to hold top-level talks outside the country, but a compromise would be sought with the PAC which was bound by a resolution not to negotiate inside SA.

Meyer also disclosed that government had invited Azapo to bilateral discussions in a letter on Friday, following promising "behind the scenes contact".

He said recent conflict within the CP had stalled bilateral talks, but these would now resume.

Afrikaner Volksunie spokesman Andries Beyers yesterday welcomed the CP decision at the weekend to attend an Inkatha multiparty conference on Codesa's future, but said reunification was impossible while the CP continued to insist the whole of SA fell into its proposed fatherland.

"We never realised they would follow our direction so soon. We must continue to lead firmly and I think the CP will follow. If we had not broken away, the CP would not have moved forward," Beyers said.

□ From Page 1

The ANC continued to encourage all political parties to participate in talks, Marcus said in her response to the CP decision.

"If the CP finds Inkatha is the organisation it can most closely align with, that is their right," she said.

She said the ANC had taken no decision to attend the Inkatha conference because it did not have enough details on what would be discussed, and was relying on media reports for information on the meeting.

A recent Markinor survey found 70% of CP supporters favoured taking part in Codesa while 18% were opposed to talks and 12% undecided.

Marcus said it was ironic that the PAC and Azapo, who were vocal critics of the ANC's decision to negotiate, were talking to government now that the ANC had called off negotiations.

Marcus said the PAC was now reaching agreement with the government on the need for an elected constituent assembly — something the ANC and government had long been in agreement on.

We will 'fight' them in the streets

w/mcaul 24/7-30/9/92



By PORTIA MAURICE

SUPPORTERS of the African National Congress-led alliance are gearing up to launch a new offensive for peace and democracy on South African streets next week.

After failed talks with the Saccola-led business community, a fiery ANC leadership this week adopted a militant stance on mass action, calling on the "battle-ready" masses to "rise up in their millions" and force government to negotiate in good faith.

"The trains have already left the station and only the government can stop them by meeting our demands. The ball is now squarely in their court," Congress of South African Trade Unions general secretary Jay Naidoo told a Johannesburg press conference yesterday at which the alliance unveiled new plans for its Peace and Democracy Now campaign:

⊗Monday and Tuesday: a complete withdrawal of labour with rallies, marches and pickets at local level.

⊗Wednesday: countrywide occupation of cities and towns. "They will occupy those towns and they will march through those towns." ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa warned.

⊗Thursday and Friday: "Sectoral actions by workers and others," to be determined at local level.

⊗Saturday: regional assessment meetings and report-backs.

⊗Sunday: celebrations of National Women's Day as well as prayer services for

peace and democracy.

The movement and its allies are demanding that government:

⊗Accept its proposals for an interim government and a one-chamber Constituent Assembly.

⊗Take steps to end the violence by banning dangerous weapons, phasing out hostels, charging those responsible and confining to barracks special forces of the police and army.

⊗End unilateral restructuring, retrenchments and Value-Added Tax on foodstuffs.

"The heart of the problem lies in the regime's unwillingness to live with democracy and its inability to address the gravity of the situation," Ramaphosa said.

"Our march to democracy is unstoppable," he said, calling on business, the white community and security forces to "take a stand on the side of the oppressed".

South African Communist Party general secretary Chris Hanu warned the campaign would "build up to a crescendo", and would be called off only once the government had agreed to negotiate "in good faith" and to "give in to the demands of the people".

More than 1 000 people have been arrested so far in marches, demonstrations and occupations organised by the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance. Government buildings, supermarkets and key installations such as parliament have been targeted. Mass marches in Pretoria and Johannesburg are planned for tomorrow.

Naidoo said, however, that a planned

march to the Union Buildings in Pretoria was "still under discussion". Responding to rumours that President FW de Klerk would be unseated and replaced by ANC president Nelson Mandela, Ramaphosa grinned and said Mandela "would be installed as head of state only after democratic elections by our people".

Naidoo said plans for nationwide tax defiance — an attempt to press employers to divert money paid in PAYE taxes to a "fund for a future South Africa" — were still underway, and Cosatu hoped to convene a conference in August to discuss practical steps to this end.

The alliance pledged to keep all protests peaceful and disciplined but its activities would not be deterred by threats of violence from "the state or its surrogates".

"With our right to peaceful demonstration goes our inherent right to determine its nature and its aims," Ramaphosa said. "Wherever violence has raised its head it has been provoked and initiated from the government's side," he said, adding an appeal to protesters not to respond to provocation.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said during the week the success of the organisation's action did not lie in the number of people participating, but in their ability to gain access to buildings targeted for occupation.

He said the PWV Regional Action Council had planned the action to involve fewer people so that access to the targeted buildings would be easier.

PAC and Govt to seal agreements

Sowetan 24/8/92

11A

■ Preparation for full-blown negotiations by top leaders of two parties:

**By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter**

THE Pan Africanist Congress and the Government meet again today to cement agreements reached since they began having talks two weeks ago.

PAC secretary of foreign affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim and his delegation meet the Government team led by its chief negotiator, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Roelf Meyer.

Discussion will be about full-blown negotiations by the top leadership of the two parties.

Ebrahim yesterday confirmed that a neutral venue and a non-partisan chairman, agreement on which has been reached, would be discussed today.

Agreement reached last Tuesday included the

holding of elections for a constitution making body which the PAC calls a constituent assembly, and a transitional authority.

On Friday the African National Congress and the Government met behind closed doors to find ways to remove obstacles which prevent the return to negotiations.

The talks between ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Meyer are believed to have incorporated the ANC's 14 demands which

include the ending of violence.

This meeting also followed the United Nations' Resolution 772 of August 17 which calls

for the appointment of permanent peace monitors to strengthen National Peace Accord structures and which recommends that the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry into Public Violence be independent of Government influence.

The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) last week announced its appointment of an independent facilitator, Anglican Archbishop Khotso Makhudu of Botswana to broker talks between the Black Consciousness Movement and the Government.

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Tuesday August 25 1992 SOWETAN.

REVIEWS Book an eye-opener of social revolution - H:

Understanding change in SA

■ Author says liberation movements tend to ignore importance of psychology: *Sowetan 25/8/92*

Title: The power of revolution (11A)

Author: Haroon Aziz

Publisher: Raisa Books

Reviewer: Mokgadi Pela

IN his foreword, South African Communist Party chief Chris Hani describes

this book as an eye-opener that contributes towards an understanding of theories of social revolution in this country.

The book draws the attention of readers to the contradictions in South African society some of which are between labour and capital, blacks and whites,

Afrikaner capital and liberal labour, democracy and fascism and semi-feudalism and capitalism.

Aziz also stresses the importance of psychology in cultural liberation. He says political movements tend to ignore this "most important" aspect.

Signs of hope for stalled negotiations

STAR 25/8/92.

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

Constitutional negotiations are gradually starting to gather momentum across a broad front with several hopeful signs emerging over the last few days that the current deadlock is easing.

The most encouraging signal so far was sent out by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer at the weekend when he said that he thought the Government and ANC had "found the key to the solution of the deadlock in the negotiations process".

He and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa would meet again tonight to try to build on the progress made at a meeting on Friday.

Face-saving

The Conservative Party, for the first time, showed signs of readiness to enter mainstream negotiations at the weekend, while the discussions between the Government and the PAC aimed at bringing the PAC into negotiations, continued last night.

Meyer told a weekend NP conference that possible compromise proposals had been made at his Friday meeting with Mr Ramaphosa.

The ANC insisted that the Government should respond to its 14 demands, but the Government would not accede to them. Instead, "face-saving mechanisms" were explored which would be taken to the Cabinet and the ANC's national working committee for approval.

ANC negotiator Valli Moosa yesterday told The Star that Friday's discussions focused on the 14 demands but that the talks were still "incomplete".

He noted that the Government had acceded to some of the ANC's demands. It would be untrue to argue that the Government refused to address the ANC's demands as it had already agreed to international

violence monitoring.

Mr Moosa said the ANC required a "satisfactory" response to its key demands, and there was no point in reinstating negotiations "unless we are certain that the negotiations will be fruitful". Until the discussion had been completed, it would be premature to say a solution had been found to the deadlock.

Meanwhile, Mr Meyer met PAC secretary of foreign affairs Gora Ebrahim last night to continue "technical" discussions about the possibility of the PAC entering negotiations.

Mr Meyer said afterwards it was an "exploratory" meeting to discuss stumbling blocks — including the PAC demand for a neutral venue — to the first meeting at (senior) leadership level. It was agreed that the two parties would meet again at an unspecified date.

Earlier Mr Ebrahim told The Star the talks would focus on a meeting between senior Government and PAC leaders at a neutral venue under neutral chairmanship. The Government had accepted such a meeting in principle as it had met the PAC on April 10 in Arusha under the chairmanship of the Nigerian Foreign Minister.

Finalised

In addition to agreeing on the need for an elected constitution-making body, Mr Ebrahim said the two sides had agreed at a meeting last week that voter registration for a common voters' role should start as soon as possible. The decision would be finalised at the meeting to be held outside the country.

At a special congress in Kimberley, the CP said it was seriously considering going to the Government conference on federalism — scheduled for September 7.

CP leader Andries Treurnicht indicated the CP might be prepared to join Codesa-like negotiations. It is clear that the CP has been driven to this position for fear of being outmanoeuvred by the five breakaway CP MPs.

NEWS *It was a major gamble, but the ANC had to use only strategy left to them*

Mass action was a necessary tactic

Sowetan 25/8/92

By Vincent Maphai,
Professor of Political Science,
University of the Western
Cape

■ MASS ACTION *The ANC could not go back to the talks without making a strong political statement:*

WITH the much publicised mass action over, some stocktaking is necessary. Since the referendum, nothing has captured local and international interest like mass action.

The stakes were clearly high. It was a major gamble by the tripartite alliance. The Government watched anxiously as the entire programme unfolded.

When the threat of mass action became a reality, the State and business unleashed a propaganda war.

One got the impression that until the "monster" of mass action was conceived, South Africa was a tranquil paradise.

Suddenly, possible violence and retrenchment were sources of concern to the State and business. The hysteria was understandable. Important implications would follow from either the success or failure of mass action.

Mass action as a tactic

Was mass action necessary, as the Alliance believed, or could issues be resolved "peacefully" through negotiation, as the Government maintained? Three factors of mass action as a tactic, a strategy and a right are pertinent.

Firstly, mass action was a necessary short-term tactic. Ironically, if anything was going to save the talks at all, it was mass action. A stage had been reached where the ANC could not return to the talks without a major political statement.

The collapse of Codesa 2 undermined the Government's cynicism towards negotiations, in general, and a contempt for the ANC, in particular. The Boipatong massacre rubbed salt into the wounds. To return to talks unconditionally would have earned the ANC derision from its supporters, at the mildest, and rejection, at worst.

Inevitable outcome

Mass action was an inevitable outcome of the Government's unwarranted overconfidence.

Secondly, mass action is a strategy. It has always been one of the ANC's four 'pillars' of the struggle, three of which had virtually collapsed since February 1990. The armed struggle is no longer a serious option.

Global economic sanctions have all but disintegrated. South Africa's international isolation is now something of the past.

Quite clearly, mass action is the only remaining weapon at the disposal of the oppressed. If this weapon fails, the Government's willingness to negotiate will be diminished sub-

stantially. Parties negotiate for as long as they are pressurised to do so.

What threatens the negotiation process is not mass action: On the contrary, talks collapsed because the ANC and the international community eased pressure on the Government far too soon.

For example, last year, the ANC withdrew from talks and issued an ultimatum to the Government. This decision was quickly rescinded, before it had any effect.

Simply mischievous

To contrast mass action with 'peaceful' strategies, as the Nationalists do, is simply mischievous. Unlike the armed struggle, mass action is a peaceful strategy. Naturally, it can become violent and has done so in some cases.

Yet, the obligation is not to abolish mass action. Rather, all involved must ensure that it remains peaceful.

Thirdly, in any democratic society, peaceful mass action is a right taken for granted. During a recent Democratic Party Convention in New York, various interest groups and lobbyists took to the streets to draw the delegates' attention to their cause.

assume the support of its constituency.

The referendum and mass action were designed to demonstrate support and power. Furthermore, the failure of both tactics would have plunged the country into an even greater crisis than one which existed already.

Yet there are important differences. The referendum was about one specific question. The mandate to President FW de Klerk was clear: 'proceed with the reform process'.

It is not clear what kind of ANC mandate should be read from mass action. Mass action was over a range of sometimes contradictory issues: To resuscitate Codesa, to topple the Government and to protest about the Boipatong massacre, to name a few. For this reason, it is difficult to assess the success or failure of mass action.

Equating mass action with a referendum is inappropriate for another reason. It reinforces stereotypes that blacks vote on their feet. A democratic vote takes place by secret ballot, not in marches. Mass action should not become a substitute for proper elections and mandates.

One thing is certain. The ANC has demonstrated an ability to mobilise its constituency with relatively short notice. It survived State propaganda and displayed a high degree of discipline and organisation. The country-wide coordination of mass action was impressive.

Seizure of power

The mass action effort could help the ANC recover some lost ground. By frightening off foreign investment after all formal sanctions have collapsed, mass action can keep disinvestment going indefinitely.

However, mass action will not result in the seizure of power. The structure of Codesa places definite limits on what may be achieved. Negotiation often results in power-sharing.

For the ANC, the outcome must have brought relief. The success of mass action, or the perception of such success on the part of ANC's supporters, was crucial if Mandela was to return to Codesa with a modicum of respect and dignity. Furthermore, the ANC regained the moral high-ground from the PAC and Azapo. Both had urged their supporters to ignore the boycott call.

Tomorrow: Maphai looks at the Government's attitude towards negotiations and the collapse of Codesa.



ANC placard-carrying supporters demonstrate against the violence.

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INTERBOU '92



Choir leader of Tintsumi Ta Yehova entertained no end when he conducted his choir while facing the audience. Tintsumi emerged the winners of the Daveyton Cultural Foundation's second annual gospel music festival on Sunday.

Govt's no to venue

By Themba Molefe

Political Reporter

THE GOVERNMENT YESTERDAY rejected a proposal by the Pan Africanist Congress that negotiations be held under a neutral chairman outside the country.

Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning Mr Roelf Meyer and PAC secretary for foreign affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim held an "exploratory" meeting in Johannesburg last night to discuss the PAC's proposal that negotiations be held at a neutral venue.

The discussions also specifically dealt with a possible meeting of the two

Sowetan 25/8/92

FIRM STAND Roelf Meyers says

PAC's neutral venue is unnecessary:

parties' top leadership.

At the end of the hour-long meeting, Meyer said: "We do not think a neutral venue is necessary."

"The Government wants to resolve stumbling blocks which would ensure the PAC gets involved in the negotiations process."

Ebrahim said no agreement was reached on a neutral venue, which was the PAC's main demand for future negotiations.

He did not elaborate on the course the organisation would take.

He also did not say whether this and a possible meeting at top leadership level - ostensibly between President FW de Klerk and PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu - were the stumbling blocks.

Meyer said the two would meet again but no date and venue had been set.

The Government and PAC began their "exploratory" discussions three weeks ago and have reached agreement on the holding of elections for what the Government calls a constitution-making body.

The PAC calls it a constituent assembly.

the nation in brief

Probe deaths - LHR

LAWYERS for Human Rights has called for independent investigations into deaths in police custody and charged that authorities were not serious about preventing the tragedy.

The LHR's reaction followed the deaths in police custody of two men who died within 12 hours of their arrests in the Eastern Transvaal at the weekend, bringing to 82 the total of such deaths this year.

Also, 10 people have died since pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman went public with allegations last month that police were murdering people in their custody.

Mr Kekeletso Samuel Matenjwa, from nearby Akkerville died in the Witbank police station at the weekend.

A post mortem will be held tomorrow. - *Sowetan Reporter.*

A group spokesman confirmed the letter but would not say this was Mayekiso's apartment.

Sanco has been a major proponent of the bond boycott, which is aimed at forcing the banks into pressuring the Government to accede to the 14 demands of the African National Congress alliance. - *Sapa.*

PAC to donate cash

THE Pan Africanist Congress is to donate R28 000 to victims of the Boipatong massacre today, says director of information and publicity Waters Toboti.

Relief and aid secretary Ms Patricia de Lille and projects secretary Mrs Elizabeth Sibeko will donate the money on behalf of the organisation at a 10am ceremony in the Vaal triangle township.

Companies conned

SOME unsuspecting South African companies may have fallen prey to a

Mavekiso's notice



ANC, Govt meet tonight

■ **Government tells youth it won't act
on demands:**

11A ~~3/4/92~~
Sowetan 25/8/92

By Ismail Lagardien

Political Correspondent

THE ANC meets the Government again tonight to seek ways of restarting the negotiations process.

The Government delegation will be led by Mr Roelf Meyer, and the ANC team by Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

Tonight's discussions will focus on the Government's response to the ANC's 14 demands.

The resumption of talks is contingent upon an adequate response, an ANC negotiations source said yesterday.

Trying to act tough

The source said the Government was "trying to act tough" when Meyer told the National Party Transvaal youth conference at the weekend that they (Government) would not move on the 14 demands as a means of re-entering talks, but that a mechanism would have to be created to bring negotiations back on stream without anyone losing face.

Govt, PAC resume talks

11A
[initials]

BIPAC 25/8/92

CONSTITUTIONAL Development Minister Roelf Meyer met a PAC delegation headed by the movement's foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim in Johannesburg last night.

At the meeting, the two parties agreed to hold another round of talks to deal with the PAC's demand that a meeting at leadership level between the two parties take place under a neutral convenor at a neutral venue.

Both parties will now report back to their principals. Thereafter a date for a third round of talks will be set.

Earlier, a PAC source said the organisation had planned to propose a venue outside SA for talks between the PAC and government at senior level.

Yesterday's meeting was the third contact between government and the PAC.

PATRICK BULGER

The PAC has set up a committee to oversee bilateral contact with government.

Last night Meyer said the talks had taken place on an exploratory basis to try to resolve stumbling blocks in the way of getting the PAC involved in negotiations.

Ebrahim said the PAC had put forward concrete proposals, but he could not disclose what they were at this stage.

Today Meyer will meet ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa to discuss issues related to the negotiations process. The two men met last Friday.

The meeting is one of a series of bilateral contacts the government is engaged in with a view to reconvening constitutional negotiations.

Shielding the State's top gun

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STAR 25/8/92

NEGOTIATIONS between the Government and the ANC are currently stalled over the question of a general amnesty, with the ANC demanding the release of some 400 political prisoners.

This the Government seems willing to concede, provided the ANC agrees that amnesty be extended to a dozen or so unnamed State functionaries who have committed unspecified offences. This the ANC refuses to concede.

On the face of it, it sounds unreasonable: surely a trade-off of 400 against 12 is not ungenerous? In fact, the ANC is entirely right about this and one must hope that the movement proves wholly intransigent on this point.

The reasons they give are powerful enough — amnesty should only be given to named people for specific offences. These are, after all, elementary principles of justice — and justice must be seen to be done. But to follow that thought through is to take a tin-opener to a whole can of worms.

For a start the State is by im-

plication making an admission here which it has never made before: not only that serious crimes have been committed in its name, but that the State feels sufficiently responsible for those crimes to want to exculpate those who committed them.

Quite clearly, we are not talking here merely about policemen who, in an excess of zeal, have beaten prisoners to death or applied electrodes to their genitals. Nor are we even talking merely about the lowly hitmen who murdered and mutilated the likes of Griffiths and Victoria Mxenge.

The fact is that there are far too many such people to get into the baker's dozen the Government is talking about. They will all be relatively junior and it will be easy for the State to disclaim all responsibility on to them.

By definition we have to be talking about a smaller number of far more senior men, men who probably never had to dirty their hands murdering anyone directly themselves. Take, for example, the revelations — denied by no-

body — of the role of General "Joffel" van der Westhuizen in the Goniwe murders, or Adriaan Vlok's role in chairing committees that may have overseen similar work.

Nobody is suggesting — or not yet, anyway — that Messrs van der Westhuizen or Vlok have actually murdered or tortured anybody themselves: at the moment all we have is circumstantial evidence. But there is, quite clearly, a case to answer.

And if figures at that sort of level have been implicated, to pardon them must imply pardons at a lower level for many hundreds, even thousands, who actually carried out the dirty work.

But the real point is that figures at senior level could only get involved in villainy if it was understood to be State policy that they should — indeed they may well have documents to prove it. So, hidden deep within the Government's ploy, is at last an admission that major crimes and atrocities have been committed not by accident or by someone overstep-

ping the mark but because it was State policy that they should be committed.

The ANC would doubtless like a full Government admission of guilt for its own political purposes, but far wider considerations are at stake.

First, and most obviously, the State had no need to resort to crime. The ANC may have contested the legitimacy of "the apartheid regime" but there was throughout, a legally constituted, sovereign and universally recognised State. South Africa has not been under the personal rule of a tin-pot Papa Doc (or even Papa Croc).

The State could and did take legal powers to detain without trial, to declare states of emergency, to ban, list, house arrest and so on. Everything it wanted to do it could do legally. There can be no excuse for State crime.

Throughout the apartheid nightmare this preservation of a legal, constitutional order was the one saving grace of the National Party. South Africans of all per-

suasions desperately needed to believe in the majesty and authority of a constitutional State: the worse the turmoil and division the more we had to have — and believe in — a State which applied the law without fear or favour, which would even-handedly prosecute the van der Westhuisens and the Winnie Mandelas.

The ANC may wish to argue that there is no moral equivalence between Robert McBride and murderous securocrats because the former killed and maimed innocent people as a freedom fighter: it is not a savoury argument either way.

But there is, all the same, no moral equivalence. State functionaries who committed or authorised crimes did not merely break the law but actually overthrew the rule of law itself. The upholding of the rule of the law is the State's most sacred duty, a fact which, for all our sakes, must be re-impressed on the present and all future governments.

So while we must indeed "wipe the slate clean", the aim must be

to restore the full authority of the rule of law. This cannot be done by means of hole-in-the-corner deals to pardon senior but shadowy men for crimes whose name we dare not speak. We must have the full truth and those State officials who broke their sacred trust to uphold the rule of law, must stand trial. There is no other way.

Only fourteen years ago the country's president was forced out because he had broken the law: the precedent exists, even at the highest level. If to re-establish the rule of law in all its majesty we have to drag old Papa Croc himself out of retirement and send him to court, so be it. We shall not be rid of his dread inheritance until we have the courage to look it in the face. □

● R W Johnson is a South African Rhodes Scholar, currently a don at Magdalen College, Oxford, and a commentator on South African affairs for the Times of London, the Independent and New Statesman. He is currently on sabbatical at Natal University, Durban.

PAC to donate cash

THE Pan Africanist Congress is to donate R28 000 to victims of the Boipatong massacre today, says director of information and publicity Waters Toboti.

Relief and aid secretary Ms Patricia de Lille and projects secretary Mrs Elizabeth Sibeko will donate the money on behalf of the organisation at a 10am ceremony in the Vaal triangle township. - Sapa.

Sowetan 25/8/92

Winnie's suspension goes to legal expert for ruling

Political Staff

(11A)

year.

STAR 26/8/92

The suspension of Winnie Mandela as head of the ANC PWV Women's League has been referred to an independent legal expert for arbitration, The Star has learnt.

Mrs Mandela was suspended as leader of the league's PWV region following a sit-in she had allegedly instigated in an attempt to regain her post as national head of the ANC's welfare department — a position she had resigned earlier this

Doubts were cast on the legality of her suspension after it emerged that the ANC Women's League national executive apparently had not heard Mrs Mandela's account of the sit-in before suspending her.

Mrs Mandela denied weekend reports that she had changed the locks on the office of the regional Women's League.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus would not comment, saying an investigation was still in progress.

Damning 'dependency syndrome'

STAR 26/8/92

(11A)

THE American journal, Commentary, is described as conservative, but is better understood as a conserver of traditional American liberal values rather than the radicalism that passes for US liberalism today.

A recent edition carries a series of articles which analyse the aftermath of the Los Angeles riots.

The charge that the riots arose from the "neglect" of the Reagan/Bush years is rebutted by figures indicating a continuing increase in black median incomes during the '80s and a decline in the official poverty rate.

Much backing is in fact provided for the widely ridiculed statement by White House spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, that the failed social programmes of the '60s were to blame for the riots.

Far from a "decade of neglect", the welfare package for inner city blacks remains more generous than in the heyday of the '60s reforms, and their negative effects even more insidious.

The legacy of the permissive '60s was the pervasive tendency not to hold individuals accountable for their behaviour.

Prior to the '60s it was punishing, financially and socially, to have a baby without a husband, welfare reforms weakened the disincentives and encouraged the dependency syndrome and neglect of the male parent's responsibilities.

Arch Puddington, former aide to civil rights leader Bayard Rustin, says racism is not the whole problem, and certainly not the cause of the rocketing rate of illegitimate births and homicides

among blacks, two-thirds of whom are now born to single-parent families.

He notes the negative attitudes of young blacks to the world of work and the means of economic advancement chosen by disadvantaged immigrant groups such as the Koreans, so prominently a target in the Los Angeles riots.

Black attitudes, in fact, are strongly conditioned by the repeated stress on the black community as the helpless victim of white society.

The remedy is beyond the reach of government — indeed, the efforts of government have done much to undermine the capacity to take charge of their own lives.

The lesson for South Africa is clear.

South African blacks have been discriminated against in the past, resulting in the breakdown of family life. Therefore, the structures of community need to be rebuilt so as to optimally take advantage of the opportunities opening up in South Africa.

The politicised black churches in particular must abandon their structural, quasi-marxist definition of sin in favour of personal moral responsibility and integrity.

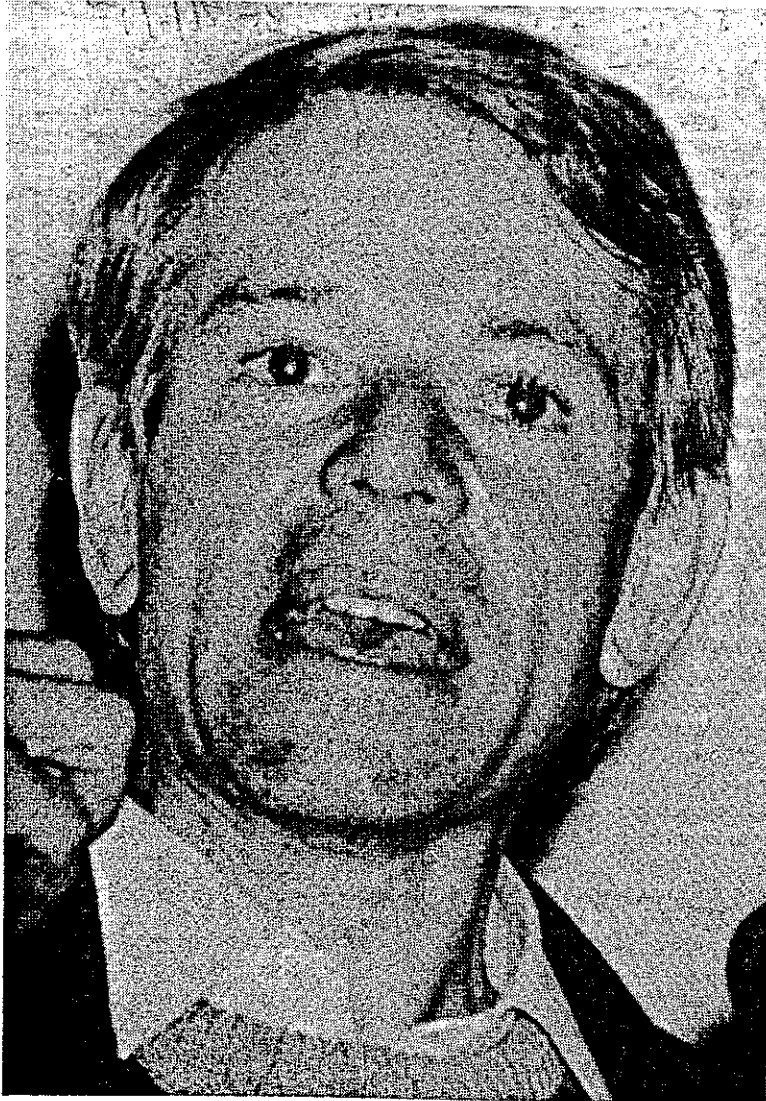
In this respect, the Zionist churches provide a clearer lead than the liberation theologians of the South African Council of Churches. □

● Councillor Jack Bloom is DP councillor for Highlands North and author of the book "Black South Africa and the Disinvestment Dilemma".

Call for 'one organisation, one strategy'

SOUTH 22/8 - 26/8/92

11A



JEREMY CRONIN: Urges unity of vision in the ANC

Photo: Yunus Mohamed

THE ANC-led alliance has not developed an adequate strategy for struggle since February 1990. In place of a single, clear strategy there have been several inadequate and conflicting approaches.

Three conflicting outlooks have been favoured by different sectors of the ANC at different times.

In the first, the "don't rock the boat" position, negotiations among an elite are all-important in securing the transfer of power. Any action outside the negotiating forum can only endanger the process of democratisation.

The second, "turning on the tap", also favours elite negotiations. It allows for other action, but only as "a tap to be turned off and on according to perceived progress or otherwise at Codesa".

The third strategy is that of a mass uprising that builds dual power, overthrows an incumbent regime and replaces it with the emergent origins of popular power.

It is the unresolved co-existence of three strategic outlooks within our national liberation movement that accounts for many of the problems we have experienced since February 1990.

In the first part of 1990 it was suggested that we were negotiating with the regime because De Klerk was a "man of integrity". Inevitably the situation on the ground disproved this strategy.

Our cadres and supporters blamed the August suspension of

Jeremy Cronin

spoke at the Ruth First Memorial colloquium at the University of the Western Cape this week. This is an edited version of the paper by the SACP central committee member:

the armed struggle for their sense of defencelessness and tried to counter-pose a fairly spontaneous view (particularly at the December 1990 consultative conference).

In April 1991 the ANC leadership issued an ultimatum to De Klerk to end the violence, release political prisoners and ensure the return of exiles, or face a suspension of talks about talks.

The ultimatum was well received by most movement activists. Only a few were unhappy — it "rocked the boat". The ultimatum temporarily helped to resolve the rift between the rank and file and negotiators.

In July 1991 the national executive committee elaborated on the "strategic shift". The violence and non-release of prisoners were subordinated to the bigger question. And so it was back to negotiations. We

were going to move to an interim government as soon as possible.

Whatever its own inherent merits or otherwise, this "strategic shift" also served to paper over the division between the three strategic outlooks in our organisation.

Proponents of all three welcomed the "strategic shift" but each interpreted it in his or her own way. Proponents of strategy one were relieved that talks were "back on track". Proponents of strategy two saw themselves going back to the negotiating table strengthened ("you see what a bit of pressure can do").

In this case it was not so much mass pressure as psychological pressure that was deemed to have done the trick. Proponents of strategies one and two tended to be over-optimistic about chances of rapidly negotiating an interim government.

Supporters of strategy three welcomed the July 1991 shift and read insurrectionary intentions into the statement that "the regime itself is the immediate obstacle".

Needless to say, the apparent unity of July 1991 quickly evaporated under the pressure of reality itself.

I will resist the temptation here to catalogue the ongoing impact of these conflicting ideological tendencies on our movement over the past months. The essential point is that we need real unity of strategic purpose, not an apparent unity.

● *This was an individual contribution to the colloquium and does not represent the views of the SACP, ANC or any section of these formations.*

ANALYSIS Political analyst looks at mass action



Oupa Gqozo



FW de Klerk



Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Mass action a warning to Codesa participants

By Vincent Maphal
Professor of Political Science,
University of the Western
Cape

■ NO BIRTHRIGHT Mass support

should not be regarded as the sole

preserve of one party:

THE GOVERNMENT'S attitude towards negotiations and the subsequent collapse of the talks confirmed suspicions of the anti-Codesa lobby.

Yet, when thousands heeded the boycott call, questions were raised about the level of support enjoyed by the PAC and Azapo.

The objections raised by these organisations against mass action are serious. However, their response was questionable. They were allegedly never consulted about this measure.

Furthermore, mass action was partly about revitalising Codesa. It was, therefore, unfair to expect PAC or Azapo supporters to risk their lives and jobs in order to save the very institution whose death they would have preferred!

Rescue a "jilted lover"

These organisations also perceived the proposed mass action as an attempt to rescue a "jilted lover" rather than a measure to advance the interests of the masses. They argued that when it suited them, the ANC elite fraternised with the Nationalists andbantustan and tricameral functionaries - at the expense of "the masses". In other words, the entire black community was being mobilised to pursue narrow party political aims of the ANC.

High profile roles

Be that as it may, it does not follow that these organisations should have opposed mass action. The critics could have joined the action but insisted on high profile roles for themselves at all events. In that case, they would have shared the spoils, regardless of the size of their support.

Alternatively, they could have withheld organisational support but left the decision to join the mass action or not to their members' discretion. The success or failure of mass action would have had no direct relevance to them.

Instead, these organisations found themselves, unwittingly, on the same side with the Government, business,

Gqozo and Buthelezi. Ironically, they have always reminded the world that the ANC was surrounded by "sell-outs" inside Codesa.

The significance and consequence of mass action, or its failure, need to be appreciated beyond what was intended by the ANC. The action has reinforced the concept of accountability. In some respects, mass action was a warning to all Codesa participants, including the ANC.

Find a compromise

Often outgoing and incoming elites easily find a compromise provided their interests are guaranteed. Usually such concessions are possible if the "rank and file" claims are ignored or forgotten.

Recent mass action may have set an important precedent for future political practice. Any future government, including the ANC, runs the risk of mass action if it departs substantially from election promises.

What is the possible impact of mass action on the Government? There are several alternatives. At the very least it will restore the pre-1990 stalemate.

Greater urgency

The tone rather than the substance of negotiation might improve as a result of mass action. The Government is likely to negotiate with greater urgency than before, if the alternative is recurrent mass action. For its part, the ANC is likely to be less conciliatory than prior to the collapse of Codesa.

Yet, State President FW de Klerk may also attempt to stretch mass action to its limits. Quite clearly, if mass action were to be undertaken frequently, it might begin to lose momentum. Such an outcome, however, would be dangerous for De Klerk as well. A discredited ANC will not result in a stronger National Party, but rather in an ungovernable country. It is in De Klerk's interests to ensure that the ANC survives.

Mass action could be curtailed by

⌋ If mass action is used for narrow party political objectives, it has the potential to divide the community ⌋

De Klerk's conceding to one of the ANC's demands as a matter of urgency - an interim government.

The Government could use the existence of an interim government to argue that mass actions such as general strikes and appeals for sanctions are now preposterous. The ANC cannot call for an international boycott, sanctions and mass action against a government of which it is part.

Furthermore, the Government would hope that such "transitional arrangements" would reassure its own constituency that their quality of life, and daily lived experience, will remain substantially unchanged under a new, majority-rule constitution. It will demonstrate that coalition governments are feasible.

Result of its failure

Mass action is a potent tool. Yet, like all strategies, it has its own definite limitations. In itself, successful mass action does not guarantee the end of National Party rule. The result of its failure, however, is an extended lifespan for apartheid. Worse still, if it is used for narrow party political objectives, it has the potential to divide the community.

For this reason, no party or organisation should regard mass support as its birthright. Mass action may have lessened the urgency for a broader patriotic front which includes the PAC and Azapo. After its recent victory, the ANC might consider these organisations dispensable.

Sowetan 26/8/92

ANC/IIA

Govt and ANC in bid to restart negotiations

STAR 26/8/92

Political Staff

(S) (A) (1/A)

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa were due to meet last night for at least the third time in 10 days to try to restart formal negotiations.

They were to meet for "exploratory talks" amid encouraging signs from the Government that a compromise "face-saving" solution to the current negotiations deadlock was in sight.

However, the ANC has been down-playing these hopeful signals, indicating that the two sides are still quite a long way from agreement and insisting that the Government should "satisfactorily" meet its key conditions for resuming talks.

After meeting Mr Ramaphosa on August 16 and again last Friday, Mr Meyer

said at the weekend both parties had "found the key to the solution of the deadlock".

Instead of simply meeting the ANC's 14 demands, "face-saving mechanisms" were explored which would be taken back to the Cabinet and the ANC national working committee for approval.

It was thought unlikely that any compromise would emerge from last night's meeting to be considered by the Cabinet at its regular weekly meeting today.

● Exploratory talks between the Government and the Pan Africanist Congress have not yet got around the question of whether or not negotiations between them should take place outside South Africa, as the PAC demands, or in the country, as the Government insists. The talks are expected to continue, but no date has been set for another meeting.

ANC gears up for protest

B10A7 27/892

11A

WILSON ZWANE

THE joint secretariat of the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance has endorsed a plan for the last round of mass action to force government to meet its demands.

The action programme includes the disruption of Parliament when it reconvenes in October, a march on the Ciskei capital Bisho, a campaign to put pressure on employers to withhold from government the PAYE payments of employees who do not have the vote, and the occupation of national buildings and roads.

The joint secretariat endorsed the programme at a meeting on Sunday. The programme is the last phase, dubbed Exitgate, of the alliance's mass action aimed at forcing government to meet its demands.

Demands include an end to violence and the speedy establishment of a constituent assembly.

The alliance's campaigns committee national co-ordinator Mandla Dhlamini said yesterday that although alliance leaders had endorsed

the programme, they still had to refer the details to their respective constituencies.

The ANC's national working committee and Cosatu's central executive committee would meet tomorrow and Friday "to rubber stamp the programme", Dhlamini said.

The ANC's national executive committee and the SACP's central executive committee would meet next week.

Dhlamini said the alliance's campaigns committee would meet in the first week of September to decide how to implement the programme.

September had been earmarked as a month during which protest campaigns against homelands should be intensified, Dhlamini said, adding that the focus would be on QwaQwa, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana.

It is understood that the alliance plans to march on Bisho on September 9.

On August 4 there was a lengthy

stand-off between Ciskeian security forces and about 50 000 alliance supporters who marched from nearby King William's Town as part of mass action. Members of the national peace secretariat were instrumental in defusing the volatile situation.

Dhlamini said members of the alliance would march on the SA/Mozambican border to protest against the electric fence "which has killed many people".

He said the alliance planned to occupy Parliament on October 12 and to "make it difficult for MPs to enter it when it reconvenes".

Between October 12 and 19 the alliance would occupy Jan Smuts Airport, the Johannesburg Stock Exchange and the M1 freeway. Occupations of prisons were also planned for that period.

A campaign to put pressure on employers to withhold from government PAYE payments by employees who did not have the vote, would also be embarked upon, Dhlamini said.

PRINTEK LIMITED

No. 55/00013/06

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COMMENT

are as follows:

Group turnover increased by 15 per cent to R1 235 billion. Earnings, at R26,8 million prior to extraordinary items, equivalent to 13,8 cents per share, are 7 per cent lower than last year. A

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NEWS PAC, Azapo told it's wrong to negotiate

Thumbs down from 'Combat'

By Joe Mdhlela *Sowetan 27/8/92*

A NEWLY established organisation, Community of Black and African Theologians, said this week it would advise the PAC and Azapo not to negotiate with the Government.

Launched last weekend at Eskom College in Midrand, the organisation concluded this after a four-day session.

The theological seminar was organised by the Black Theology Project and Institute for Contextual Theology.

The clergymen criticised the South African Council of Churches, accused of misrepresenting black struggle.

The organisation also expressed unhappiness that white liberals dominated the SACC which, it said, gave the black struggle for liberation an interpretation which was inconsistent with the experiences of blacks.

The president of Combat and lecturer in Theology at the University of South Africa, Dr Takatso Mofokeng, said the

■ **New body is critical of the SACC's role in the struggle for liberation:** ~~SEF~~

organisation was dismayed that the PAC was already talking to the Government and that Azapo was in the process of doing so. "We will be approaching these organisations to express our concern about the talks."

"The SACC has moved away from the black community. Their language has become white. Combat will be engaging the SACC in a critical dialogue to address these concerns," Mofokeng said.

The organisation elected Dr Mokgethi Motlhabi as executive director, Professor Itumeleng Mosala as finance director, Dr David Mosoma as publicity and information director and Ms Priscilla Everson and the Rev Tinyiko Maluleka take care of gender affairs and programmes respectively.

Africa

NEWS Injured but drives himself to hospital ● Massacre victims families get R1 000 each

PAC help for victims

■ Self-help projects soon for the bereaved

THE Pan Africanist Congress secretary for relief and aid, Mrs Patricia de Lille, has challenged political organisations, churches and international agencies to give direct assistance to victims of the Boipatong massacre.

De Lille presented a R28 000 cheque to the bereaved families at the Roman Catholic Church in Boipatong on Tuesday.

Sharpeville Six

"We have seen with the experience of the Uppington Six and Sharpeville Six that there are disputes if the money is not given direct to the victims," she said

She also promised that the PAC would start self-help projects for Vaal Triangle residents.

De Lille was accompanied by PAC secretary for projects, Mrs Elizabeth Sibeko, and secretary for local government, Mr Molefi Litheko.

The PAC gave a cheque of R1 000 to each of the 28 families who lost relatives during the massacre.

Mrs Maria Letsoko (65) thanked the PAC on behalf of all the families and said the organisation's gesture showed that black people would always stand son, a daughter and a son-in-law during the massacre.

Soweto doctor shot

■ **ROBBERY MOTIVE** Thugs wanted to take his luxury German car:

A SOWETO medical doctor is recovering from a bullet wound sustained when he was attacked by four men in Meadowlands on Wednesday last week.

Dr Stuart Mbatasana is still at the Baragwanath Hospital after being shot in the abdomen near his home in Zone 5, Meadowlands, by thugs who wanted to rob him of his Mercedes Benz car.

The bullet went through his liver but he managed to drive to the hospital while bleeding profusely.

"I grew up in that area," he said. "I never thought I could be attacked there. I've always assumed people knew me very well."

Mbatasana said he was having difficulty breathing and speaking. He had to pause from time to time during the interview.



Dr Stuart Mbatasana

'Torture, beating' in ANC camps

STAR 27/8/92

By David Katz

Allegations of torture and abuse in ANC camps have been made by two former ANC members in affidavits presented to the Douglas Commission of Inquiry, set up by the conservative Washington-based International Freedom Foundation (IFF).

The commission this week began gathering evidence of alleged torture and human rights atrocities in ANC camps in countries such as Angola, Uganda and Tanzania.

The commission, under advocate Robert Douglas, SC, yesterday made affidavits available to The Star in which former ANC members detained in the camps describe acts of torture at the ANC's Quatro camp in Angola.

In his affidavit David Mak-

hubedu (41) said "torture and beatings were a regular occurrence administered on inmates indiscriminately".

He said he witnessed this during the nearly five years he spent in Quatro before being released on November 16 1988.

He said Quatro was initially established for suspected infiltrators but was later used "for any people whom the leadership of the ANC and MK (ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe) regarded as dissidents".

In another affidavit, Robert Shange said that during his stay at Quatro he saw "numerous acts of torture". Once, boiling water had been poured on the head of a prisoner.

He said many prisoners — who lived in conditions "shocking beyond belief" — had died of malaria and other tropical diseases, and that complaints were met with more torture.

Mr Shange said he was seeking redress "against the ANC-

SACP alliance for all the wrongs done" while he was in detention.

The ANC has in the past acknowledged that atrocities took place, and a commission of inquiry appointed by ANC president Nelson Mandela to investigate them finished taking oral evidence last week.

An ANC spokesman yesterday said the organisation had full confidence in its own commission, which was due to release its report soon.

She said the ANC commission had "sounder motives than the right-wing IFF" and that the ANC was eager to find solutions based on the report.

Speaking from Washington yesterday, IFF international chairman Duncan Sellars said the purpose of the commission was "to help the ANC come clean" on its past and "bolster true democrats within the ANC against hardliners aligned with the SACP".

NEGOTIATIONS

Softly softly

11A

FM 28/8/92

Aside from the moves from the fringes — the PAC, Azapo and elements of the white Right — to get on board the negotiations train, there are signs that the deadlock between the key players, government and the ANC, is close to being broken. According to a government spokesman: "we're closer than we've been in the past two weeks, though it's too early to predict exactly when."

According to ANC sources, much would depend on what emerged from the second meeting, this week, between ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer. This would be a continuation of their incomplete, though constructive, indaba last Friday, after which Meyer suggested they had "found the key" to resolving the deadlock.

ANC negotiators were, however, maintaining the more cautious approach they've adopted in recent months, saying it would be premature to suggest that the key had been found. "We can't yet say that the deadlock has been broken until there have been adequate, substantial moves by government to meet our demands and that they are prepared to submit themselves to democratic principles." The latter refers to

accepting a "sovereign" elected constitution-making body to write a new constitution.

Whether the steps government seemed to be contemplating would go far enough, was expected to be known after the second session on Tuesday night. It seems fair to assume that Meyer put something on the table last Friday, which Ramaphosa had to take back to his colleagues.

The ANC, incidentally, describes these one-on-one meetings as "a channel of communication" rather than negotiations. This hairsplitting is designed to accommodate the ANC's recent announcement that it was suspending all contact with government.

Of the ANC's 14 preconditional demands, it would seem that the key issues around which compromises could be struck are:

- The release of political prisoners. The ANC says it is more and more convinced that government is using these prisoners as "political hostages" and seeking a "trade-off" for their release with agreement on an amnesty for security force personnel engaged in violence. The ANC is refusing to entertain this idea;

- Hostels — those hostels which have been

flashpoints in the violence — have to be fenced and permanently monitored by a multi-lateral peace commission, says the ANC;

- The suspension and investigation of security force members implicated in the violence. The ANC also wants the suspension of military intelligence chief General Joffel van der Westhuizen pending a proper investigation;

- An end to covert security operations; and
- Agreement on a constitution-making body.

"We all know that compromises will have to be made," says the government source, but adds that this cannot be a one-way street. If the ANC stayed in "demand mode" then

ed" body was accepted and agreed long ago at Codesa. To government, it would seem, the issue here really concerns "deadlock-breaking procedures during the constitutional phase."

METAL INDUSTRY STRIKE Hammered in court

The Steel and Engineering Industries Federation (Seifsa) on Tuesday succeeded in its application for an urgent interim interdict against the striking National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa). Seifsa sought the interdict because of what it claims are gross irregularities in the union's strike balloting procedure early last month. If true, this would render the strike illegal.

The big questions now are whether Numsa will call off its four-week-old action, which the Transvaal Supreme Court ruling has said is illegal; if not, what approach Seifsa will advise its members to take regarding dismissals; and whether Cosatu will join the fray.

A full hearing has yet to be held.

Numsa decided to go on strike after deadlock was reached in the annual metal industry wage negotiations last month when the industry's 12 unions had declared a dispute with all the Seifsa associations.

Employers voted in favour of a lockout on July 15, though none had exercised this option to induce employee acceptance of the final wage offer. This stands at 8,6% against Numsa's original demand for 20%.

At an informal meeting between Numsa (the only Seifsa union that conducted a strike ballot) and Seifsa on August 11, the union dropped its demand to 16%. Employers rejected it. Numsa's demands include a moratorium on retrenchments.

Seifsa's first application for an urgent interdict against Numsa failed on a technicality, when the Supreme Court, on August 7, determined that neither Seifsa nor member associations had the *locus standi* to obtain one. Such relief could only be sought by individual employers, the court said. The merits of the strike were not discussed.

Seifsa appealed and the Judge President of the Supreme Court, Justice Eloff, directed that it be urgently heard by a full bench of the Transvaal Division on August 21. The appeal was upheld last Friday and on Tuesday Seifsa won its interdict against Numsa's conduct of its strike ballot.

Among the balloting irregularities alleged by Seifsa were: Numsa's refusal to release details of the result; allowing non-Numsa members to take part; that it did not allow



there wouldn't be any negotiations, he says. "The important thing is to get everybody off the hook and create room for manoeuvre," says the source, warning against overblowing the "hopeful signs" of the past week. The government knew there was a difference of opinion in the ANC alliance and further movement would also depend on whether Ramaphosa could sell any compromises reached with Meyer to his side.

For its part, the ANC says talk of a face-saving formula for resuming talks only applies to government, which, it believes, is under domestic and international pressure to meet the ANC's "reasonable" demands.

While the ANC naturally denies that there are any real differences within the organisation, spokesmen do point out that any decision over re-entering constitutional talks can only be made once the National Executive Committee has decided whether satisfactory steps have been taken by government over its demands.

According to our government source, the ANC demand for a "sovereign" constitution-making body is new and amounts to semantics. The principle of such an "elect-

continue ->

continued on page 50

news in brief

ANC 'welcome to summit' (16)

THE ANC was welcome to attend the Government's summit on regionalism and federalism in Pretoria on September 17, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

Meyer said the summit would be "the start of a consensus-seeking process" on the question of decentralisation and strong regional and local government. *Sowetan 28/8/92*

The conference was initially expected to be attended by the Government and its allies. However, Meyer said the ANC was welcome to attend if it so wished.

"This is not a conference or discussion to pressurise the negotiation process or even to create the impression of a new initiative," he said.

2 shot in Phola Park

POLICE shot and injured a man and a woman at the East Rand squatter camp of Phola Park yesterday afternoon after being attacked by angry residents during a "crime prevention operation". A policeman fired into a crowd which had pelted them with stones.

Police spokesman Lieutenant Wikus Weber said the exercise was a continuation of "Operation Alpo" which started in July and covered several black townships on the Reef. "We detained persons for a number of offences varying from possession of dagga to suspicion of murder."

Workers' sit-in at Seifsa

ABOUT 40 National Union of Metalworkers of SA members yesterday occupied the offices of the Steel and Engineering Industries Federation of SA in Johannesburg. *Sowetan 28/8/92*

Another 500 members had also gathered outside the building. The sit-in was in support of the union's demands for a 16 percent across-the-board increase and better job security.

Sowetan 28/8/92



Cosatu and

ANC will

be at forum

6/09/28/8192
GAVIN DU VENAGE

SOUTHERN Life yesterday announced a major political and economic forum would be held in Johannesburg in October to discuss the poor performance of the SA economy.

Southern assistant GM Martin Sweet said the forum would include the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa, DP leader Zach de Beer, and Trade and Industry director-general Steph Naude. Among topics to be discussed would be future economic scenarios, tax as a redistributive mechanism, and capital gains tax, Sweet said.

"Mr Mandela and others have called on big business to find ways of breaking the present economic deadlock, and our response was to back a forum where key players in the political, economic and business environment could exchange ideas," said Sweet.

Other organisations to be represented at the forum would be the PAC, Inkatha, National African Federated Chamber of Commerce, Sacob, Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut and Cosatu.

MI did meet ANC men

■ Defence minister denies
meeting was to discuss 'third
force': *Southern 28/1/92*

DEFENCE Minister Gene Louw yesterday confirmed that military intelligence and ANC intelligence officials had met.

But he denied the purpose of the meeting was to jointly seek out a so-called "third force".

At a Press conference in Pretoria, Louw was asked to comment on reports that Military Intelligence chief Joffel van der Westhuizen had met the ANC intelligence chief to jointly investigate the existence of a third force.

Louw said that discussions between the Government and ANC intelligence officials took place from time to time, and would take place again in the future.

These discussions were of a general nature and he could not disclose the contents of the discussions unilaterally.

Asked specifically if one of the meetings had discussed joint action against a third force, Louw said that the so-called third force may have "cropped up" in discussions, but strongly denied any suggestions of a joint operation to counter it.

"If anyone here knows of a third force, please let me know so that I can do something about it," Louw said.

news

(11A) **in brief**
ANC camps are probed

AN independent commission of inquiry to investigate allegations of human rights abuses at African National Congress detention camps in Southern Africa began hearing evidence at a hotel in Sandton yesterday. *Sowetan 28/8/92*

The commission is presided over by advocate Mr R S Douglas. *(S)*

He said two people from exile had already testified before the commission.

Douglas said many inquiries had been received from relatives of exiles who had failed to return to South Africa. Although this was not within the ambit of the commission, he would nevertheless lend assistance where possible. - *Sapa*

Probe into ANC camps (11A) (12)

JOHANNESBURG. — An independent commission of inquiry to investigate allegations of human rights abuses at ANC detention camps in Southern Africa began hearing evidence at a hotel in Sandton on Wednesday. CT 28/8/92

ANC turns down summit invitation

11A STAR 28/8/92
Zulu
By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

The ANC has rejected an invitation to the Government's summit on federalism in Pretoria on September 7 and has given notice that it expects its allies not to attend either.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer announced yesterday that the summit — "on regionalism/federalism for a new South Africa" — would not be restricted to pro-federal parties at Codesa. All parties — including those who opposed federalism — and government institutions were welcome to attend.

Mr Meyer said the aim of the summit was not to

put pressure on the negotiation process, create a new initiative, form an alliance or to exclude anyone.

The summit would be a follow-up of a meeting which President de Klerk held with pro-federal Codesa parties in July.

But the ANC said yesterday that the conference was being called to endorse the National Party's regional proposals.

● Mr Meyer would not comment on his talks on Tuesday with ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa aimed at getting negotiations back on track, saying talks were at "a very sensitive stage".

Govt, ANC keep lid on secret talks

By Jacques Pauw and Shaun Johnson *STAR* 28/8/92.

Both the Government and the ANC were tight-lipped yesterday over The Star's revelation of a recent secret meeting between their intelligence chiefs.

Defence Minister Gene Louw confirmed in Pretoria that the meeting had taken place and that the subject of the "third force" might have "cropped up" — but denied that the purpose of the meeting had been to fashion a joint strategy against such rogue elements.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus also confirmed the meeting but said the organisation would not give any details of what transpired.

The Star revealed yesterday that the controversial chief of SADF Military Intelligence, Lieutenant-General CP "Joffel" van der Westhuizen, attended a secret meeting in Johannesburg with top ANC intelligence officials three weeks ago.

High-ranking sources told The Star that General van der Westhuizen had said a "third force" did exist, and that a joint effort should be made to hunt it down. They also said he let it be known that there were efforts to "discredit" him.

Mr Louw said yesterday in response to questions from jour-

nalists: "Bilateral discussions of this nature will take place from time to time, have taken place before and will take place in future."

He said they were "valuable to have, to create the opportunity to express opinions and exchange views on various matters".

Pressed on whether the object of the meeting had been to facilitate a joint inquiry into the "third force", the Defence Minister said: "That is certainly not the case. It was a general discussion. I can't disclose it. It was confidential ... You can only do so if there is a bilateral agreement."

The Star revealed that the meeting was attended by ANC intelligence chiefs Joe Nhlanhla and Patrick "Terror" Lekota, as well as Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise.

It is understood that there is some disquiet in ANC circles about news of the face-to-face discussions with General van der Westhuizen, whose name appears on the alleged (Matthew) Goniwe "death warrant" signal dated 1985 — which called for the "permanent removal from society" of Mr Goniwe and two other activists.

Mr Lekota, Mr Nhlanhla and Mr Modise were not available for comment.

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Q: What do you believe are the advantages and disadvantages of joining the negotiation process later rather than sooner?
A: Well, I don't know how "later" it is now. We did not think the vehicle that had been created for brokering an agreement was suited for the job for a whole range of reasons — some substantive, some procedural. Among the obvious flaws Codesa had was to block any transfer of power to the majority.
Our staying outside gave us the benefit of not having to deal with any flak that came out of the faltering of the negotiations. It also allowed us to reflect much more on the process and what we wanted out of it. In fact, it helped the PAC to grow and gave us the time to build up structures.
Q: Do you not feel that what has happened in negotiations up to now has helped to set certain agendas or created parameters that are not reversible or capable of being overtaken by the restructured negotiations?
A: No. In fact, we do not consider ourselves bound by any prior agreements. We propose to start the debate, in a pointed way, all over again.
One of our criticisms was that Codesa's agenda was too fractured and diffuse. It led to all sorts of problems and tinkering about with details without actually addressing the central question — the constitution-making body and the steps that would precede and immediately follow it. We need an uncluttered agenda.
Q: How would the PAC's contribution to a restructured negotiation forum be qualitatively different from what has been the case from participants so far?
A: It would be distinctive in the sense that the PAC would not want to work out extended details around the whole question of an interim government. That also would consume a lot of effort and energy that we would rather want to use to prepare our people for elections, and the sooner we move there the sooner we can remove violence.
There is sometimes too much energy, effort and time spent on trying to arrest violence when one of the more fundamental mechanisms of doing that would be to accord a vote to every man and woman.
Q: Would the PAC be prepared to become involved

PAC sees full franchise as central to curbing violence

PAC deputy president DIKGANG MOSENEKE spoke to ANTHONY JOHNSON on how his movement views the changing negotiations climate and the shift of the PAC's focus from the bullet to the ballot ahead of South Africa's first democratic elections.

with the proposed transitional executive structures aimed at levelling the playing fields ahead of negotiations if you were confident that this would not result in the movement being "co-opted" into a full-blown executive structure over an indeterminate transitional period?
A: Yes, but we will have no truck with the general running and management of the state. We will have everything to do with sovereign executive commissions that can make decisions. Indeed, it was the PAC which originally proposed these forms of transitional authority as opposed to interim government. We are not interested in governing without legitimacy. In any case we need the time to prepare for elections and set up structures.
Q: So the PAC's preparedness to become involved in the executive at this stage would be restricted to specifically targeted commissions entrusted with the exclusive task of getting free elections held as soon as possible?
A: Yes, and this is the case for many other altruistic and legitimate reasons. You see our economy is in dire straits. We are having an increasingly negative growth rate, there is virtually no foreign investment, bankruptcies have been accelerating, there is capital flight and unemployment is rocketing.
So we are in a very desperate moment and we in

the PAC are saying there is no point in merely screaming about an economy that is in dire straits. What is needed to resolve the problem is a swift process towards a political solution.
Q: Accepting that urgency, could you sketch the steps that would be necessary to allow the PAC to rejoin negotiations which are necessary for just such a political solution?
A: We are at a preparatory stage in our talks with the Government. This stage will be followed by a summit for which the PAC places a premium on the principle of neutrality. But there is going to be greater urgency in the next few months to move towards an alternative forum. So after the summit, our programme would be to attend the alternative forum.
Q: How do you envisage that this new forum — as opposed to Codesa — would be constituted and would operate?
A: In the new forum we should cut out the fat and go for the beef. We will call for greater efficiency. We will introduce greater neutrality. We will seek to assign to surrogates their right roles, which is not to say they should not be present but they should not have any power of veto.
We are a liberation movement in our own right, and will certainly not be held to ransom by the so-called two big brothers (the ANC and the Government). Without doubt I believe that our participation will help to break the current mould at the negotiations.
Q: If negotiations are resumed soon, how long do you think it will take for the ground to be prepared for South Africa's first democratic elections and how ready will the PAC be for this event?
A: The latter question is the difficult one. We

believe it would take about 12 months to do the preparatory work, including voter registration and levelling the playing field.
The PAC has grown phenomenally. We have restructured the organisation right from head office to ground level. We are trying to deal with the perennial criticism that we are weak on the ground — we don't accept that but we are taking the criticism very seriously. We are refocusing our people on the use of the ballot as an important mechanism for acquiring political power.
Q: Have you been able to use the period of the PAC's non-participation, as well as the current hiatus, to effectively build and mobilise the organisation? Have you had the money and expertise needed to build the PAC into an effective electoral machine?
A: We now have more structures than ever before but we are not saying these are adequate. We believe we have to potential to attract much more than 20% of the estimated 20 million voters in South Africa. Many people, I think, still have to make up their minds about whom they want to vote for. The vote for the PAC will not be negligible — it will be decisive in its own way.
Q: Are you confident that the PAC will be able to attract enough votes to allow you to become part of, say, a coalition government?
A: At the least. We don't for a moment believe that we will trail right down at the bottom. Among the African population in the narrow sense (blacks), the real race will be between us and the ANC.
In terms of our support base, we need to do more work in Natal. We are very comfortable in the northern and central Transvaal, growing phenomenally in the Free State, less strong in the Eastern Cape and Border and quite strong in the Western Cape.
Q: Are you concerned that the first election might come to a battle between the ANC and the Government and that many of your supporters might feel they cannot afford to "waste" a vote on the PAC and might side with the ANC to keep the Nats out?
A: One will have to assume a certain absence of experience of tactical voting at the first election. The ideal arrangement would be to have a front that could collar all those votes.

Diplomatic pressure mounts for resumption of talks

ANC

starts to

STAR 29/8/92 (11A)

PETER FABRICIUS
and ESTHER WAUGH

THE pressure on the African National Congress to return to the negotiating table stepped up this week with increasing diplomatic impatience over its stand-off, and new Government initiatives designed to send a clear message that "the reform train is carrying on without you".

The far-reaching shake-up of the South African Police, the release of former Soviet spy Dieter Gerhardt and the announcement of a summit of pro-federal parties on September 7 all underscored the ANC's isolation in its anti-negotiations bunker.

Diplomatic sources said that internationally the organisation was coming under increasing pressure to resume talks. Behind-the-scenes efforts to break the deadlock accelerated yesterday as Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa met for the third time in a week.

It is believed that Meyer may have shown Ramaphosa the Cabinet's decision on proposals discussed by the two men earlier in the week to find a way back into talks.

The negotiations stand-off — now more than two months old — could reach a critical stage in the coming week with a three-day meeting of the ANC's national executive committee starting on Monday.

It is understood that the committee will consider the Cabinet's decision.

Ramaphosa and Meyer last night refused once again to say if any progress had been made in their latest talks. Although diplomats are



CYRIL RAMAPHOSA

saying that the international community is becoming increasingly impatient with the ANC's stand-off position, ANC sources reject that they are being stubborn.

They said all they were asking for now was for the Government to respond satisfactorily to two of the ANC's 14 conditions for resuming talks — the release of remaining political prisoners and proper control of hostels to prevent attacks by hostel-dwellers on township residents.



ROELF MEYER

This would be enough for the ANC to resume official bilateral discussions — although not yet to return to full Codesa-type multilateral negotiations.

But Government sources said the ANC was expecting too much in demanding that the Government should publicly issue a response conceding all the ANC's demands.

They hoped the ANC would accept that it had got enough from the Government to warrant its returning to the talks, without the Government being forced to back down publicly.

The release of Gerhardt — long demanded by the ANC, which regarded him as one of its political prisoners — may have been intended to convey a message that the Government is prepared to respond to the ANC's demands, but only indirectly.

This would explain why President F W de Klerk stressed that he was releasing Gerhardt at the behest of Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

Although the Government remains insistent that it will not take any steps towards constitutional reform without the ANC, it is clear that it is doing everything short of this to put pressure on the organisation.

The Government is feeling the pressure to secure agreement with the ANC on at least the first phase of interim government, so that legislation can be passed at the short session of Parliament in October.

Without such legislation, the session could become an embarrassing farce.

To avoid this, the Government is now contemplating passing enabling legislation to set up a transitional executive structure for the first phase of interim government — even if this is not agreed to by the ANC.

This would not be implemented before agreement is reached — averting, the Government believes, criticism that it is trying to go it alone. Observers believe the underlying message to the ANC is that the "reform train has to keep going, and will do so whether you're on board or not."

feel heat

While the government and ANC continue to meet in secret to try and resolve the negotiations impasse, President FW de Klerk has announced he will press ahead with the planned second sitting of Parliament. MIKE ROBERTSON argues that this is an act of folly

LIKE the singing of Die Stem by the Ellis Park crowd, President FW de Klerk's decision to go ahead with a second sitting of Parliament this year is an act of defiance which says more about his weakened position than it does of his visionary ability.

The ostensible reason for going ahead with the sitting is to legislate a complex set of agreements patched together on the eve of Codesa 2, in the main by the ANC's Thabo Mbeki and Cape National Party leader Dawie de Villiers.

The agreements, which have been dubbed "transitional arrangements", provide for the appointment of a number of multi-party councils that will oversee the working of the security forces and the state media in the run-up to an election. They also provide for the appointment of a neutral body to conduct the elections.

Their acceptance was dependent on Codesa also reaching agreement on the basic principles of a new constitution and the election of a body to draw up the new document. As this was not possible the transitional arrangements have remained on ice ever since.

President De Klerk's decision to legislate them now was interpreted first as a display of two fingers to the ANC — saying in effect: "You don't write the rules, we'll press on without you."

Such sentiments will undoubtedly have featured in the cabinet decision to go ahead with the second sitting, but according to a senior cabinet minister the motive was more complex.

He said the legislation to be passed during the second sitting would be of the enabling variety. It would be introduced only once it had been accepted by all Codesa participants (read ANC).

The minister said that by pursuing this course it would be possible to implement the transitional arrangements immediately there was final agreement on related issues of constitutional principles and a constitution-making body.

Given the need to achieve visible progress in negotiations, this, on the surface, would seem to be a pragmatic approach.

But it is based on the belief that Codesa 2 failed because of the disputes that arose over percentages by which a final constitution should be adopted and over the powers of regions.

These were, however, merely symptoms of a much larger problem. The NP and some allies were intent on negotiating a new constitution that ensured power-sharing.

The ANC, its allies and the DP thought they were negotiating a democratic constitution. Implicit in this is first the acceptance of majority rule and then, and on this the ANC and DP part ways, limitations on the

FW blind to peril of new deadlock

8 Times 30/9/92

ment, protection of the individual against arbitrary action by the state and so on.

The differences between the two concepts were perhaps best illustrated by President De Klerk himself when on February 9 1990 in Parliament he rejected suggestions by DP speakers that the NP had "poached DP policy."

He said: "The NP is not interested in their policy with all its fundamental flaws. The DP does not advocate power-sharing. Their policy is one that will inevitably lead to a majority-domination model."

Every agreement that flowed from Codesa was premised on the belief that the two concepts were reconcilable. They are not.

It is time our political parties accepted this and began the negotiating process over again. First we need a decision on the question of democracy versus power-sharing.

Only then will the negotiators be in a position to debate seriously what the rightful powers of government should be, limitations on government power and whether we should have a strong centralised system or a federal one.

Finally, knowing what they want to achieve, the parties can decide how to get there.

To press ahead, as the government now proposes, with the legislation of agreements reached at Codesa by parties that did not share the same opinion on their destination is folly.

The breakdown in talks has already inflicted severe damage on the fabric of society. Another, which will ensue as surely as night follows day if the government persists on its present course, could well succeed in shattering it.

Mandela offered 'secret deal' to Swedish firm

ANC president Nelson Mandela promised a Swedish firm preferential treatment under a new government to reward the Scandinavian country for continued financial support for his organisation.

This has been claimed by an ANC member, who said the promise was made during a visit by Mr. Mandela to Stockholm in May.

Sweden will give the ANC R59-million in "humanitarian aid" this year. But the organisation's deputy head of international affairs, Aziz Pahad, has denied Mr. Mandela

S Times 30/8/92

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON
and MICHAEL BOWERY

promised future preferential treatment to any Swedish firm to secure this.

However, a Sunday Times source said Mr. Mandela made such an assurance at a meeting with Swedish industrialists and bankers in Stockholm this year. The visit occurred against a backdrop of growing criticism in Sweden for its government's

continued aid to the ANC.

Over the past 20 years, the Social Democrat Swedish government donated some R314-million to the ANC. But, following its ousting from power a year ago and because of changes introduced in South Africa, continued support for the ANC began to be questioned.

Sweden's leading businessman, Dr Peter Wallenberg, led a call for the lifting of the six-year-old sanctions against South Africa.

But when they met, the source said, Mr. Mandela gave Dr Wallenberg an undertaking that contracts between Swedish multinational Atlas Copco and the South African mining industry would receive "privileged treatment" when the industry was nationalised.

Mr. Mandela also told the Swedish businessmen that an "ANC government would not hesitate to cancel contracts with foreign companies whose governments had been less generous than Sweden to the organisation", the source said.

Dr. Wallenberg was chairman of Atlas Copco in the 70s.

He was unable to respond to questions about the meeting, but his "closest associate", leading Stockholm banker Erik Belfrage, said: "We were all somewhat astounded by the hints made by the ANC side."

"The general reaction among Swedish businessmen present was: If we finally one day get rid of Swedish political interference in our affairs, we certainly do not wish to have a South African government trying to influence normal commercial flows, even if that interference is aimed at making trade more beneficial for Swedish industry," he said.

Sacrifice

The South African firm of Atlas Copco is already a major supplier of mining and drilling equipment to South African mines.

According to company chairman Mario Pellegrino, it has no direct links with Atlas Copco in Sweden, but markets its products.

Responding to allegations that Mr. Mandela had offered preferential treatment to a Swedish firm, Mr. Pahad said: "Business cannot be interfered with in that way."

"Naturally, I would prefer to deal with those with whom I have a special relationship — but no future government can give guarantees."

"We've always said we appreciate the sacrifice our supporters made in maintaining sanctions, and that this put them at a disadvantage, but that they would be at an advantage later."

THE WARNING BELL

S

SA could face a coup if the correct signs aren't heeded

C/P/News 30/8/92
11A
By SEKOLA SELLO

SERIOUS social problems, including a coup, could result if any future popularly elected government is tempted to embark on massive populist economic policies.

This is one of the dangers that may well face SA unless certain strategic decisions are taken within the next two years.

The warning was sounded by a diverse group of academics, businessmen and pressure groups including politicians from the ANC and the PAC. All participated in their individual capacities.

Called the Mont Fleur scenarios, the team projected four scenarios which could possibly face the country in the future.

The projections have important implications for all of the country's major political organisations including the government, ANC, PAC, Azapo and Inkatha.

The four possibilities which face the country are:

■ A breakdown in negotiations leading to the government forming a so-called moderate alliance which includes political groupings in the black community.

In this scenario, internal resistance to the government would increase leading to repressive counter-measures. This would in turn increase the level of violence and lead to deterioration of the economy.

As the crisis worsens, the various parties would then be forced back to negotiations. This is a timely warning to elements within the government and other pro-government black organisations who are contemplating a go-it-alone option.

■ An all-party government which is incapacitated because it contains important aspects of the previous system: In such a situation, the government would be hamstrung by indecisiveness while trying to satisfy all.

■ Then there is a popularly elected government which engages in massive expenditure in order to address all the economic problems in one go. This scenario is of greater relevance to the ANC which is widely regarded as a future government.

An ANC-led government would be under tremendous pressure to address the social imbalances brought about by the legacy of apartheid as speedily as possible.

Such a government is likely to make an impressive start in the first two years and the growth rate may be an impressive 6-10 percent.

However, such big spending will soon catch up with it by running massive deficits. In an effort to contain the situation and adopt more sound economic policies, the government could be forced into introducing unpopular policies.

A decline in the economy and failure to address social ills leads to more pressures. In such a situation, authoritarian measures to maintain control are introduced and the possibility of a coup cannot be ruled out.

■ The final scenario is one in which a decisive political settlement is reached and the government observes constraints on large-scale economic policies.

In this scenario, economic take-off will be slow - it could take several years - but unlike the other scenarios, this one has the potential of offering the country a better future politically, economically and socially.

Among the consultants in these projections were PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke, Tito Mboweni and Trevor Manuel from the ANC's economics department.

Merge or die: LP asks members to choose



ALLAN HENDRICKSE
Increasing anger

S/Times (CM) 30/8/92

~~11A~~ 11A

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE Labour Party, once the all-powerful ruler in the House of Representatives, is in its death throes.

The party, reeling from a spate of defections to the National Party since the beginning of the year — the latest of them this week when the MP for Liesbeeck, Mr Peter Klink, resigned to join the NP — has asked its members whether it should disband or form a new centrist party in alliance with others.

Members have been asked to make written representations by the end of September on how they see the party's future.

The results of this poll will be discussed at a special national executive committee meeting in Cape Town in October — and again at the LP's national congress at the end of the year, where the future of the party is to be determined, according to a confidential Strategy Committee circular signed by the LP secretary-general, Mr Eddie Samuels.

Meanwhile, the party has already begun exploratory talks with the DP on a possible alliance. On Wednesday, a Labour Party delegation led by former House of Representatives minister Mr David Curry met Mr Ken Andrew, national chairman of the Democratic Party and other top DP members to explore the possibility of their parties forming an alliance.

Mr Andrew and Mr Curry confirmed talks had taken place but would not give details.

The decision to determine the opinions of members follows increasing anger within the LP about a decision by the party's leader, the Rev Allan Hendrickse, and his supporters to align themselves with the ANC-SACP alliance at Codeda.

Several of the LP's regions believe this would compel the party to support these movements and reject a future federal system of government.

This would bring the party into conflict with its electorate's mandate to press for a federal system of regional government, which is favoured by the NP and other parliamentary parties.

Mr Samuels's circular, hinting strongly at the possible dissolution or formation of a centrist party, says "the LP has the potential to initiate the creation of a broadly based middle-group party".

The LP has five options, the circular says: it can dissolve; go it alone; join another party; form a centrist party; or form an alliance if partners whose goals were compatible with the LP's can be found.

Fight

The party's rank and file have demanded that their leaders choose between supporting the ANC at Codeda and adhering to the LP's mandate.

The problem was raised at the LP's regional congresses in Maitland and Boland and the Southern Cape Region congress in George.

In his report, the Boland region's chairman, Mr Clifford Nasson, said party supporters were "anxious" to know the party's stance on a constitutional assembly.

Boland voters did not favour an alliance with the ANC and SACP — nor with the NP, Mr Nasson said.

It was clear from the discussions at the regional congresses that the branches favoured the LP's forming an alliance or merging with a "middle-road/centrist party".

It was also clear the LP did not have funds to fight an election for a constituent assembly, Mr Nasson said.

The LP's credibility and image were so poor at grass roots that it would not be able to attract more members among the coloured, white and black communities — and the party was in danger of remaining an overwhelmingly "ethnic" party.

ANC to decide on negotiations

Sowetan 31/8/92

(11A) (322A)

■ **THE UNTOUCHABLES** Cops and lawyers to

work under control of Goldstone Commission:

By Ismail Lagardien

Political Correspondent

THE ANC WILL DECIDE during a three-day national executive committee meeting, which starts today, whether to resume formal negotiations with the Government after having severed all talks on June 23.

The organisation's National executive committee's ultimate decision will be greatly influenced by the announcement over the weekend of the creation of a hand-picked team of policemen and lawyers who will actively investigate riots and political crimes under the jurisdiction of the Goldstone Commission.

Sources in the ANC confirmed that the team, already dubbed "The Untouchables", would feature prominently on the agenda of this week's meeting, but only in terms of how effective it would be.

The ANC said the announced strike force was "a positive move," but warned that it would carefully watch policemen to be selected.

If, however, the United Nations observers, who will monitor and report on their investigations, kept an eye on the policemen in the strike force, the ANC would give the "Untouchables" its support, one source said.

The ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the National Peace Secretariat and the Government welcomed the announcement at the weekend.

The strike force will report directly to the Goldstone Commission. The police officers will remain in the employ of the SAP.

The main task of the strike force will be:

- To investigate the causes and preventative measures of current or anticipated incidents of political violence and intimidations;
- To monitor security force reaction to incidents of violence; and
- To investigate any unlawful activities of armed groups within the country.

Beware of backlash,

STAR 31/8/92

Buthelezi tells ANC

RICHMOND — Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday warned that any seizure of power in South Africa by the ANC alliance would be crushed in the same way the Allies smashed Iraq during the Gulf War.

"If there is a seizure of power in this country, then there will be a violent backlash which will make the whole of mother Africa shudder.

"It will be a backlash of unprecedented strength. It will wipe out whatever government has seized power," Chief Buthelezi said in a speech addressed to mourners at a funeral of a family who were killed at Richmond in Natal.

Fana Nzimande, his wife Nkonakho and their four children were killed by unknown gunmen on August 23.

Chief Buthelezi said he had begged and pleaded with ANC

leader Nelson Mandela to heed history, and not to blunder like Iraqi President Saddam Hussein had blundered.

"I say to the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance: if you seize power, you will be like Saddam Hussein, who was smashed up."

Trained

Chief Buthelezi suggested that the August 23 killings were carried out by the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and described them as a declaration of war.

"I do not know who these militarily trained men are who have killed these victims so cruelly, but we are aware that there have been members of Umkhonto we Sizwe who have been trained in Transkei to kill and who have crossed from Transkei to kill people in our region in this horrible manner."

— Sapa.

There is new hope for resumption of negotiations, writes Colin Legum

SA political field has been levelled

STAR 31/8/92

(11A) (200A)

ONCE again the pessimists have been proved wrong and the optimists have been proved right. South Africa has absorbed the twin shock of the breakdown in negotiations and of the massive demonstration of support for the ANC.

After all the *sturm und drang*, the angry mutual denunciations by the Government and the ANC, the nasty things said of each other by President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, and the high-flown rhetoric, the country once again stands poised to continue the negotiating process.

Several important lessons have been learnt by all the major parties engaged in the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Code sa).

First, that the ANC enjoys the major support of black South Africans and that, with its allies in the trade union movement, it has the power to paralyse the country's economy.

Second, the ANC leadership has re-established its credibility in its own constituency which it had begun to lose.

The third lesson has been to reinforce the earlier belief that the country's only hope for the future lies in negotiations.

The political field has now been levelled.

Thus, the position has been confirmed that the two major forces in the negotiating process are the ANC and the Government, and that neither side can afford to disregard the wishes of the other. Nor can they ignore the potentially spoiling role of Inkatha.

Mr Mandela is again confident in giving praise to Mr de Klerk, and the president has apparently forgotten his ill-considered verdict that the ANC had proved itself to be an unreliable negotiating partner.

The process of negotiations is itself sorely in need of review. One of the lessons learnt from the structural weakness of Codesa is that it is too large and clumsy a body, with its 19 participants, to achieve more rapid progress; this has caused frustrations, intensified suspicion, and worsened the climate of uncertainty felt by most South Africans.

While it is necessary to retain a forum for all the representative parties, however small, to remain involved in the negotiating process, there is a need now for a smaller executive to hammer out agreements which can then be submitted for debate by the larger body.

The second need is to create several parallel institutions charged with tackling key questions that have so far been largely voiced by Codesa. Splitting up the negotiating teams into functional groups will make it easier to avoid the deadlock that resulted in the suspension of talks.

A number of key issues have hardly been discussed in a meaningful way, or at all, by Codesa. The first is the future economic policy of the proposed interim government.

The second is to clarify the powers to be allocated to the 10 regions as already defined and, possibly, to increase their number. The Government has quietly been pushing towards a federal constitution — an idea repugnant to the ANC, but strongly supported by Chief Buthelezi and some other homelands leaders, like Chief Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana. Clarifying the degree to which power should be devolved from the centre would greatly ease the central problem that led to the suspension of the talks.

There is an obvious need for speedily concluding the negotiations to move on to the next stage of establishing an interim government; this is necessary both to restore confidence in the country's economic future and to ensure some form of joint control over the security forces.

But the idea of rushing forward to holding elections for a national assembly by November of this year — reportedly floated by the Government itself is, to say the least, wildly unrealistic.

The first immediate step is to get agreement on a interim government and simultaneously to move forward on negotiations about how to curb political violence, the future of the economy, the autonomous role of the regions, and the vetoing powers of the upper chamber. □

What they don't say

STAR 31/8/92

~~2/2/92~~ 11A

LIKE many others before it, the latest debate on federalism as an option for South Africa has so far elicited different reactions from various political players.

There are those, like the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party, whose strong pro-federalism stance is almost an obsession, and there are others like the African National Congress which are sceptical of the concept and see it as an attempt to emasculate a new — and, presumably, ANC-dominated — government and leave it politically impotent.

What the debate has sadly lacked so far is depth and a calm, rational approach from federalism's proponents and critics alike, and this is largely attributable to the different players' secret agen-

das. It is no accident that the NP, the IFP and the ANC have taken the positions they have so far adopted on the issue.

Stripped of all the niceties such as the commendable rhetoric about the need to establish "a participatory democracy" and "bring government to the people", the NP and the IFP see federalism simply as a means to safeguard their interests and guarantee regional spheres of influence for themselves. Their hope, quite clearly, is to be able to influence national political developments from their pockets of power, Kwa-Zulu being the obvious such region for the IFP.

But the IFP and the NP will not admit these are their motives for insisting on federalism — and no political observer can seriously

expect them to do so.

The ANC's opposition to the concept, on the other hand, stems from the organisation's belief in a strong central government which will freely intervene in the private sector as and when it believes the need exists. Similarly, the ANC will not admit this is the reason for its opposition to federalism — and nobody expects it to do so.

The debate is neither helped nor advanced by white liberal commentators who have taken to extolling the virtues of federalism and liberally drawing on "the lessons" of the former Soviet Union and conflict-ridden Yugoslavia to paint scenarios of doom and gloom if federalism were not adopted in South Africa.

What these interventions —

which many in the black community see to be proliferating on the eve of a majority government — manage to achieve is to create the impression that whites would like the new government to be so weak that it cannot effectively address the historic imbalances which are a legacy of apartheid.

It further muddies the debate, thereby ensuring that federalism continues to be a controversial and emotive issue which will not be judged on its merit or lack thereof.

In a commendable move, the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy and the Centre for Policy Studies last week arranged a three-day workshop in Cape Town on "The Politics and Economics of Federalism: A South African Debate". Here, too, delegates got

locked into long-standing ideological positions, much to the detriment of the debate.

Those who opposed federalism — and there were many — did so primarily because it has the support of the NP and the IFP, whose motives they find questionable.

While developments of the past two years in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia are no doubt instructive — not more so than the lessons of apartheid in our own backyard — there are some differences with the situation here. In

South Africa apartheid has tried for years through the homeland system to keep blacks apart from one another on the basis of ethnicity, and people in the urban areas have *consciously* reacted to that policy by emphasising oneness among blacks.

Federalism no doubt has its advantages. To give any government untrammelled powers in the new South Africa would be inadvisable, but to weaken it so much that it cannot function properly is equally undesirable.

The argument for provision to be made for some form of "participatory democracy", including the delegation of some powers to regions, is one which enjoys considerable support across the political spectrum. How such regions are to be defined, and how much powers they should have, are issues to be debated.

But the debate needs to be approached with caution, for it would be a pity if it were to be still-born because of the different players' hidden agendas and selfish interests. □

out loud

ANC wants spy back as defence force adviser

BIDAY

3/18/92

1114

DIRK HARTFORD

THE ANC hopes Dieter Gerhardt will be coming back to SA soon to advise the organisation on military and security issues and contribute to the remoulding of a future defence force.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus — who spent several years in prison with Gerhardt — said he was extremely knowledgeable on the SADF and military and security matters.

He described Gerhardt as "an incredibly strong and determined person" and said he had managed to cope well even though in virtual solitary confinement since other political prisoners were released.

While he only joined the ANC recently, Gerhardt was "strongly anti-apartheid" from the beginning and sympathetic to the organisation.

He had an official air about him from his days as commanding officer of the Simonstown naval base which he used to good effect with prison warders and officials.

"Dieter refused to be treated as an underling. He insisted on his own position in his dealings with the prison authorities and got away with it more

often than not," said Niehaus.

His biggest regret during his nine years of imprisonment was missing out on the formative years of his teenaged son, Gregory.

"He found it difficult to reconcile himself to the huge gap in contact with his son and felt it as a big loss."

Although the political prisoners — and Gerhardt in particular — came from very different backgrounds, he fitted in easily with the spirit of solidarity and comradeship in the prison.

Novels

Despite his age, he competed with the younger prisoners in various sports and acquitted himself well. He had kept himself fit throughout his imprisonment.

His prison comrades, Niehaus said, associated him most with a "spirit of sharing" — always giving to others from his food and gift parcels.

Gerhardt was a voracious reader of spy novels, ordering dozens at a time from the library — and a lover of classical music.

Sapa reports that ANC president Nelson Mandela said at the weekend he hoped Gerhardt would return to SA soon. He said Gerhardt's "sacrifices in the struggle against apartheid" were appreciated by the ANC.

Gerhardt, a former SA Navy commander who spied for the Soviet Union for more than 20 years, was released from Pretoria Prison on Thursday and put aboard a flight to Switzerland to join his wife and fellow spy Ruth, and his son.

The spy, now 56, was exposed in 1983, convicted of treason, and imprisoned. He was released after an appeal by Russian President Boris Yeltsin to President F W de Klerk.

In a personal message to Gerhardt, a copy of which was released to Sapa yesterday, Mandela said he received the news of Gerhardt's release with great joy.

"That the government continued to imprison you, along with many other comrades, despite their repeated undertakings to release all political prisoners, was a source of great concern and anger," said Mandela.

"We hope that you will soon return to SA."

The 6 lunch Johan Plaza the fl oboe, piazza The 9 perfo

PK

Housing backlog can be met, says trust

DIRK HARTFORD

THE government-supported SA Housing Trust believes that if communities set up their own financial institutions — "like a massive stokvel or club" — the enormous backlog in low-cost housing would stand a chance of being overcome.

In the meantime political uncertainty, the shortage of finance for low-cost housing and the threatened bond boycott had put new housing initiatives on hold, trust communications head Mike Foulds said.

By June last year the trust had financed 29 000 low income units — about 1 000 units a month — but is currently financing only 200 units a month. It says 170 000 new housing units are needed every year just to keep up with the population growth.

"If people become stakeholders in their own financial institutions they will be more inclined to repay their loans through peer pressure," Foulds said.

He said financial institutions had stopped providing money for low-cost housing because of township violence and their inability to repossess property from long-term defaulters. It would not be easy to get the institutions back into the market and, without their involvement, the building industry would "come to a grinding halt".

Foulds said the major need in the black market was for small loans of about R6 000 to enable people to buy materials to build their own homes.

The trust, which will take part in the housing forum, is involved in a "rationalisation initiative" with the Development Bank of SA, the Urban Foundation and the Independent Development Trust.

All the "major players" in the housing market were under a lot of strain as regards their future role, because of the current uncertainties, Foulds said.

Alliance's campaign boosted membership

CHARLIE PRETZLIK

MEMBERSHIP of the ANC had increased over the past two months as a result of the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance's mass action campaign and general strike, the organisation said last week.

The PAC and Inkatha, who did not back the campaign, also reported a recent increase in membership.

One of the ANC's biggest gains was in northern Natal, where regional administrator Bongani Msomi said the 5 000-strong membership had doubled.

A high increase was also reported by the ANC eastern Transvaal branch, where numbers rose 50% from 90 000 at the beginning of July, while membership in the western Transvaal jumped from 19 000 at the beginning of July to 25 000 at the end of August.

In the northern Transvaal, ANC membership rose by 5 000 from 40 000 at the beginning of July, regional membership secretary Willie Madikoto said.

ANC western Cape spokesman Vincent Diba said his branch had registered between 200 and 600 new members a day last month and the Border region saw a similar increase, with 500 people being signed up at one rally.

Border region deputy secretary-general Donne Cooney said the mass action campaign had "remobilised dormant branches and membership".

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus described

the increase as "very positive". Membership had been growing for a while and would keep on growing, she said. However, no nationwide figures were available yet.

Inkatha also reported an increase in numbers. National executive member Themba Khoza said between 12 and 15 new members were being signed up every day in the PWV area, compared with about seven a day before the start of the alliance's mass action.

He said Inkatha had not yet compiled national statistics, but put the increase down to people being "disgruntled at the mass action campaign which forced politically passive people to make choices".

The PAC had no national figures available, but West Rand regional committee member Bonginkofi Mhlanga said membership had increased by 20% in the Vaal area and by 25% in Soweto.

NP spokesman Piet Coetzer dismissed the claims by the ANC, the PAC and Inkatha as "propagandist".

He acknowledged there was a "fed-up factor" and said the NP's membership drive was reaping the benefits of this. No figures were available, but the NP was making inroads into the coloured community and, slowly, into the black community, he said.

11A
B/DAY 31/8/92

ANC to offer services to Goldstone team

THE ANC would offer its services to the Goldstone commission's new investigative team, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

How it could become involved is one of the issues expected to be discussed at the ANC national executive committee meeting beginning today. Niehaus said the ANC had not been approached about the plan but would get more details from the commission this week.

Newspapers reported yesterday that the investigative team of policemen and lawyers, to be picked by Goldstone, could help break the two-month deadlock in negotiations by meeting the ANC's demands on

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DIANNA GAMES

violence.

KATHRYN STRACHAN reports that Justice Department spokesman Nic Grobler said nothing had been set up yet, but his department would do everything necessary to assist the commission.

Although several policemen had been identified for the task, Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze said details would be released later.

The ANC's three-day meeting is also expected to discuss last week's meetings between ANC secretary-general Cyril Ra-

maphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

Niehaus said the international community, by sending UN monitors, was helping create the climate in which talks could resume. How the ANC could assist would be discussed at the meeting.

Niehaus rejected a weekend report which quoted diplomatic sources saying the ANC was coming under increasing international pressure to resolve the negotiations stand-off.

An ANC statement at the weekend said the question was not negotiations for their own sake, "but negotiations that will meaningfully address the crisis facing SA."

focus on talks

PRESSURE is mounting from all quarters for the resumption of talks between the ANC and Government - a move which, it is believed, will start the next phase of negotiations towards a political settlement in South Africa.

It is expected that this next phase of negotiations will produce "measurable progress", possibly in the form of an appointed transitional executive.

The Government is expected to prepare and, perhaps, pass legislation during the next minisession of Parliament in October, which will prepare the ground for the actual establishment of the transitional executive and its complementary structures - all of which had already been agreed upon at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

These structures will focus on such issues as the registration of voters and the demarcation of electoral boundaries.

There is a greater possibility, too, that amendments to the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act of 1983 will be passed to extend the Government's present term of office to beyond 1994.

Based on the knowledge that the Government wants the present order, after much culling, to melt into an interim government of national unity, it is safe to assume that it wants to avoid another whites only general election - which in terms of the Constitution Act, has to be called by September 1994.

But while those are matters that are in fact contingent upon continued and successful negotiations, a swift resumption of multi-party talks represent only an outside chance of producing the confidence within South Africa that would positively influence the floundering economy and stop the violence.

Both the violence and the country's economy have in the past years gone from bad to worse, so there is no guarantee that high-level talks will produce this, much desired, effect.

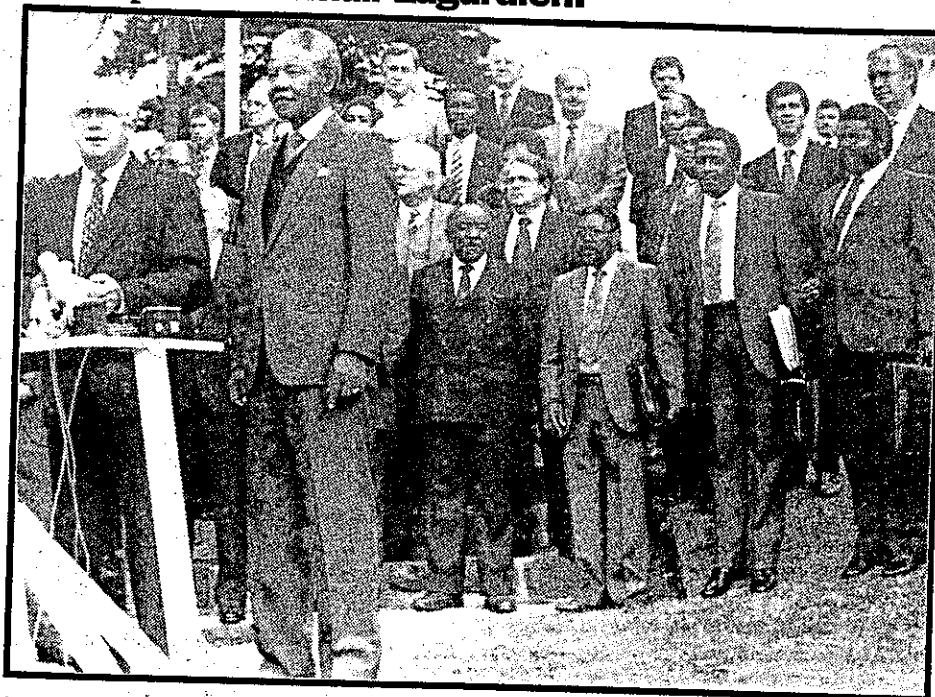
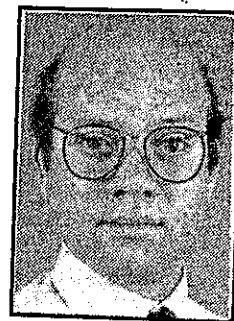
In spite of the Government's protests, a resumption of talks does not mean the violence will end; in fact the violence that has accompanied the negotiation process of the past two years have left at least 6 000 people dead.

The violence and economic growth can perhaps better be dealt with after an interim government of national unity has been established.

Investors in America and Britain have over the past week said that they were prepared to invest in South Africa only after an interim government has been established and only after all the political parties have agreed on an economic policy.

What has, however, become more pertinent, is the almost daily disclosures of the involvement of Government, its security establishment and its teeming bureaucracy in actions which

The Government is expected to pass legislation during the next sitting of Parliament to prepare the ground for the establishment of a transitional executive and its complementary structures which have been agreed upon at Codesa, writes *Sowetan's* Political Correspondent **Ismail Lagardien:**



Pressure for Government-ANC talks.

Sowetan 31/8/92

11A *3/2/92*

more than verge on criminal behaviour.

This has somehow changed the dynamic behind the impasse.

Issues such as the re-opened inquest into the murder of Matthew Goniwe and his colleagues, the Boipatong massacre, Trust Feeds, the ongoing deaths in police custody, to name but a few, has got the Government's blood rushing to its head.

The NP has, since it embarked on the liberalisation of its policies, been trying to sidestep the issue of the sins of the past under apartheid and indeed the crimes against humanity that were committed during those years.

However, after the disclosures of the past weeks and months, the Government, it seems, is no longer prepared to defend itself in the public arena, for the incriminations against it and wants, therefore, to see negotiations resumed as it would take centre stage.

The Government is seeking desperately to secure a deal which will see the country's security establishment and maybe even Cabinet Ministers indemnified.

The Government has linked the release of remaining political prisoners identified by the ANC to a general amnesty for its own people.

The ANC regards the linking of the prisoners to an amnesty as holding the country and the process hostage.

In the September issue of *Mayibuye*, the ANC's official mouthpiece, Professor Kadar Asmal of the University of the Western Cape drops an important reminder.

"In the euphoria following the unbanning of organisations, it was forgotten that the apartheid regime has been universally condemned on various legal grounds and that the struggle against this vile system was itself legitimate," Asmal says.

Talks on ANC agenda

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

STAR 31/8/92

The negotiations process, and whether the African National Congress resumes talks with the Government, will be the major focus of the ANC's national executive committee meeting over the next three days. (11A)

The NEC meeting — the first since the organisation pulled out of negotiations and suspended bilateral talks with the Government on June 23 after the Boipatong massacre — takes place at a time when the ANC is believed to be under considerable pressure from the international community to return to negotiations.

A senior ANC source yesterday told The Star that high up on the meeting's agenda would be negotiations and mass action.

The source said the organisation's national working committee — which has in the past held meetings to consider President F W de Klerk's response to its 14 demands before negotiations could resume — would report back to the NEC on negotiations and mass action.

"The NEC is the body which took the decision to withdraw from negotiations. It is the one which will review the position," the source said. (201A)

He said that although the international community had been putting indirect pressure on the ANC to return to negotiations, it was unlikely the organisation could do so without some of its main demands having been met.

However, he said it was possible the NEC would identify a few "core demands" which Pretoria would have to meet before

SA political field has been levelled - Page 8

negotiations began, and that it could also authorise a meeting between an ANC delegation and the Government.

So far the only communication channel open between the two parties was that between ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

"We cannot just go back to negotiations when our demands have not been met, like we did last year.

"That time, we converted a defeat into a strategic victory," the source said.

In apparent attempts to woo the ANC back into negotiations, the Government last week announced a huge shake-up of the South African Police, axing 13 generals, and releasing Soviet spy and ANC member Dieter Gerhardt from jail.

In a statement issued by its department of information and publicity yesterday, the ANC denied that the international community was putting pressure on it to return to negotiations.

The ANC said it was because the international community understood the position it took on June 23 when it made its 14 demands that the United Nations Security Council had acted as swiftly as it had done and had made "welcome recommendations contained in the resolutions passed on South Africa".

"The critical question is not negotiations for (their) own sake, but negotiations that will meaningfully address the crisis facing South Africa.

"Pressure is certainly mounting, both nationally and internationally, on the regime to take the necessary practical steps to address the eminently reasonable demands of the ANC," the statement said.

The ANC said it remained firmly committed to a negotiated settlement of the country's problems, but how soon negotiations resumed depended on the Government's "ability to recognise and address the crisis facing the entire country".

The NEC meeting begins today and will end on Wednesday.

al summit ● Plea to zero-rate basic foodstuffs

ANC urges boycott

AFRICAN National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela is trying to scuttle President FW de Klerk's conference on federalism by asking some likely participants not to attend.

This is a repeat of what he did in April 1990 when he persuaded four homeland leaders not to attend talks at Tuynhuys with De Klerk.

On that occasion Mandela said they should not talk to De Klerk until obstacles to negotiations had been removed.

De Klerk has invited all political leaders to the federal conference in Pretoria on September 7.

■ SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY ANC wants

Sowetan 31/8/92

Up to 10 political movements and governments are expected to attend. They are the National Party, the New Right movement of Mr Andries Beyers, Inkatha Freedom Party, Solidarity, the National Peoples' Party, Ximoko Progressive Party of Gazankulu, Dikwankwele Party of QwaQwa, the Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments, and the Conservative Party.

However, Mandela this week met separately with NPP leader Mr

Amichand Rajbansi and Solidarity's Dr JN Reddy and asked them not to go.

Mandela apparently told them that they could not side with the Government, and that there was a perception the federal conference was a ganging-up against the ANC and its allies.

People outside the National Party should stand together, Mandela said.

Reddy told Mandela he would have to speak to his party and let Solidarity decide whether to attend the conference.

11A

Paso supports talks

THE Pan Africanist Student Organisation (Paso) annual congress held at the University of Durban-Westville over the weekend has come out in full support of the recent talks between the Pan Africanist Congress and the Government. - *Sowetan Correspondent.*

(11A) *Sowetan* 11/9/72.

NEC in meeting to decide on talks

11A

510 AM 11/9/92

PATRICK BULGER
and BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC's national executive committee (NEC) yesterday began a three-day meeting to decide on a possible return to constitutional negotiations.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the meeting would examine what moves government had made to address the 14 demands the ANC made when it broke off talks in June. It is the first NEC meeting since the ANC pulled out of Codesa.

Government is watching the meeting with apprehension, despite believing in a positive outcome by Thursday.

The NEC meeting will look at two broad areas of disagreement — constitutional arrangements and violence.

The meeting takes place against the background of at least three meetings between ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer. Although details have been scant, they are said to have included discussions on a deadlock-breaking mechanism in the event of disagreement in a constitution-making body. This was the most fundamental dispute arising from the Codesa negotiations.

According to a senior government source, last week's meeting between Meyer and Ramaphosa ran into some very sensitive problems but these were resolved over the weekend.

Niehaus said the fact that Ramaphosa and Meyer had continued to meet indicated that there was a basis for further talks.

On the question of violence — which together with a constitution-making body and an interim government formed the three parts of the broad thrust of the ANC demands — the NEC meets against a background of changes to SA's security structure in the past few weeks.

In his letter to President F W de Klerk on 9 July, ANC president Nelson Mandela criticised De Klerk for not initiating a programme "to retrain the security forces to serve a democratic society", for not allowing "independent investigations into the conduct of the police", for failing to protect witnesses, for failing to act against security force members implicated in violence and for failing to demobilise special forces like 32 Battalion and Koevoet.

Since the letter was written, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel has announced changes to the SAP which include retiring senior officers and reorienting the SAP. Judge Richard Goldstone has announced — with the backing of all major parties, including the ANC — a "super force" to investigate violence and he has also announced his witness protection programme. Earlier De Klerk announced the disbanding of Koevoet and 32 Battalion.

The ANC has indicated that it has no intention of reopening talks without an agenda that would lead to elections for a democratic constitution-making body. The ANC has also come out strongly against an interim constitution that would run for at least three years and which would give disproportionate powers to homeland leaders.

The government source said that the Meyer-Ramaphosa discussions were in a sense a form of negotiation already, but the hope was that these would be broadened to bilateral meetings where delegations from both sides were involved and they could discuss ways of resolving the remaining obstacles.

● Comment, Page 6

Switzer 11/9/92

Labour Party faces split

THE Labour Party seems set for further disintegration as some of its members prepare to break ranks and join the Government at its conference on federalism next Monday. ~~25~~ 11A

The parliamentary caucus of the LP will meet in Cape Town on Friday where a decision will be taken on the issue. But either way, it will not affect the LP's participation in the Patriotic Front, the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, said yesterday.

ANC seeks economists to draft policy

THE ANC has embarked on a major recruitment drive to appoint eight economists to the organisation's department of economic planning.

Spokesman Carl Niehaus said the drive was aimed at developing the ANC's economic policy guidelines and co-ordinating its network of researchers and allied organisations. *by day 11/9/92*

Two of the organisation's economists, Max Sisulu and Viv McMenemy, have left to study abroad on scholarships.

A third, Bongiwe Njobe, has joined a private research foundation. Economist Tito Mboweni said they would be replaced and five other economists were to be appointed.

The new posts to be filled include a mining and energy economist, a financial

11A HILARY GUSH *(S)*

economist and a contact economist to monitor the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank. An economist to develop the organisation's science and technology policy would also be recruited.

Mboweni said new staff would work closely with existing research groups and "throw their weight behind the development of the ANC's economic policy".

In the department's service division a data processor, land issues co-ordinator and an official to deal with documentation were needed.

Mboweni said so far applications for the positions had been keen and at least five of the eight posts would be filled soon.

By Patrick Laurence

ANC report on alleged torture in camps completed

The report of an ANC-appointed commission of inquiry into allegations of torture in ANC camps has been completed and is due to be handed to Nelson Mandela, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

Completion of the report comes as the ANC leadership deliberates on whether to resume negotiations with the De Klerk administration after breaking off discus-

sions in the wake of the Boipatong massacre of June 17.

President F W de Klerk has served notice that his administration will raise the treatment of detainees when negotiations are resumed.

The ANC has undertaken to publish the report. The three members of the commission, all lawyers, are Louis Skweyiya, Briget Ma-

bandla and Gilbert Marcus.

The commission has been viewed with scepticism by some of the rebels who were detained, mainly because Mr Skweyiya and Ms Mabandla are ANC members.

Mr Mandela has admitted that torture did take place in the camps but denied that it was official ANC policy. So too has Chris Hani, former

chief of staff of the ANC underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. He attributes the abuses to "paranoia and hysteria" caused by the infiltration of spies into ANC ranks.

In view of these admissions by senior ANC men it will be unsurprising if the report finds some dissidents were maltreated and ANC security personnel were

guilty of abusing power.

Earlier unofficial reports have named Mazwai Pilliso, a former head of security in the ANC, as one who allegedly abused power. The commission's terms of reference, however, do not mandate it to allocate blame.

The commission is required to make recommendations. These may include

the removal from office of people implicated in the alleged detention and torture.

The commission is reported to have heard evidence from more than 20 witnesses, made up of both former detainees and high-ranking ANC officials.

The detainees are understood to have included ANC information chief, Dr Pallo

Jordan. Mr Hani and Jacob Zuma are known to have been among the officials who testified.

The present commission is the second appointed by the ANC to investigate conditions at its camps. It differs from the first, known as the Stuart Commission, in two important respects: its members include a respected lawyer, Mr Marcus, who is not an ANC member; and the ANC has pledged to publish its report.

PAC youth back talks 11A

STAR 1/9/92

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The Pan Africanist Congress's involvement in exploratory talks with the Government received a blessing at the weekend from the organisation's student wing, the Pan Africanist Student Organisation (Paso).

At its congress at the University of Durban-Westville at the weekend, Paso came out in full support of the talks, saying it understood them to be "preparatory

and aimed at clearing the ground for real negotiations" to be held at a neutral venue and under a neutral chairman.

"Our position is that we identify with the tactical importance of clearing the ground now for further talks with the Government on the modalities of establishing a democratically elected constituent assembly," newly elected Paso secretary-general Siyabulela Nyobo said after the congress.

The students' organisa-

tion strongly criticised those in its ranks who, calling themselves "the Wits region" of Paso, took issue with the PAC leadership for holding the talks with the Government.

Paso's endorsement of the PAC's new stance on negotiations means that the organisation has finally managed to sell its position to its youth.

Paso and the Azanian National Youth Unity — the PAC's youth wing — have in the past been sceptical of negotiations.

Police, ANC meet

ANC representatives from Vaal Triangle branches and senior SA Police members will meet on Thursday to discuss reconciliation, ANC spokesman Sechake Mothibeli said yesterday.

(25/11/92) 11A
According to Mr Mothibeli, the meeting will be attended by community representatives from Boipatong, Bophelong, Sharpeville, Evaton, Palm Springs and Orange Farm, as well as ANC delegates from these townships. Sowden 11/9/92

Police station commanders and senior police officers, and the independent Peace Action organisation, will also attend. -Sapa.

ANC officials discuss Ramaphosa-Meyer talks

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

(11A)

The ANC national executive committee (NEC) is still locked in a three-day meeting discussing the progress in talks between ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

ANC sources have indicated that it was unlikely that the NEC — the body which decided to break off constitutional talks on June 23 — would discuss the resumption of multiparty negotiations.

Instead, the meeting will evaluate what progress, if any, has been made in the three one-on-one talks between Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer.

At most, the NEC could decide on the upgrading of the one-on-one discussions to full-scale bilateral talks.

It is understood that the basis of discussion will be a report on the one-on-one talks by the ANC negotiations commission.

The ANC has repeatedly said

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the Government had to make "satisfactory" progress in meeting its 14 demands on violence and transitional arrangements.

It was therefore unlikely that the NEC would discuss the resumption of negotiations, ANC sources said.

The Star has been reliably informed that a call will be made at the meeting for broader consultation and report-backs should bilateral talks be resumed.

The three-day meeting is one of the regular three-monthly NEC meetings and has not been specially convened to discuss the negotiations deadlock.

Senior ANC sources have denied reports that the meeting was a crucial test of strength between "pragmatists" and "militants", pointing out that the so-called hardliners were not opposed to negotiations.

In another development President F W de Klerk yesterday met Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope. Talks focused mainly on the negotiation and constitutional processes.

'Blackmail' STAR 119/92 attacked (11A)

The National Party has condemned "an ominous indication" that the ANC is "blackmailing" foreign industrialists by promising not to nationalise them if they give it money.

The deputy head of the ANC's foreign affairs department, Aziz Pahad, has denied a Sunday Times report that ANC leader Nelson Mandela promised Swedish firm Atlas Copco privileged treatment when industry was nationalised.

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe noted that the Sunday Times said its sources insisted that Mr Mandela made such a statement during May.

— Political Correspondent.

Goldstone to meet ANC, PAC armies

RAY HARTLEY

ASL THE Goldstone commission would meet Umkhonto we Sizwe and the PAC's military wing Apla soon to discuss how they could contribute to the peace process, a commission source said yesterday.

The talks follow an ANC offer at the weekend to help the commission, but the source said it was highly unlikely the two guerrilla forces would be co-opted onto the envisaged special investigative unit.

The source said Judge Richard Goldstone was likely to release details of the composition and structure of the unit by the end of the week. BIDA

It is believed the unit will be headed by a senior police official and be directly accountable to the judge. 119192

Earlier Goldstone had suggested an investigation into the role Umkhonto and Apla could play "in reducing the level of political violence and intimidation".

Centre for Applied Legal Studies lawyer Fink Haysom, an advocate of the need for an independent investigative team, said the unit would probably be made up of policemen who had proved their investigative abilities.

"The generals who have been appointed to head such teams up to now have appeared to be pretty ineffective. One hopes they won't simply appoint a tired general."

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said his organisation would not try to dictate the composition of the unit because it had to be independent of all parties.

Labour Party faces imminent split

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Labour Party (LP) is poised to split, with half of its remaining MPs ready to join the Democratic Party and the rest eager to defect to the ANC or get out of politics.

Last night, Rus-ter-vaal MP Sam Louw began what could be a flood of resignations by announcing he had joined the ANC.

Former Ministers Council members David Curry and Chris April are strongly tipped to lead a group of up to 15 MPs into the DP, according to LP sources.

President de Klerk's federalism summit next Monday seems to be precipitating the disintegration of the LP and also presenting a dilemma to the DP.



Rus-ter-vaal MP Sam Louw . . .
joined the ANC.

About 19 of the party's 33 MPs don't want to attend the summit which they regard as a ganging-up of a National Party "federal front" against the ANC, according to frontbencher

Dougey Josephs. They believe attendance would contradict the LP's membership of the Patriotic Front (PF) which includes the anti-federal ANC.

The remaining pro-DP MPs feel that the LP should attend the summit to be consistent with its avowed federal policy.

They favour the DP because of its strong federalism and believe the pro-federal LP should not belong to the PF.

However, the DP itself also has many of the same doubts about the intentions and merits of Mr de Klerk's summit.

LP spokesman Peter Hendrickse confirmed that the executive met in July to review the LP's future and decided to consider five options — to disband, to continue as an independent entity, to join another party, to form an alliance or to

form a new centrist party with the DP or ANC.

He said he hoped the party would hold together until its annual congress at the end of the year but feared that growing tensions might cause an earlier split. The tensions could come to a head at a meeting of the caucus in Cape Town on Friday.

There is a widespread feeling in LP and other political circles that the party — which came into being in the absence of the ANC and other liberation movements — has served its purpose.

Mr Hendrickse said several LP MPs had been holding discussions with the DP to consider joining the DP or forming a new centrist party.

Mr Louw said he believed that nine other LP MPs would join the ANC, 15 would join the DP and 10 retire from politics.

Winnie suspension inquiry to 'reopen'

PATRICK BULGER (11A)

ANC-appointed lawyers investigating Winnie Mandela's suspension from the ANC Women's League national executive have been asked to reopen their inquiry to hear further evidence. BIDM 2/9/92

Attorney Denis Davis of Wits University, who heard evidence together with Durban attorney Linda Zama, said yesterday he would be meeting ANC officials last night to discuss their request that the commission of inquiry be reopened.

A source in the ANC Women's League said the commission's report had recommended disciplinary action be taken against Mandela and supporters who staged a protest in May at the ANC offices in Shell House.

The protest was against Mandela's earlier suspension from the executive of the Women's League.

The source said: "The report recommended that those who had participated in the action had planned to bring the ANC into disrepute and should therefore remain suspended while a disciplinary hearing takes place."

Davis said last night that he and Zama had been briefed "to investigate certain matters regarding the protest at Shell House.

"We heard evidence and presented our report. I thought we had finished."

He was meeting ANC officials to clarify the situation.

Davis said Mandela had not testified and he would not say what recommendations he had made.

However, the Women's League source said certain members of the league would insist if there was any new evidence it should be contained in a supplementary report to the original.

ANC team probing torture in camps reports to Mandela

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The report of an ANC-appointed commission of inquiry into allegations of torture in ANC camps has been completed and is due to be handed to Mr Nelson Mandela.

President F W de Klerk has said he will raise the treatment of detainees when negotiations on constitutional reform, broken off by the ANC in June following the Boipatong massacre, resume.

"The ANC owes the people of South Africa an explanation for the extreme form of violence perpetrated against its own dissenting members in detention camps," Mr de Klerk has said.

"Since South Africans are involved . . . all investigations and findings, notably the ANC commission's report, should be tabled."

The ANC has undertaken to publish the report, compiled by three lawyers, Louis Skweyiya, Brigit Mabandla and Gilbert Marcus.

The commission has been viewed with scepticism by some of the rebels who were detained, mainly because two of the commissioners, Mr Skweyiya and Ms Mabandla, are ANC members.

Mr Mandela has admitted that torture took place in the camps but denied that it was official ANC policy.

In view of such admissions, it will be unsurprising if the report finds dissidents were maltreated and that ANC security personnel were guilty of abusing their power.

The commission's terms of reference do not mandate it to allocate blame but it is empowered to make recommendations, which may include the removal from office of men implicated in the alleged detention and torture of dissidents.

The commission is reported to have heard from more than 20 witnesses, made up of former detainees and high-ranking ANC officials.

ANC 'atrocities': Probe on

JOHANNESBURG. — The chairman of an International Freedom Foundation-sponsored commission of inquiry into torture in African National Congress camps abroad said yesterday he would complete and present his findings to the IFF at the end of the year.

"The hearings are going very well, with testimony being presented every day. A lot of people have responded to advertisements placed in various newspapers, while we have also re-

ceived requests from people missing their relatives and want us to help in this regard," advocate Mr R Douglas said.

The commission's hearings in Johannesburg should end by tomorrow, when it will move to Durban.

"I hope to present the report to the IFF by the end of the year, and it will be up to them to distribute it to whoever they feel needs the document."

Evidence had been received

from a wide range of sources, including a document entitled "Mutiny in the ANC" as well as a US Senate inquiry into the alleged torture camps.

Meanwhile, ANC official Mr Carl Niehaus yesterday said the ANC's own inquiry into alleged atrocities in its camps would be presented to the public within a fortnight. CT 2/9/92

Mr Niehaus said that several people, including senior ANC officials, had testified before the ANC commission. — Sapa

(11A)



EC delegates meet Mandela, De Klerk

THE EC delegation which arrived in SA yesterday morning met ANC president Nelson Mandela in Johannesburg in the afternoon after lunching with President F W de Klerk. *By Day 3/9/92*

During a brief media photo session at the ANC headquarters, Mandela said he had briefed the delegation on events. *(Sapa)*

"They were very interested to hear our point of view," Mandela said. *(Sapa)*

De Klerk, who had hosted a lunch for the delegation before it met Mandela, said he expected the members to have a constructive approach during their two-day fact-finding mission to South Africa. *(I/A)*

The group also had made it clear that it was here to see what was going on and to render help where required, he said.

British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said it was "interesting to listen to the ANC viewpoint after having met with State President De Klerk earlier in the day".

Hurd is accompanied by Danish Foreign Minister Uffe Elleman-Jensen, Portuguese Secretary of State for Co-operation Jose Barroso, and a large contingent of assistants. — Sapa.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha and British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Douglas Hurd sign an agreement in Pretoria yesterday committing both governments to co-operate in the fight against drug trafficking and money laundering. They agreed to work together to trace, freeze and confiscate the proceeds of drug trafficking. *Picture: ROBERT BOTHA*

The country's leaders must sup together, watch TV and go for walks – on Robben Island, says Ameen Akhalwaya

Between the devil you know and the deep blue

STAR 3/9/92

~~STAR~~

(11A)

IT IS very easy, when backed in public by your supporters, to hurl invective at your rivals. But nothing is more sobering than to come face-to-face with your foe in a closed room, far from the mad-dancing crowd.

The stalemate and the recriminations that followed the collapse of Codesa 2 have been predictable because of the dictates of constituency politics. But constituents themselves become confused when they read that one organisation has sworn off negotiating with another, yet private talks are continuing. To the average constituent, the subtleties between real negotiations and talking about restarting negotiations are seldom understood.

If Nelson Mandela insists he won't resume negotiations until the National Party Government meets the ANC's demands, the public is confused when it learns his movement is discussing the position of political prisoners with

the NP, directly or indirectly.

If Mangosuthu Buthelezi insists the ANC pulled out of Codesa because the majority of delegations outvoted it, the public is confused when the Inkatha Freedom Party claims Codesa is undemocratic.

If the Pan Africanist Congress insists it won't negotiate with the "settler regime", a confused public can't readily distinguish between negotiations and preparatory talks it holds with the NP about conditions for negotiating.

If FW de Klerk insists he believes in non-racial democracy, a confused public cannot understand why the National Party wants all sorts of pre-conditions for the mechanics of a constituent assembly. And so intolerance and confusion are created when claims and counter-claims fly, while confused media, relying on leaks and claims from public platforms, try to interpret trends.

This illness eating up South Africa following the collapse of

Codesa could well be controlled, if not fully eradicated, if we can get our politicians to demonstrate their proclaimed support for tolerance and a need to break from the past. They need to get away from their public posturing, their public point-scoring exercises, their playing to the gallery.

This may seem contradictory in the light of the confusion created by closed-door Codesa negotiations, but it would be the first of a two-step process.

The first would be the "Robben Island Option" and the second, the "Public Option". The Robben Island Option is a summit in which only the leader of each political organisation would be invited to participate. The venue would be a remote place such as Robben Island, symbolic because it would bring together the jailed, the jailers, and the non-jailed who fought for the release of the jailed. Robben Island may not quite be the neutral foreign venue the PAC

seeks, but at least its leader will be on familiar territory.

Give the leaders up to a week to find one another, face-to-face. Let them yell at one another if necessary. Let them sup together, watch television together, go for walks together. Naive as this suggestion may be, I believe it will quickly concentrate minds on the gravity of the bloodshed and poverty in our country.

The summit's official discussions should be guided by a team of relatively neutral but prominent public figures. I would suggest Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert and Oscar Dhlomo as co-chairs of a team that could include King Goodwill Zwelithini, a Contralesa nominee, Judges Mahomed and Schabert who chaired Codesa, and a religious leader.

The secretary-general of the United Nations and/or the head of the Organisation of African Unity, and even perhaps the Southern African Development Co-ordinat-

ing Conference's impressive Simba Makone, should be present as observers.

Then let the political leaders agree to broad principles of democracy and commit their organisations to negotiate a settlement on the basis of broad agreement on vital issues ranging from control of the security forces (if necessary on inviting in a UN peace-keeping force) to the role of the SABC, to the functions of a transitional government and the modalities of a constituent assembly.

Let each leader then report back to his constituency and emerge, within a specified period, with a mandate to start full-scale negotiations.

And so to the "Public Option". Those negotiations, between delegations headed by each organisation's leader, must be conducted in the full glare of media so that the public can judge for itself what is being agreed to, or disagreed in its name.

SEA

Of course, the danger is that if the Robben Island Option collapses, the backlash and recriminations could plunge our country into a deeper crisis.

But let's pin hopes on its success. Let's hope that after gripping one another by the throat, the leaders end up shaking hands.

I believe if Messrs Mandela and Buthelezi, for example, were to go together on a long walk, away from having to look over their shoulders, they might just find they have more in common than their organisational rivalry allows.

And the same would happen, say, if Messrs de Klerk and Bantu Holomisa sat together, looking at the beautiful Cape coastline and discussing how best they could preserve and develop it for the good of everyone.

A naive hope perhaps, but our leaders need to find themselves first before their constituents can find one another. □

NEWS IN BRIEF

Prayers for the nation

TWENTY clergymen from different denominations will be conducting prayers for peace at a prayer meeting at Regina Mundi cathedral in Soweto on Sunday. The prayers for the nation day will start at 2pm.

Democratic research

AN OVERSEAS expert, Jim Mullin, has been called by the ANC to facilitate the development of a national research policy for a democratic SA. Mullin, former chairman of the OECD's Committee on Science and Technology Policy, had already arrived in SA to assist in the project, the ANC said.

Fugitive stays in jail

FUGITIVE South African Katiza Cebekhulu, a co-accused in the Winnie Mandela kidnap and assault trial, is still languishing in Lusaka's central prison despite being served with a deportation order.

The Zambian authorities are considering whether to release him or deport him to SA, where he is sought by police.

Nicro to assist witnesses

THE National Institute for Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders (Nicro) had agreed to assist the Goldstone commission with its witness protection programme, Judge Richard Goldstone said yesterday.

He said Nicro social workers would be appointed as security officers, in suitable cases, to ensure the general welfare of a protected person.

REPORTS: Political Staff, Sept

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More deaths





Kobie Coetsee . . . accused of "anti-communist hysteria".

Coetsee's 'hysteria' ^(11A) under fire

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

Span 3/19/92

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee was engaging in "threadbare anti-communist hysteria" by advising the ANC to cut its links with the SACP and its general secretary, Chris Hani, said the SACP.

Opening the Free State National Party congress yesterday, Mr Coetsee said the ANC would be well advised to sever its alliance with the SACP.

In response, the SACP yesterday said it hoped there was no connection between Mr Coetsee's "unsolicited advice" and recent assassination attempts on Mr Hani. It said that Mr Hani had served on the organisation's national executive committee for almost 20 years.

"Mr Coetsee and his minority government must be told that the tripartite alliance of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu will continue to strengthen their common links to bring about a non-racial, non-sexist democratic South Africa and the final death knell of apartheid . . ."

Azapo in unity call to blacks

GOVERNMENT was much stronger today than it was before February 2 1990, because of black political parties' failure to unite, Azapo president Phandelani Nefolohodwe said yesterday.

Addressing a Sabta conference at Sun City, Nefolohodwe said black organisations should talk to President F W de Klerk with one voice, and not separately.

Government was much stronger because it had succeeded in "criminalising the armed struggle" and debasing it to the level of irresponsible violence.

He said most of the activities of the liberation movements abroad had been immobilised and the "regime" was now recognised by almost all, if not all, countries in Europe.

"Violence and reform have succeeded in dividing the black community, thereby weakening the collective struggle," Nefolohodwe said.

It was Azapo's view that the only factor still in black people's favour was principled unity. Every single organisation from the oppressed majority should come together with liberation movements and confront the regime with one voice.

City Press editor Khulu Sibiyi slated

THEO RAWANA (11A)

politicians who, he said, harassed black business people.

He said: "Political gurus have made life difficult for those of our people who tried to survive from their little businesses.

"Even in this day, when a black person advances financially, he risks being accused of promoting capitalism."

Sibiyi also hit out at those responsible for the current schools crisis. He said blacks, and especially education groups and Sadtu, should make a clear stand on the issue.

Referring to the Soweto teachers' strike, Sibiyi said: "For children to be dumped when examinations are around the corner is a serious mistake indeed."

Urging Sabta to get serious on the question of diversification, Sibiyi said: "On more than one occasion I proposed that we have our newspapers delivered by taxis."

However, he was asked: "How far can you trust the taxi people?"

"My answer to this has always been: 'Years of apartheid have conditioned the minds of those in power and with money not to trust blacks with anything'."

**BILLY PADDOCK
and PATRICK BULGER**

GOVERNMENT and the ANC came within a whisker on Wednesday of sealing a deal on restarting constitutional talks, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said in Bloemfontein yesterday.

Meyer said he and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa had simply run out of time before the end of the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) meeting in trying to broker an agreement that would launch full bilateral talks.

"We have actually come very close... I have no doubt about that," a disappointed Meyer said after the NP's Free State congress. He said President F W de Klerk's optimism about an early resumption of full-scale constitutional negotiations

Solution to talks crisis 'within reach'

stemmed from the belief that agreement was imminent. (11A) (3/11/92)

The ANC's NEC said yesterday it was not yet ready to return to talks but it said government had indicated support for an elected constituent assembly which would be democratic.

Ramaphosa told a Johannesburg news conference government had agreed the constituent assembly should be bound only by general constitutional principles and that it should have a time frame and adequate deadlock-breaking mechanisms.

The ANC agreed to maintain the channel

□ To Page 2

Talks

of communication between Ramaphosa and Meyer. (11A) (3/11/92)

Meyer warned that government would not simply accept any ANC decision to restrict talks to bilateral discussions.

Ramaphosa said government had to take immediate and visible steps to end violence and release political prisoners. The ANC wanted a complete and country-wide ban on the display of dangerous weapons. "Without meaningful steps on the part of government to deal with the violence and by way of releasing political prisoners it would be pointless to resume negotiations."

Meyer described the current state of play in negotiations as inconclusive.

"I have to get a mandate from my principals to see if we want to proceed on the current basis," he said. However, it seems highly unlikely government could afford to be seen as spoilers.

He said differences between government and the ANC on a constituent assembly

bly and an interim government of national unity had been "largely removed".

The major area of dispute between the two sides was the basis on which political prisoners would be released, he said.

It is understood the ANC is demanding a blanket release of people it regards as political prisoners, while government wants the release to be related to generally agreed principles such as amnesty.

Meyer said the ANC's demands on the ending of violence were "not related to reality" because government had introduced a number of mechanisms and instruments to address the problem.

Earlier he said the talks between himself and Ramaphosa had taken place in a good spirit. But he criticised the "reckless" attitude of some of the "radicals", saying they were pushing the country to destruction and chaos.

Ramaphosa said the NEC had endorsed the intensification of the mass action campaign, reaffirming it as legitimate.

□ From Page 1

Decision on PAC talks

THE Pan Africanist Students' Organisation has still to decide whether it supports the Pan Africanist Congress talks with the Government. (IA)

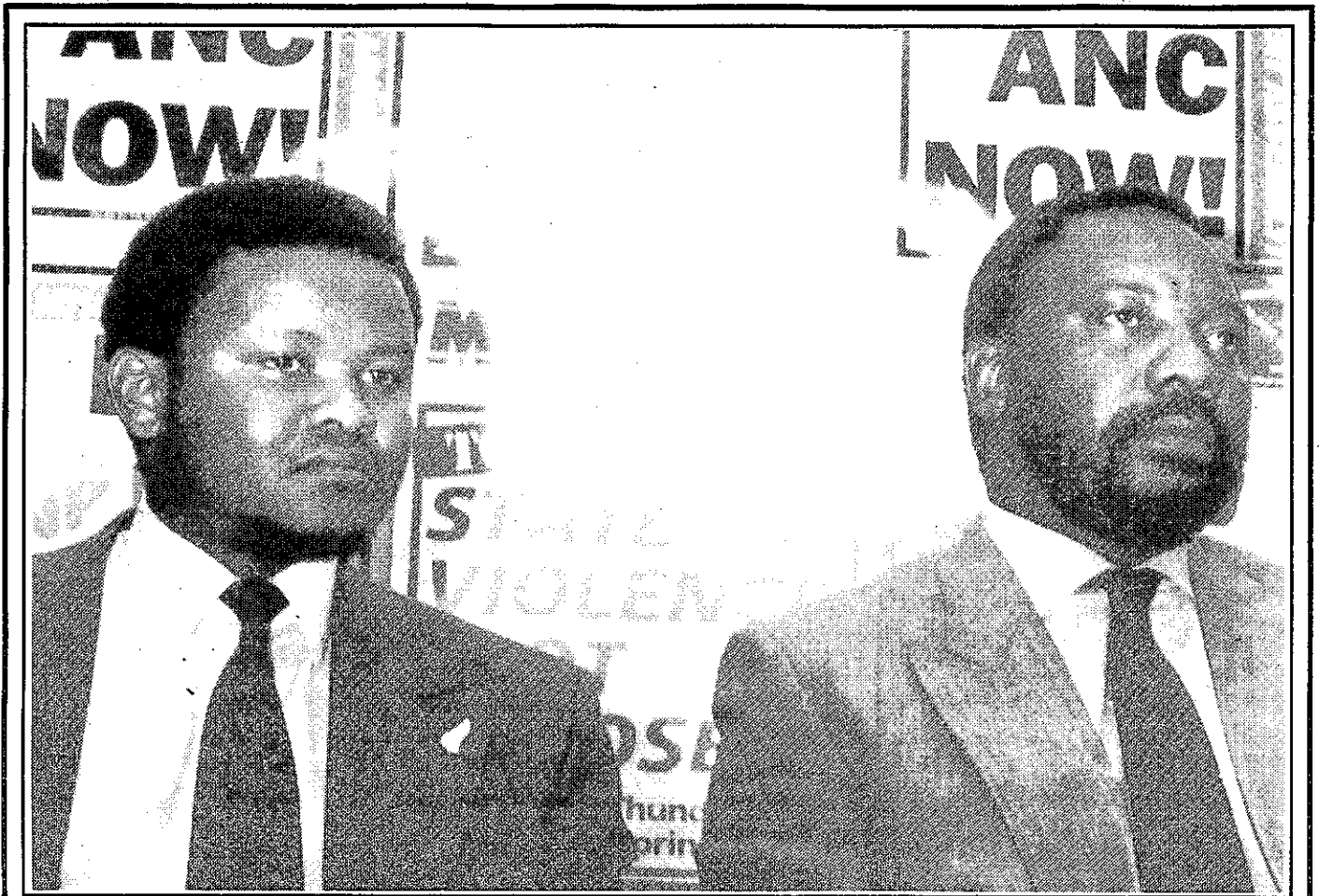
This emerged in a Press briefing held by the student organisation to explain resolutions taken at their national congress held at the University of Durban-Westville last week.

Paso spokesman, Mr Eddie Bosman, said the organisation adhered to PAC's congress resolutions taken in Umtata in 1991, which conditionally mandated talks with the Government.

"We will take a position after we have caucused with the national leadership of the PAC," he said.

Paso is due to meet the PAC leadership on September 11. -
Sowetan Reporter.

Sowetan 4/9/92



Members of the ANC's national executive committee, Mr Sakkie Macozoma and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, announce the movement's continued withdrawal from multi-party talks.

PIC: MBUZENI ZULU

ANC says ^(11A) no to talks

Sowetan 4/9/92

■ **Mass action to be intensified:**

By Ismail Lagardien

THE African National Congress has decided not to engage in multiparty talks involving the Government.

In making the announcement yesterday, ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said mass action would again be intensified, saying it was a people's legitimate right which formed an important part of the organisation's strategy.

"We have come too far in the negotiations process for the people of our country to be lulled by continued delay and double-speak," Ramaphosa said.

The ANC's national executive committee endorsed proposals for the intensification of mass action.

It said the focus of the campaign includes:

- Practical steps to deal with the violence;
- The immediate release of political prisoners and
- Free political activity in all parts of the country, including the homelands and self-governing territories.

ANC proposals for
a new constitution

4/9/92 (NA) (20th)

THE ANC yesterday published comprehensive proposed amendments to the SA constitution to facilitate the establishment of an interim government and a constituent assembly.

The ANC described the proposed "Transitional to Democracy Act 1992" as a draft for discussion within the organisation and among its allies and the public.

Its provisions replace the own affairs and tricameral system and the President's Council with a single 400-member national assembly, elected by proportional representation, to serve as an interim legislature and a constitution-making body.

It defines SA by its 1910 boundaries, eliminating the homeland system. It sidesteps the issue of regionalism by retaining for the interim the existing provincial system as the only form of regional government — leaving the future of constitutional regionalism to the constituent assembly.

The president would be elected by a simple majority of the national assembly. The cabinet would have a multiparty character and take decisions by a two-thirds majority, as would the assembly when sitting as a legislature.

All parties with 5% or more of the membership of the assembly would be entitled to nominate cabinet members. Each party's cabinet entitlement would be in proportion to its assembly representation.

Deputy ministers need not be assembly

ALAN FINE

members, and this would facilitate the appointment of individuals from excluded groups, including from "civil society".

The proposed law includes an interim bill of rights.

With regard to constitution-making, it includes a detailed deadlock-breaking mechanism. The ANC proposes a new constitution be passed by a two-thirds majority. If not achieved within nine months, fresh elections would be called and the second constituent assembly would have a further six months to complete its task.

If this can still not be done, a proposed new constitution would be put to a referendum and adopted by a 55% majority. If not, a new election would be held and a new constitution adopted by a simple majority of the third constituent assembly.

The constitution would have to adhere to previously agreed principles, and a seven-member constitutional panel would be appointed to adjudicate on disputes over whether principles were being adhered to.

In the pre-election period, multiparty commissions would be established to ensure a level playing field. These would control the security forces and the media. And an independent electoral commission would be appointed to prepare for and conduct the elections.

S PAC, Roelf Meyer to convene again

Sowetan 4/9/92

■ **FINAL SUMMIT** Another round of talks to arrange a better negotiating forum: (11K) ~~(11K)~~

By Monk Nkomo

A DELEGATION of the Pan Africanist Congress will meet senior Government officials in Pretoria today for another round of talks aimed at arranging a better negotiating forum. PAC national executive member Mr Willie Seriti confirmed the meeting will be held in the afternoon. The delegation will be led by Seriti and political affairs secretary Mr Jackie Seroke.

The government is expected to be led by Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer. Today's meeting is the fourth "talks-about-talks" encounter between the two parties this year. Seriti said the PAC wanted to get a commitment from the government on the establishment of a common voters roll for all race groups and a constituent assembly. "Thereafter a final summit of the PAC and government leadership will be held at a neutral venue and under a neutral chairman," he said.

Africa and the Third World in general — including such ANC allies as Libya, Cuba and the PLO; and

□ The speed with which the Department of Foreign Affairs should be remade in the image of the new SA — meaning a huge measure of affirmative action.

While the ANC was not the only liberation movement represented, it effectively pre-empted debate on most issues, arguing for diplomatic representation throughout Africa — though it was recognised that funding would always be a constraint. This thrust would be accompanied by a radical expansion of personnel — a new Minister, for a start — and a waiving of certain degree requirements hitherto sacrosanct to Foreign Affairs.

As Spence observed, the conference was a “typical New South African occasion,” looking forward to an apartheid-free State but realising that world concerns were shifting to economic success and self-interest in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The New World Order, however, had lost the triumphant bombast displayed by George Bush after the victory of Desert Storm. Its limitations of power had been underscored by its impotence in ex-Yugoslavia and, in general, renascent nationalisms in the former East Bloc foreshadowed a period of global instability. In this climate, SA would become “just another State,” though preferably not “just another Third-World State.”

As Mervyn Frost of the University of Natal (Durban) put it: “SA can *compete* — or harp on the past, be a professional victim.”

The role of Foreign Affairs under Pik Botha was a subject of some controversy. Some comments were made about the “adulation” accorded the Minister from within its ranks — with which the ANC could not, of course, concur. There was instead an expressed will to rejoin bodies like the OAU and the Commonwealth. And some felt reunion with the latter could serve to defuse certain white fears about majority rule since they would become part of an organisation with substantial “Dominion” representation, in the form of Australia, Canada and Britain.

The FM's impression was that the serving officials of the Department of Foreign Affairs take the idea of new policy directions very seriously indeed — however much some of the ANC's standpoints remain unpalatable to them. After so many years of serving SA in an increasingly bitter climate, they may welcome giving up some of the burden. They are open to new ideas. But the idea — raised more than once — that “service” for the ANC could equate with formal professional qualifications is unlikely to find favour within the existing bureaucracy.

But then everyone agreed that the bureaucracy itself would be massively expanded, appropriately or otherwise, in terms of always scarce resources. The ANC's “turn” is coming up.

FOREIGN POLICY CONFERENCE FM 4/9/92 Comrade diplomats (11A)

As a major component of the next government, the ANC may well have to swiftly choose between diplomatic ties with its “old friends” and the major economic blocs of the New World Order. This was one conclusion to emerge from a conference on foreign policy, hosted last weekend by the SA Institute of International Relations and the Centre for Southern African Studies of the University of the Western Cape (see *Leaders*).

The conference was held at Wits and brought senior officials of the Department of Foreign Affairs together with representatives of the ANC and other liberation movements to see if consensus could be found on future diplomatic initiatives.

At the outset, it was apparent that ideological differences between the Nationalists and the ANC might not be as unbridgeable as first blush might suggest. Minister Pik Botha, for example, in his opening address, warned gruffly that SA business suffered from too great a concentration and that something might have to be done about it. For his part, the ANC's Aziz Pahad lodged a complaint about SA's business inefficiency — and put it down partly to excessive State control.

While the five working groups — Codesa-style — were closeted away from the press, summaries of their debates were presented at the end of the conference and an overview given by Prof Jack Spence of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. It was apparent that there had been divergence on two issues of crucial importance:

□ The amount of attention to be given to

...would seek agreement on strict regulations to control such services in the new year, he said.
Describing the situation as a "crisis", Jacobsohn said the drastic steps were

...conceded the move. This is a very responsible step. The lines should not be re-introduced until consumers are given itemised accounts and free barring facilities."

BC Week kicks off

■ Former Azapo leader to address mass rally (11A)

Sawefen 4/9/92

By Mokgadi Pela

FORMER president of the Azanian Peoples Organisation Professor Itumeleng Mosala will on Sunday address a rally in Bloemfontein to mark the start of the Black Consciousness Week.

The Jabulani and Moletsane branches of Azapo will commemorate the BC Week at Entokozweni Community Centre at 1pm.

A documentary on slain BC leader Steve Biko will also be shown.

Yesterday Mosala said the BC Week was taking place against the backdrop of black revolt against white racism in Los Angeles, Canada and South Africa.

He said a return to BC would retrieve black peoples' humanity and dignity.

"We would do well by positively taking up our blackness not only to defend but also to liberate our people," he added.



focus on elections

Southern 4/9/92

(205) (11A)

THE NATIONAL PARTY (NP) is serious about wanting to win a nonracial general election based on one person one vote.

Its leaders believe that the NP can also become the majority party in the country - even if it means throwing its arms around the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) as a means of beating the African National Congress (ANC) in a non-racial poll.

This was the main thrust at the NP's Free State congress in Bloemfontein this week - the first of four annual provincial congresses.

The party's leader in the Transvaal and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha, the Minister of Justice and Free State Leader, Mr Kobie Coetsee, and the national leader, State President FW de Klerk, all made speeches which aroused the emotions of the crowd.

Beating the ANC

The theme of the congresses is Work Together, Win Together.

The three leaders hinted that there was a strong chance of an election being held in about a year and with a very real chance of the NP "beating the ANC".

Members had to start working towards this goal.

If members of the formerly whites-only party would "open their homes to black and brown members and make their farms accessible to these non-traditional supporters" the NP would become the strongest party in the country, Coetsee told the crowd.

Coetsee was re-elected as Free State leader.

He said the NP in the Free State had three objectives; to strengthen the hand of the leadership at the negotiations table; to strengthen the party in preparation for a regional power base in a future federal dispensation; and to work with other political parties with similar objectives as those of the NP.

Canvassing black support

And to give credence to its expressed ideal of canvassing black support, the NP in the Free State appointed two blacks, Mr Petrus Tsiane and Mr Donald Colbert, as organisers in the province.

On Tuesday the NP had a black minister, a Pastor Goliath, open this year's OFS congress.

Botha told the congress that the NP had changed just in time to fall in with the changes in the world - especially after the collapse of the Eastern Bloc and the Soviet Union.

"The NP can win the election proposed for next year but it will take a lot of hard work," he said.

Many NP supporters, he said, were concerned and confused about the future of the party and of

The National Party believes it can beat the ANC in a one person one vote election. To achieve this, members were urged at the party's Free State annual congress this week to open their homes to black and brown members. **By Ismail Lagardien:**



Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Foreign Minister Pik Botha.

the country which was perhaps justifiable.

He assured them that the international community was waiting for South Africa to take its place in the world.

In terms of his calculations and in terms of "scientific" evidence, the NP could get about one million votes short of 50 percent in the next election out of a 70 percent poll of 20 million people eligible for the vote in the country.

Moral high ground

De Klerk in his address chose to elevate the NP to a moral high ground and criticised everyone else.

"To all Nationalists, and to the befriended political parties and organisations, my message

today is that they dare not let themselves be seduced to (sic) strong-arm tactics. We should not allow ourselves to be pulled down to the level of street politics.

"Stand firm against pressure and coercion. We shall not yield and surrender the country to radicalism. We shall not allow ourselves to be overrun," De Klerk said.

Banners on the walls of the City Hall in Bloemfontein were unambiguous, succinct and self-explanatory: In six languages, Afrikaans, Zulu, Sotho, Xhosa, Tswana and English (next to a picture of De Klerk) they proclaimed: "Everyone wins with the NP."

And nobody says the NP cannot deliver on that promise...

Pressure grows for interim rule

By Esther Waugh
and Shaun Johnson

The ANC last night ruled out an early return to "Codesa-style" talks, but a new consensus appeared to be emerging about the urgent need for an interim government in South Africa.

In a statement after a three-day meeting of its national executive committee (NEC), the ANC said mass action would continue in order to bring pressure on the Government, and expressed concern at Pretoria's "refusal to take urgent and practical steps to deal with the violence and create the necessary conditions for the unfolding of a democratic constitution-making process".

The NEC decided to keep open communication be-

tween ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer. While the responses to ANC demands had been "unsatisfactory", the discussions were still "incomplete".

It was noted with approval that the Government had "finally" given provisional support for a constituent assembly.

Demonstrated

Speaking at a press conference last night, Mr Ramaphosa said he had met Mr Meyer "more than three times". The Government had not demonstrated a seriousness in addressing the ANC's demands during these meetings, he said.

The ANC's call included that the Government take

immediate steps to end the violence and release all political prisoners, to address the hostel issue and to ban the display of weapons in public.

"Without meaningful steps on the part of the Government ... it would be pointless to resume negotiations. We have come too far in the negotiations process, too many South Africans have been killed - over 6 000 - in political violence since February 1990, for the people of our country to be lulled by continued Government delay and double-speak," he said.

However, the ANC reiterated its commitment to the process of a negotiated settlement.

Mr Meyer's interpretation of the NEC meeting was that the ANC had not reached a decision on whether or not to

resume formal negotiations.

Asked after the NP Free State congress whether he interpreted the outcome of the NEC meeting as a decision against resuming negotiations now, or a failure to reach a decision, he said it was "a sort of an intermediate decision".

Finance Minister Derek Keys emphasised the need for getting "a representative government in place". He believed President de Klerk was moving forward quickly to address this issue.

Mr Keys's remarks echoed the view of the US government. President Bush's national security adviser Admiral Brent Scowcroft said the US would swing into action with wide-ranging support measures as soon as a nonracial interim government was in place.

ANC and AWB youth meet in seminar

Youth leaders may conclude one day that the deep divisions on the political front might have been unnecessary, judging by the high degree of consensus at a National Youth Conference on Peace and Reconstruction over the weekend. A SOUTH correspondent reports.

South 5/9 - 9/9/92

THE polarisation of people in South Africa did not take long to manifest itself at a two-day seminar organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) and attended by 13 different political groups from South Africa, including the homelands.

Yet the conference was important for several reasons. It brought together not only the youth of the Codesa-partners, but also two rightwing groups: the AWB Youth and the recently-formed Afrikaner Jeugfront (AJF), the youth of the group which broke from the Conservative Party.

This unprecedented broad spectrum of political groupings encouraged further discussion, be it bilateral or in similar and even wider forums.

The youth representatives almost unanimously endorsed a call for the resumption of talks and/or the restructuring of Codesa in order to reach an early interim settlement

leading to elections for a constituent assembly.

The AWB, though, made it clear from the start that they were mandated to state their views, not to discuss or negotiate their position.

Observers at the conference, including church and cultural organisations, saw their participation as a landmark and noted the significance of them hearing their views debated, while also hearing views different to their own.

The AFJ declared their willingness to keep talking about their aims for self determination and the formation of a Volkstaat.

Other participating parties were: the ANC Youth League (ANCYL), the NP Youth Action, the Inkatha Youth Brigade, the DP Youth, the Intando Yesizwe Party Youth League from KwaNdebele, the Labour Party Youth, the Dikwankwetla Youth League from Qwa-Qwa, the Inyandza Youth Congress of Kangwane, the Ximoko Progressive Party Youth from



YOUNG IDEAS: Political armies are out, private ones are in

Gazankulu, the African Democratic Movement's Youth from the Ciskei and the United People's Front Youth League.

Four issues were discussed in commissions on Saturday: Democracy, Peace and Reconciliation, Economic Growth and Development and Education.

Although the democracy group, facilitated by Prof Willie Esterhuysen of Stellenbosch University, reached consensus on the processes leading up to a democratically-elected Constituent Assembly, a heated debate on federalism could not resolve deep divisions between major parties on this issue.

In the economics commission, led by Prof HW Vilakazi from the Uni-

versity of Zululand, substantial agreement emerged on many issues, specifically the need for redistribution of wealth, although debates on nationalisation, job creation and sanctions showed deep rifts between parties.

The education commission reached the biggest amount of consensus, although the right of teachers to strike was a point of contention.

The commission noted the "necessity for educational control on local levels", with entrenchment of regional identities of education, like language.

Outstanding features of the commission on Peace and Reconciliation were, in the delegates' words,

the "willingness of all parties to display tolerance for the views of others while presenting, often vigorously, their perceptions of reality and political beliefs".

Agreement was reached on the causes of violence and the requirements for ending it. The ANCYL objected to clauses stipulating the urgent need for the disbandment of "private armies", preferring to call them "political armies", which includes the SADF.

The movement's youth, backed by other groups, dissented from the view that there was a "revolutionary atmosphere" in the country.

At the end a strong signal was sent to political leaders to resume talks as soon as possible.

In the last session it became evident the youth could not escape the rifts already carved on the political arena by their seniors and history. Powerplay and blockforming came to the fore as NP and ANC rallied their allies to support them. The DP remained non-aligned.

But Simon Ntombela of Idasa's Durban office stated at the end that the fact that such a broad spectrum of people could agree to disagree, made the conference a success, while other observers noted many representatives seemed to break through the "smokescreen of ideological language to address real issues".

Some ANCYL delegates even characterised their experience as a "spiritual liberation; breaking down barriers between 'us and them'".

ANC deny 'no' based on critique

A SELF-CRITICAL ANC document urging more mass protests did not influence the ANC's latest refusal to rejoin constitutional talks, ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said yesterday.

"Our taking issue with renewed negotiations is very clear: It hinges on the government's failure to move on the release of political prisoners and the lack of visible moves to end violence," she said.

Ms Marcus dismissed suggestions that the paper, circulated among SA Communist Party and Congress of South African Trade Unions' structures, might have determined the ANC's most recent refusal to further negotiate.

"The document reflects the major successes of mass action; it did not influence our decision not to go back (to talks)."

Ms Marcus had been asked to comment on the paper, published in yesterday's SA Labour Bulletin.

The paper was presented for further discussion at the August 23 tripartite summit by the ANC, SACP and Cosatu and proposed direct bilateral talks between the ANC and government, renewed efforts to build the ANC-led alliance's ability to fight elections, intensified mass action and a Convention for Peace and Democracy in mid-October.

Fourth-phase mass action included campaigning for a constituent assembly and interim government, free po-

Amnesty meeting 'strategic blunder'

304 (11A) CTS/9/72

THE ANC says it committed a "strategic blunder" when it met the government on August 9 to demand the release of political prisoners but ended up talking about amnesty.

That meeting, failure to flesh out the meaning of city occupations, and organisational weaknesses have been isolated by the ANC as specific weaknesses in its assessment of its ongoing campaign for peace and democracy.

An internal discussion document circulated among the ANC and allied structures said the mass action campaign had, nonetheless, generally "helped clarify and unify" the tripartite alliance's strategic perspective.

The ANC, South African Communist Party and Congress of South African Trade Unions had to ask if the "extremely ill-considered bilateral meeting with the regime on August 9 reflected strategic unclarity". — Sapa

litical activity in the homelands, democratising the SABC, a boycott of PAYE tax, and actions against corruption, murder and high food prices.

The document said the ANC believed the balance of forces had swung in its favour.

A settlement, if reached, could then be taken to a multi-lateral forum on condition that this wider body should not be allowed to undermine the basic bilateral agreement.

The document also calls into question the proposed terms of a rebuilt Patriotic Front.

The ANC accused its Africanist and black consciousness counterparts of "bankruptcy" and being more intent on competing with the alliance than on taking on the government. — Sapa

Gwala warns of return to arms

CT 5/9/92 3 (11A)

Staff Reporter

VETERAN ANC hardliner Mr Harry Gwala yesterday rejected a return to Codesa and the negotiating table — and warned that the ANC would resume the armed struggle if the government tried to use force against the people in their fight for democracy.

"The ANC have called for a suspension of the armed struggle, but if the De Klerk government try to take violent action against people in the struggle for liberation we will meet force with force," he said.

Mr Gwala, ANC Natal Midlands chairman, was speaking at the University of Cape Town, where he was greeted with a thunderous ovation by about 300 students.

He said negotiation was one tool in the fight against apartheid and oppression but mass action, if implemented properly, was more effective.

Mr Gwala slammed the United Nations, European Community and Commonwealth members who will monitor the ongoing violence in South



HARDLINER . . . Mr Harry Gwala, ANC Natal Midlands chairman, addresses about 300 students at UCT.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

Africa for not being impartial and for siding with the government.

Codesa, he said, was unworkable because it was impossible to reconcile capital with labour.

● Asked last night if Mr Gwala's rejection of Codesa and a return to the negotiating table did not fly in the face of ANC policy, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said he could not comment on Mr Gwala's speech until he had seen it.

8 Southbool

Talking 'bout revolutions

South 5/19-9/19/92

BOOK Lessons of Struggle: South African Internal Opposition 1960 — 1990

AUTHOR Anthony W Marx

PUBLISHER Oxford University Press

PRICE R39,99

(11A)

LET'S test how well you've learnt your lessons of struggle these past 30 years. Ready for a quiz, activists?

Quick! Name the anti-apartheid political movement that emerged out of a student constituency in the seventies, espoused an ideology of psychological liberation from racial inferiority and adopted an economic policy known as "communalism".

Answer: The Black Consciousness Movement.

Political reflexes a bit dull these days? If you didn't make the grade, then head to your nearest bookstore and buy a copy of Anthony W Marx's invigorating analysis of the lessons that can be learnt from organised black resistance from Sharpeville to the 1990 bannings.

This is a book about the ideas behind protest politics. Why, for instance, did black consciousness arise in the late sixties and seventies? Why did the idea of non-racialism experience a resurgence in the mid-eighties? And why is class consciousness much more of a major organising force in the struggle politics of the nineties?

Marx argues that these political ideas didn't just come out of thin air. Rather, the lofty principles that sparked our political imaginations were shaped in the daily experience of material conditions and real struggles — the imposition of Value Added Tax on basic

foodstuffs, the yearly increases in the price of mealie meal, the creation of a tricameral parliament that delineated shades of blackness, the imprisonment of activists holding diverse political beliefs, and so on.

Political ideas in South Africa, according to Marx, did not spring solely from other ideas, ideologies, or philosophies — much as the government would have us believe. Rather, these ideas are homegrown variants on universal themes, derived in large part from ordinary experiences of oppression that black South Africans have widely shared.

This book chronicles the history of those political ideas — about race, nationalism and class — that have sustained and informed the anti-apartheid movement in the last 30 years of struggle. Marx excludes concepts like gender and ethnicity from his study and this is the book's greatest analytical shortcoming.

He contends, for example, that ethnicity has played little or no role in protest politics. The author should visit the Vaal Triangle and speak to schoolchildren caught up in the crossfire between Zulu and non-Zulu township residents. Surely they have learned brutal, ugly lessons about the role of ethnicity in organisational politics?

To be fair, Marx's book only covers the period leading up to 1990 and stops well short of the Inkatha-ANC feud that has bloodied our recent history.

But make no mistake. This book, well-researched and provocative, is a valuable new contribution to our understanding of the successes and failures of revolutionary movements worldwide.

TOM WINSLOW

Service to mark death of Steve Biko

THE Western Cape regions of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), the Azanian Student Movement (Azasm) and the Azanian Youth Organisation (Azayo) will hold a joint commemoration service to mark the 15th anniversary of the death in detention of Steve Biko. *STimes (Cape Metro) 6/9/92*

Biko, the founder of the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa, died in detention on September 12 1977, after being

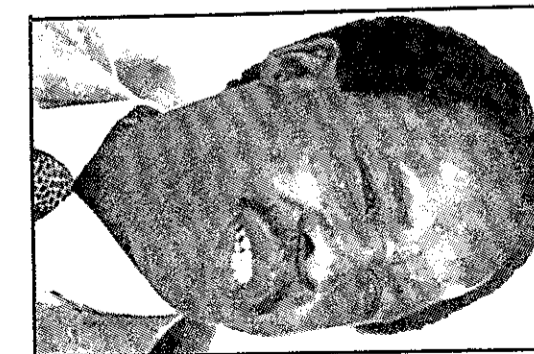
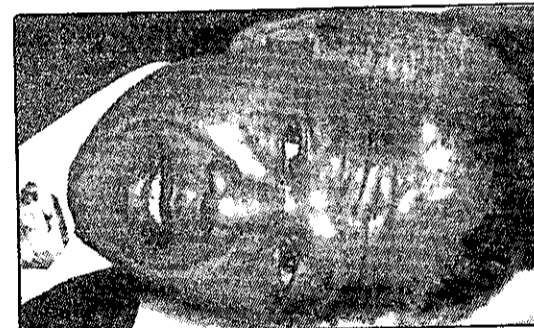
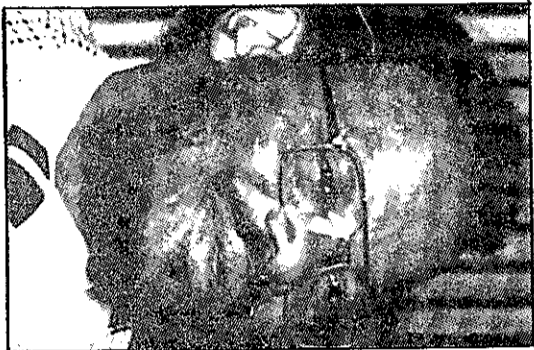
brutally assaulted by security police.

Mr George Bongo, Azapo Western Cape regional organiser, said yesterday Black Consciousness Week will be observed from September 6 to 12 with the theme "Biko Lives: A Focus on State Repression and Torture". *(11A)*

The main commemoration service will be held at the Bantu Presbyterian Church, NY 2, Guguletu at 2 pm on Saturday.

WHAT SA CAN EXPECT: More golden handshakes for security hawks; the PAC at the party

THE DE KLERK CAMP ...
FW, KwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Ciskei's Oupa Gqozo. They will push for federalism as negotiators get down to the nitty-gritty of a new constitution for SA.
Breakaway Conservative Party MPs could also join this faction.



THE TRIPARTITE ALLIANCE ... ANC leader Mandela, Jay Naidoo of Cosatu and SACP's Chris Hani. The ANC-led mass action campaign temporarily healed the rift between the negotiation-orientated leadership and the increasingly restive and dissident lower echelons.

Back on speaking terms

THE government and the ANC are edging back to the negotiating table with some new players, new rules and against a new political landscape.

Dominating National Party tactics will be State President FW de Klerk's new four-pronged political strategy.

He will clean up the leaders of the security forces (as far as this is within his capabilities) and prepare them for an interim joint control under an interim government; welcome foreign expertise in a complete reorganisation of the police force; and give Judge Richard Goldstone wide powers in his United Nations-backed investigation into the SADF and SA Police.

The most reactionary generals in both the military and the police will be quietly phased out through early retirement.

The idea of a classic purge is probably wishful thinking: much more likely is a series of resignations, transfers, and retributions. However, the security establishments' influence over De Klerk has lessened since the June 17 Boipatong massacre.

He will mobilise political support for the concept of federalism and buttress the position of those leaders (such as Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu, Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana and Oupa Gqozo of Cis-

11A

Open 6/9/92

11A

key) who are insisting on regional boundaries and powers being agreed upon in principle before a detailed constitution is drawn up by an elected body.

According to SADF defector Gert Hugo, Gqozo's Ciskei Defence Force together with the African Defence Movement have been tutored by Military Intelligence into playing the same anti-ANC role as Buthelezi's KwaZulu police and Inkatha Freedom Party.

A mini-summit of government's political allies on the federal issue (planned for this month) could broaden the existing coalition of forces gathered around the NP. Meanwhile the ANC's vague commitment to "strong regional government" conceals widely different approaches in the organisation's ranks.

He will try to use the opportunity created by the ANC-initiated UN involvement to demonstrate that the government is willing to abide by international norms, while the ANC is unable to bring township militants into line with UN recommendations.

Once the question of political prisoners and an amnesty has been settled, Pretoria could then regain some of the international ground lost since Boipatong.

He will accelerate the NP's shift into election gear on a platform of power-sharing. If necessary, he will call a non-

racial referendum to mobilise support for the power-sharing concept as against an immediate transition to majority rule.

De Klerk and the government intend also to assume a higher media profile along the lines of the White House and State Department operations in the United States. David Steward, executive director of the South African Communications Service (formerly Bureau of Information), was given the job of the government's first official spokesman.

He will attend Cabinet meetings as well as De Klerk's meetings with national and international leaders and will speak directly on behalf of the government.

He will arrange weekly press conferences at ministerial level and will react on De Klerk's behalf to news as it develops. Casper Ventor remains De Klerk's media liaison officer, but Steward will play the Larry Spokes/Bernard Ingham role.

The investigation into the death of eastern Cape black community leader Matthew Goniwe and three of his colleagues in June 1985 has brought the security force issue to a head.

It is understood that De Klerk has already taken the necessary steps for the early retirement of Gen Christoffel "Joffel" van der Westhuizen, head of MI, who is said to have sought authorisation from Pre-

But there are new rules, additional players and a new political landscape

toria for Goniwe's "permanent removal from society", and other military and police generals including Jacques Buchner, on secondment from the SADF as Commissioner of the KwaZulu Police, and a host of senior officers.

Gen Lothar Neethling, the controversial SAP forensic chief whose name came up in the context of allegations by police hit-squad informant Captain Dirk Coetzee about poisons being brewed to kill ANC members, was quietly retired in the week ending August 22. Vehemently denying Coetzee's allegations, Neethling has made clear his outright opposition to a democratic settlement in SA.

"Peace must be declared by decree in SA and not through democracy," he said.

De Klerk is also studying a letter from British criminologist Dr Peter Waddington, who was commissioned to write a report on police handling of Boipatong. In a 50-page report, Waddington said the police had displayed "serious incompetence" in their organisation and procedural structures.

Waddington also sent a four-page letter to De Klerk through diplomatic channels in which he proposed a purge of the police high command.

RAPID progress has been made in the government recent talks with the PAC to persuade it to join the negotiation process.

The talks are intended to culminate in a summit between De Klerk and PAC leader Clarence Makwetu in Zimbabwe soon. This could also be a political breakthrough for De Klerk in

Pretoria's frosty relations with Harare and an opportunity to hold the first-ever talks with President Robert Mugabe.

The breakaway of five rebels from the right-wing Conservative Party, under the restrained and thoughtful MP for Potchefstroom, Andries Beyers, will introduce a new ally for the federal school although the rebels have not yet made the formal transition from confederalism to federalism.

Federalism might also be the issue to cause the Democratic Party to switch from its tenuous association with the ANC-led patriotic front to the NP alliance.

De Klerk's intelligence advisers have advised him to go on the offensive and exploit the current strains within the ANC and, more particularly, within the tripartite alliance of the ANC, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Communist Party.

Nevertheless, the ANC's mass action campaign was a seminal event that temporarily healed the rift between the negotiation-orientated leadership and the increasingly restive and dissident lower echelons.

THE IMPACT of the ANC's mass action campaign on the current balance of forces was significant: It re-accredited the ANC

leadership with the rank-and-file, albeit only temporarily.

It significantly boosted the organisation's morale and empowered grassroots members.

It increased pressure on the government over political violence and the urgency of joint control of the security forces.

It heightened awareness of third force and covert SADF operations and probably encouraged a further spate of revelations from sources such as Hugo and murdered eastern Cape farmer Andries de Villiers.

It placed the issue of an amnesty firmly on the political agenda of the pending interim government.

It persuaded a significant section of the business community to support a Charter on Peace, Democracy and Reconstruction, signifying the emergence of a broad consensus between organised labour and industry and laying a foundation for a social contract to be negotiated at the Economic Forum.

It reinforced the independence and political clout of the ANC-aligned Congress of South African Trade Unions, strengthening its demand to be represented directly at the negotiations.

It created a unique opportunity, too, for the UN to introduce to continue holds more dangers than advantages for the ANC. - Africa Confidential

This became evident when the National Working Committee on August 12 took the extraordinary decision that there should be no more Mandela-De Klerk one-to-one meetings and that future contact should be between ANC Secretary-General Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

But the opportunities that opened for the ANC through mass action will be short lived if it cannot capitalise on the situation soon by extracting new concessions from the government.

To allow the prevailing deadlock to continue holds more dangers than advantages for the ANC. - Africa Confidential

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But the opportunities that opened for the ANC through mass action will be short lived if it cannot capitalise on the situation soon by extracting new concessions from the government.

To allow the prevailing deadlock to continue holds more dangers than advantages for the ANC. - Africa Confidential

ANC demands right to vet potential diplomats

S Times 6/9/92

CHIEF

11A

20/11/92

By BRIAN POTTINGER

TOP ANC figures are demanding the right to vet all new appointments of cadets and senior officials to the South African diplomatic service.

And they want a freeze on the recruitment of any Inkatha-supporting person or homeland public servants until after an interim government is established.

This remarkable bid by the ANC to gain influence in the administration of South Africa's most educated and professional state department emerged this week at a conference co-hosted by the SA Institute of International Affairs and the Centre for Southern African Studies at the University of the Western Cape.

Dr John Daniel, director of the International Studies Unit at Rhodes University and himself an ANC member, told the conference

that such a move was necessary to achieve an effective, credible and integrated foreign service.

Reporting back to the conference on the discussions of a conference commission, Dr Daniel said it was felt that no new appointments of diplomatic cadets should be made without the approval of "liberation" movements such as the ANC and the PAC.

He said the commission, which comprised Foreign Affairs officials, members of the ANC's international affairs department and academics, had considered the position of Inkatha members and diplomats in the homelands administrations.

Although the commission accepting that these

people might have experience, it felt that the lack of credibility of the institutions should preclude them from being appointed to positions in the diplomatic corps until after an interim government was installed, said Dr Daniel.

He made it clear that, in the interests of an effective integration of the foreign service, officials from the ANC's external affairs department should be brought in at senior levels.

A Department of

Foreign Affairs spokesman said this week that Dr Daniel had been reflecting his own views on the issue rather than those of the Foreign Affairs officials in the commission.

"The policy of the department is that anybody who meets the criteria is accepted. It is in any case impossible for civil servants at a conference like that to resolve profound matters which are properly dealt with at the political level," he said.

Winnie faces leaked letter storm

By CHARLES LEONARD

WINNIE MANDELA has been plunged into new controversy with the leak to the Sunday Times of a highly incriminating letter written by her to Dali Mpofu, her young former lover. *S Times 6/9/92*

The letter, which is being circulated in top ANC circles, has been confirmed as authentic by sources close to Mrs Mandela. But neither she nor Mr Mpofu could be reached for comment.

The four-page handwritten letter — signed only "It's me" — contains:

- An admission by Mrs Mandela that she was in trouble with a Johannesburg bank for R160 000 she had drawn and given to Mr Mpofu;



- Reference to ANC social welfare department cheques which had been cashed on their behalf by an ANC official and then given to her lover — Mrs Mandela was then head of the department and had signing powers;

- Charges that Mr Mpofu was unfaithful and was "running around f***** at the slightest emotional excuse";

- Confessions about her then faltering marriage to ANC leader Nelson Mandela — less than a month later the Mandelas' formal separation was announced;

- Her bitterness at Mr Mpofu for having an affair with another woman — ostensibly as a cover to hide his relationship with her.

The highly damaging letter, dated March 17 and delivered to the Sunday Times in a manila envelope, has been leaked on the eve of a meeting of the organisation's National Working Committee.

The committee will consider an internal report on a recent abortive demon-

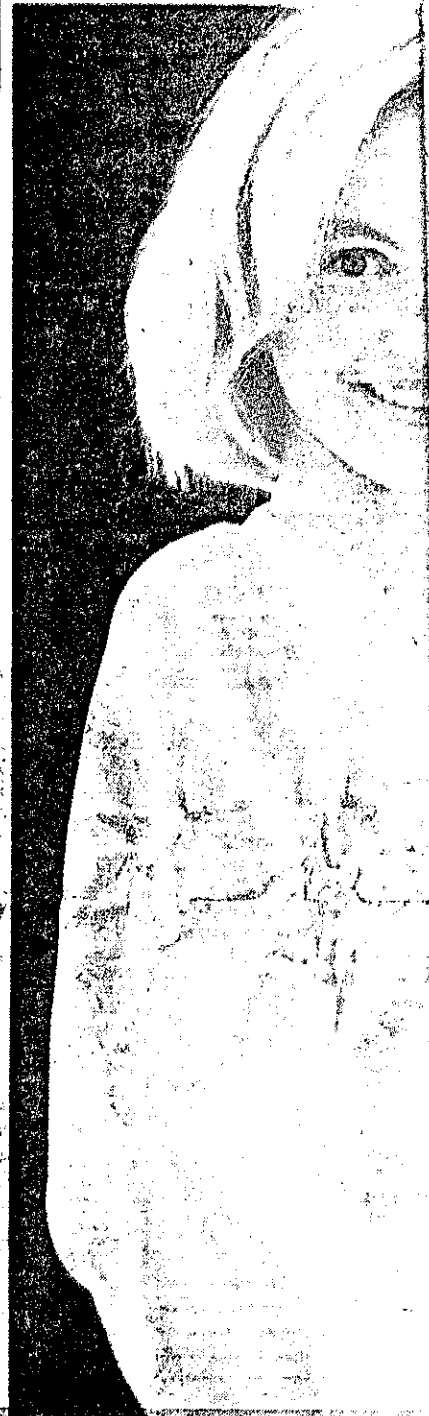
It's me

The letter's cryptic sign-off

stration outside the ANC head office by a group of women who demanded her rein-

Warnings o

SH OV



the slightest emotional excuse;
● Confessions about her then faltering marriage to ANC leader Nelson Mandela — less than a month later the Mandelas' formal separation was announced;

● Her bitterness at Mr Mpofo for having an affair with another woman — ostensibly as a cover to hide his relationship with her.

The highly damaging letter, dated March 17 and delivered to the Sunday Times in a manila envelope, has been leaked on the eve of a meeting of the organisation's National Working Committee.

The committee will consider an internal report on a recent abortive demon-

Ho me

The letter's cryptic sign-off

stration outside the ANC head office by a group of women who demanded her reinstatement as the head of the ANC's social welfare department.

Behind the demonstration is a bitter political struggle by Mrs Mandela to regain her former prominence within the ANC.

Mr Mpofo was part of Mrs Mandela's defence team during her trial on charges of having kidnapped and assaulted a child activist. He later joined the social welfare department under her.

Written after a row with Mr Mpofo in the early hours of the morning, she angrily accuses him in the letter of being a "compulsive, sophisticated liar" and complains about his "shabby treatment" of her.

She adds: "You think you can just wish away certain things Dali, not with me. I tell you I'm in trouble with the Simmons

(sic) Street account which reflects over R160 000 drawn over a period for you, you don't even bother to check how we can overcome this.

"I tell you (lawyer Ismail) Ayob has been sent by Tata (Mr Mandela) to get an accountant to investigate my account!"

It was reported in May this year that the ANC was investigating an alleged fraud involving cheques for R400 000 issued while Mrs Mandela and Mr Mpofo were still in charge of the department.

On her relationship with Mr Mandela, she tells Mr Mpofo: "You are supposed to care so much for me that the fact that I haven't been speaking to Tata for five months now over you is no longer your concern."

Mrs Mandela then refers



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*not with me. I tell you I'm
with the Simmons Street A/C
acts over R160 000 drawn
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we can overcome this. I tell*

A section of the letter in which the R160 000 is mentioned

to somebody called "Terreza", whom she brands a "white hag".

Terreza is believed to be Terry Oakley-Smith, who is the mother of Mr Mpofo's child. She was not willing to comment yesterday.

"I am not another Terreza you used when it suited you and dumped when it suited you," the 58-year-old Mrs Mandela rages.

Lie

"I will never be used by you Dali for 'ukufeba kwakho' (philandering), and you use our 'things' we acquired together for running around f***** at the slightest emotional excuse.

"You lie to me and suggest in order to preserve our relationship you have to have a relationship as a cover to defuse our problem," she writes.

"I understand and know how difficult it was for me

to accept that reality, but it eventually dawned on me that because I love you so much I had to agree with you even though I shuddered at the thought of you lying or pretending to love this other woman and as you said 'you were just involved with Imogin (reference to a prominent black woman accountant) and you never loved her.'

ANC information chief Pallo Jordan yesterday did not want to comment on the letter. He suggested it might have been sent by government intelligence sources who intercepted it.

"I don't know of anyone in the ANC who intercepts other people's post," he said.

Mr Ayob, who represents both the Mandelas, would only say that the sum mentioned in the Simmonds Street bank account was her own money.

GLAMOROUS HOSTESS: Telly Fun Quiz 8

Bloodbath feared as alliance gathers for Ciskei showdown

ANC MOVE TO OUST GQOZO

By S'BU MINGADI 6/9/92

DARK CLOUDS hovered over the Ciskei yesterday amid fears of a bloodbath when the ANC defiantly marches on Bisho.

Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo has threatened to use all the force at his disposal to stop tomorrow's march.

But ANC leaders yesterday bluntly warned him: "Our people in Ciskei are coming to remove you from the seat of power. Come what may."

The ANC has pulled out all the stops for what is expected to be "the biggest march staged in SA", senior national executive committee member Raymond Suttner told City Press yesterday.

Suttner said the ANC had information, which sources in the Ciskei Defence Force had confirmed, that Gqozo had brought in a notorious SA unit to stop the march.

The ANC conceded that "imminent threats of violence are in the air" and said violence would not be in the interests of any party.

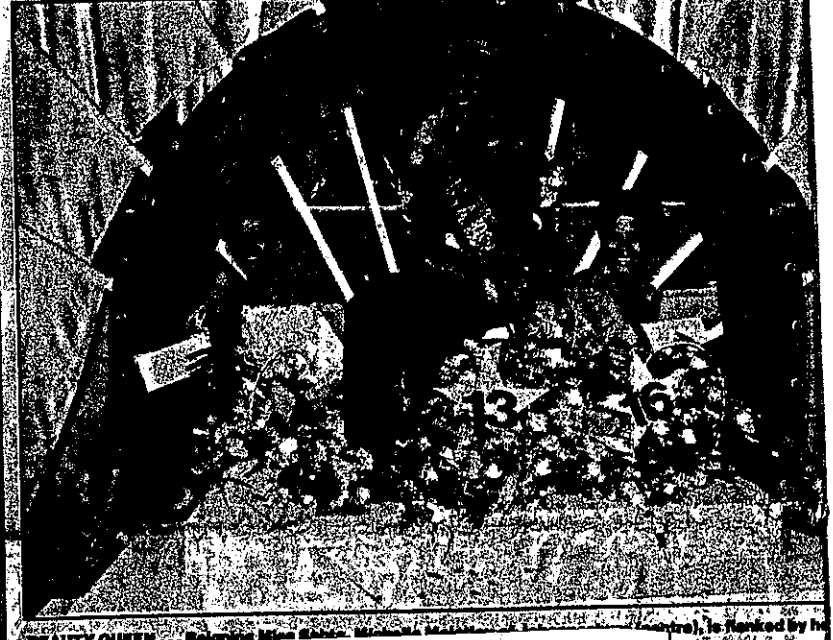
Unconfirmed reports alleged Umkonto weSizwe cadres in the region were "combat ready" to protect the demonstrators in the event of an attack by Gqozo's security forces.

Meanwhile Border SA Police spokesman Lt-Col Christo Louw this week told local journalists that SAP members had met the Ciskei government, but would not give details of the "planning meeting".

Yesterday Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel declared the districts of East London, King William's Town, Queenstown, Cathcart and Stutterheim - all in the Border region - unrest areas with immediate effect.

ANC supporters bussed in from throughout the Border region and the eastern Cape will converge on Victoria grounds in King William's Town at 7 am tomorrow before marching on Bisho, about 10 km away. The march will be led by Suttner, fellow NEC members, SACP general-secretary Chris Hani, Steve Tshwete, Cheryl Carolus, Tokyo Sexwale, Thozamile Botha, ANC Youth league chairman Peter

To Page 2



From Page 1
Move to oust Gqozo

Mokaba, and Western Cape ANC general-secretary Tony Yengeni, Cosatu general-secretary Sam Silowa and Cosatu president Chris Dlamini.

In a joint memorandum to State President FW de Klerk on Friday, the ANC and its allies said Gqozo should be replaced with an interim administration "acceptable to all parties".

The interim administration would supervise the process of reincorporation into SA.

The ANC stressed it was not interested in seizing power in Ciskei but wished to create a political climate for itself and other organisations to operate freely in the homeland.

The memorandum demanded that Section 43 of the Ciskei National Security Act which prohibits its free political activity be scrapped and the SADF's Military Intelligence be removed from the Ciskei.

ANC general secretary Raymond Suttner (left) is flanked by his colleagues in the ANC.

'Bugger up' ANC - Buthelezi

THE ANC had to be stopped in its tracks before the future was destroyed, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Addressing the Inkatha Youth Brigade at Emandleni Matleng Camp in KwaZulu, Buthelezi warned the youth that unless they "bugger up the ANC, they are going to bugger up you and your future".

The ANC was totally committed to the seizure of power and the youth would have to take action for survival and democracy in the face of failing peace initiatives.

Buthelezi accused the ANC of trying to seize power clothed in the "superficial trappings of the ANC democratic cloth" and called on the Inkatha Youth to "politically

annihilate" the armed wing of the ANC, Umkhonto weSizwe.

Authoritarian parties such as the ANC and SA Communist Party had a new brand of leadership which would "ride on the backs of the impoverished, screaming socialist slogans while they themselves live off the fat of the land".

The ANC was responsible for the campaign to isolate the country as well as for lost markets and lost employment.

Buthelezi also accused the ANC of "manipulating Codesa" in its efforts to seize power.

The ANC's mass-action campaign was aimed at intimidating the government sufficiently to make it a "conniving partner" to be used in the ANC's ascent to power.

"The ANC and its allies will go on to make SA ungovernable and to force the resignation of the State President by the end of the year."

Inkatha leaders were being killed almost every second day in an attempt to break the power of Inkatha as opposition.

"I now say: enough is enough. Let every member of the Youth Brigade hear me when I say that the ANC has to be stopped in its tracks before the future is destroyed," Buthelezi said.

Inkatha was the only party capable of halting the ANC.

The Inkatha youth had a vital role to play in action for survival and democracy by participating in self-protection units. - Sapa

ANC kisses Codesa goodbye

By SEKOLA SELLO

THE ANC this week gave the moribund Codesa its kiss of death.

As the ANC adopts a more hardline position, the organisation has virtually declared negotiations to be between itself (including the Cosatu/SACP alliance) and the government.

As a sop to the other parties, it is suggested that a multi-lateral forum be established. However, this forum must not be allowed to undermine agreements between the government and the ANC alliance.

This new position is contained in a document reproduced in the SA Labour Bulletin.

Some of the proposals are al-

ready being implemented. Tomorrow sees the opening shots in the attempt to oust Ciskei strongman, Brig Oupa Gqozo.

Brig Gqozo, KwaZulu's Chief Minister - Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Bophuthatswana's Chief Lucas Mangope are the three main homeland leaders the alliance aims at unseating.

A boycott of PAYE (Pay-as-you-earn) tax is likely to be launched next month.

The ANC proposals also put paid to any hopes for the revival of a Patriotic Front which includes the PAC and Azapo. The document says the mass-action campaign exposed the "opportunism and ineffectiveness of a number of

political formations (PAC, Azapo etc) whose main mission has been to compete with the ANC alliance rather than taking on the regime".

The document also proposes action against banking giant Standard and Anglo American Corporation, which are considered "major financial supporters" of the Bophuthatswana homeland.

More mass actions are also called for, leading to fears that the next three months could see serious social upheavals.

It is unlikely that Azapo and the PAC would form part of any multi-lateral forum whose brief is to rubber-stamp agreements between the ANC and the government.

Seven strikers wounded in hospital clash

By THEMBA KHUMALO

TENSIONS over a three-month healthworkers' strike peaked at Hillbrow Hospital in Johannesburg on Friday when security guards shot striking workers trying to enter the premises.

National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union (Nehawu) officials claim the guards intended to kill the strikers, as none were shot in the legs.

Nehawu shopsteward Siphwe Mabaso, who was one of seven workers wounded, said the trouble started when a delegation of 15 strikers tried to persuade the guards to open the hospital gates or call a senior hospital official to talk with them.

"We asked the guards to let us in, but they became arrogant and threatened to shoot us if we didn't go away."

About 600 striking workers had come to hear the outcome of a meeting between the Transvaal Provincial Administration and Nehawu, Mabaso said.

After police manning the main hospital gate refused the delegation entry, the group went to another entrance, manned by hospital security guards.

Mabaso said the guards suddenly opened fire, wounding several workers in the head. Mabaso was shot in the head and shoulder.

"When I tried to get treatment at the hospital a white policeman chased me off the premises," said Mabaso.

Hillbrow hospital superintendent, Dr Norman Smith, refused to comment about the incident and referred City Press to TPA headquarters in Pretoria, where a spokesman was not available.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that the TPA is to launch an investigation into the shooting at the hospital. TPA director general Andre Cornelissen said: "I urgently appeal to the relevant parties to remain calm. An attitude of confrontation would benefit nobody."

Police spokesman Capt Piet van Deventer confirmed that a shooting involving a security guard and protesters had taken place at the hospital.

MY long cherished dream of unity among our people is reaching fruition.

And if the Southern African Black Taxi Association (Sabta) general meeting held in Sun City this week is any yardstick, I would say we are closer to unity now than ever before.

Representatives from Azapo, the PAC and the ANC had much in common and spoke in unison regarding the future of this country. They all agreed that negotiations were vital and if I read the signs correctly, future negotiations with the government will definitely take a new form.

The ANC will not go back to Codesa without the involvement of the PAC and Azapo, having realised how weak its bargaining power has become without a united front with other liberation groups.

These formerly divided groups have been united by the government's strategy of alliances with the likes of Brig Oupa Gqozo, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Chief Lucas Mangope

MY WAY
With Khulu Sibiyi

**Unity a dream
within reach**

CP/en 6/9/92
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and rebels from the Labour Party and Conservative Party.

Azapo and the PAC predicted, long before Codesa, that the ANC might win the battle against the NP government but could lose the war. This seems to be beginning to make sense to the ANC leadership.

As a keynote speaker at the Sabta conference, I stressed the importance of economic and political empowerment to our people, which can only be achieved through unity.

For those who missed the Sabta conference, this is an edited version of my speech:

"Delays in finding a political solution are having

serious consequences for our businesses and the country's economy.

"Continued violence, the impasse in negotiations and the failure to tackle these issues effectively have driven our country to the brink of complete disaster.

"This political uncertainty and instability has forced foreign loans to be kept on hold and our business friends overseas have to play a game of wait-and-see before they can help us financially. We cannot plan and move forward for we do not know what tomorrow has in store for us.

"Furthermore, the mindless violence in our townships will result in a serious brain-drain in our

country unless it is immediately put to an end.

"What is the solution, you may ask? Nothing short of speedily establishing an interim government of national unity will solve our problems. We need a constituent assembly that will usher in a democratic constitution in SA.

"Violence is making this dream impossible, and those who benefit from this violence make things difficult. The longer the delay in reaching a political settlement, the worse violence will become and the stronger the NP will grow.

"My long cherished dream is to see unity among our people. It must not be unity only on paper. It must

be a genuine effort that will put the aspirations of our people above party politics.

"My long-cherished dream is to see Azapo, the PAC, ANC and IFP establish common ground – that is, to agree to work as a united force despite their ideological differences. That they owe to our people.

"We are going through a transition period which always brings with it some disillusionment and despair. We have to be resilient and able to move out of this valley of despair.

"Black people are resilient. We have the inner strength and ability to survive under difficult circumstances.

"Despite the gloom, we are still fortunate in this country. We can still sit around the table and discuss our problems, unlike other countries in Europe and Africa.

"I am optimistic that we will find workable political solutions and formulate a sound economic framework."

Six Labour men set to join the DP

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

SIX Labour Party members, including former Ministers Mr Chris April and Mr David Curry, are set to join the Democratic Party next week — bringing to eight the number of MPs who have resigned from the party within the past two weeks.

The MPs who are expected to defect to the DP are Mr Clifford Nasson, MP for Bokkeveld and the chairman of Labour's Boland region; Mr Errol Gordon, MP for Berg River; Mr Neville Padiachy, MP for Genadendal and Mr Barend Andrews, MP for Rawsonville.

A source close to the six confirmed yesterday that they had all gone to their constituencies "to get a final mandate" to join the DP.

So far only Mr Sam Louw, MP for Rust Ter Vaal, has joined the ANC but sources say there is a possibility that a few more may follow him. The other resignation was Mr Peter Klink, MP for Liesbeeck, who says he will continue in Parliament as an independent.

The latest resignations brought Labour a step closer to its inevitable disintegration and beleaguered party leader Rev Allan Hendrickse now faces disappearing into the political wilderness.

Yesterday Mr April, the former Minister of Health and Welfare, told of his "trauma" in leaving "my dear friend" Rev Hendrikse but he said it had become clear that the LP "had lost all credibility" when it lost to the NP by a majority of 2 500 votes in the Diamant (Kimberley) by-election.

He joined the DP because of its "unblemished record of fighting for basic human rights and putting the plight of the voteless first".

"Nevertheless I salute Allan as a man of great courage who has done more than most to hasten the dismantling of apartheid," Mr April said.

ANC under pressure to axe Winnie

Sowetan 7/9/92

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THE ANC leadership is expected to come under renewed pressure to axe national executive committee member Mrs Winnie Mandela.

This is after a sensational letter she has allegedly written to her young former lover, lawyer Mr Dali Mpfu, was leaked to Sunday newspapers yesterday.

The letter, signed only "It's me" but allegedly in Mrs Mandela's handwriting, was sent anonymously to two Johannesburg newspapers.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said yesterday an investigation into "possible discrepancies" in the department was still in progress.

He said an initial investigation had been completed to set up proper accounting procedures for the department.

He refused to comment on the letter and its impact on Mandela's future in the organisation.

Mrs Mandela and Mpfu, who have denied they ever had an affair, could not be contacted for comment.

According to the letter, dated March 17, Mandela expresses concern over an amount of R160 000 she had allegedly drawn from a Johan-

■ Letter speaks of worries about bank account discrepancy:

nesburg bank and given to Mpfu.

"You think you can just wish away certain things Dali, not with me. I tell you I'm in trouble with the Simmons (sic) Street account which reflects over R160 000 drawn over a period for you, you don't even bother to check how we can overcome this," it states.

It also includes references to ANC social welfare department cheques which had been cashed on their behalf. Mrs Mandela was then head of the department and had signing powers.

The ANC in May said it was investigating an alleged fraud involving cheques for R400 000 issued while Mrs Mandela and Mpfu were still in charge of the department.

"I tell you (lawyer Ismael) Ayob has been sent by Tata (ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela) to get an accountant to investigate my account."

Confessions about her then faltering marriage to Mandela are also made and exposes how her love for the young lawyer "helped destroy her marriage", one newspaper reports.

FORMAL constitutional negotiations remain at a standstill, but the process of political alliance building is intensifying. Today's NP-convened federalism conference is, whatever NP leaders may say, designed to consolidate the group which will sit opposite the ANC at the negotiating table.

One key participant will not be at the conference. Ciskei's Brig Oupa Gqozo will instead be directing operations in his capital Bisho, where an ANC-organised march aims to spoil the NP's alliance-building party.

The ANC has high hopes that the march, and the appeal to Ciskeian security forces and public servants to come "onside", will spell the end of Gqozo's rule. (The referendum proposed by the SA Council of Churches as an alternative to the march could arguably have the same effect.) Before Gqozo decided not to risk leaving town on the day of the march, ANC organisers had optimistic visions of the military leader not being able to return to his seat of power later today after the federalism conference.

ANC strategists also envisage Gqozo's downfall as just the beginning of a series of events which will displace, or at least undermine, the NP's key black allies and hence weaken its bargaining position. Therefore, while limited negotiations continue, mass action will carry on, this time focusing on the margins of the NP alliance.

At an alliance summit meeting on August 23 the ANC and its allies examined the mass action campaign and how it could move forward. Owing in part to the success of the march on Bisho last month — about 50 000 attended — the ANC Border region approached the summit with a proposal that the campaign against Gqozo and homeland leaders be elevated to a national issue.

ANC spokesmen argued that, because the homelands are part of SA, the lack of free political activity in their borders affects the ANC's national organising capacity.

According to the SA Labour Bulletin's

ANC plan to drive a wedge into the Nats' alliance

B/DAY 7/9/92.

(1/A) 

PATRICK BULGER and ALAN FINE

tin's interpretation of that meeting, the alliance decided to target Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu.

"In part we need to decide whether to go for them all equally at once or whether we first mount a major national campaign against Ciskei in particular. We also need to consider actions against major financial supporters of Bophuthatswana, like Anglo and Standard Bank," the alliance proposed.

In other words, while the August mass action campaign had shown conclusively that Pretoria was immune to a Leipzig strategy, its satellites may not be.

ANC NEC member Raymond Suttner, involved in organising today's march, describes Gqozo as the "weakest link" in the chain of black political figures who are, actually or potentially, the NP's electoral allies. He is unelected, there is resentment in his security forces towards the white command structure, and he is highly unpopular among the civilian population, the argument goes.

"Part of our build-up is an appeal to Ciskeian security forces and the public service to come over to us. This could mean the collapse of the Ciskei's public administration," Suttner believes.

But he is not yet making any firm predictions. "The ANC's Ciskei ini-



□ GQOZO ... the 'weakest link'

tiative is a germ, an embryo, of a process, although not a process whose completion we can yet see. But it is, therefore, more than just a Border initiative. If Gqozo goes, (Lucas) Mangope would be our obvious next target," argues Suttner.

The ANC also sees the campaign as a way of maintaining the strategic initiative, by forcing President F W de Klerk into making an uncomfort-

ble choice now, rather than at his leisure. "At some stage De Klerk would have had to choose whether allies like Gqozo were worth their trouble. Now he will be forced into making that decision now. Can he afford a bloodbath as the price of maintaining that alliance, or is Gqozo becoming more a liability than an asset?" Suttner says.

But the ANC's alliance-building strategy (and alliance-breaking strategy where the NP's allies are concerned) is not limited to the old blunt instrument approach of mass action. The proposed Transition to Democracy Act — published by the organisation on Thursday — would, if made into law, remove the entire legal and constitutional base of potential NP allies.

It would achieve this through the simple devices of redefining SA according to its 1910 boundaries, limiting regionalism during the interim period to the old provincial system and replacing the tricameral Parliament with a single 400-member national assembly to serve as an interim legislature and constituent assembly.

These steps would eliminate the independent homelands and the legal basis for the administrations of Mangope and Gqozo. They would subsume the self-governing homelands

and their administrations and political leadership, such as KwaZulu's Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Qwa-Qwa's Kenneth Mopeli, under the four provincial administrations and central government. And they would eliminate the Houses of Representatives and Delegates, their political leaderships (the majorities allied to the NP) and their administrations.

This feature of the ANC's transitional proposals is therefore likely to be contested bitterly.

The only way these groups would be able to remain representative would be through election to the national assembly. A few, most notably Buthelezi, would probably be elected. But it is unlikely that the parties of the bulk of NP-aligned homeland and House of Delegates politicians would succeed in obtaining the requisite number of votes to be elected by proportional representation — unless they were given space on the NP list of candidates. Members of the NP majority in the House of Representatives are, of course, already there.

The same would apply to homeland and tricameral politicians in the ANC's patriotic front camp — they, too, would lose their historical constitutional and legal base. But, says Suttner, those leaders are not perturbed: "They have committed themselves to a single SA. The basis of the alliance is agreement on a future which would alter their social base. They recognise that their existing base would disappear."

Some of the homeland leaders who have allied themselves to the ANC may have done so through conviction, but others have done so because of a reluctant assessment that the old game is up, and any hope of a political future will depend on the ANC's largesse.

Not all have assessed present circumstances in the same way. Buthelezi, Mangope, Gqozo and others believe that they will be able, through a strongly federalist alliance with the NP, to retain at least some of the ethnically based regional powers they enjoyed under apartheid.

And that, in essence, is the basis of the divide between the old homeland and tricameral politicians.

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ANC gets some new deadlines

11A PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC has launched its own newspaper in the eastern Transvaal.

BIOBY 7/9/92
The Congress is edited in Nelspruit by ANC official Jackson Mthembu, who said it was not only a mouthpiece for the ANC, Cosatu and the SACP alliance, "but for those communities who are without water, those communities who have no vote, those communities who are under a constant threat from gangsters, the SAP and the SADF".

However, the newspaper also contains a mock voting form, featuring the ANC, AWB, Azapo and other parties as contenders.

It notes: "As we are continuously breaking and rolling the skull of apartheid, let us build our branches into strong electoral constituencies. Our recruitment drive is not only aimed at increasing membership but canvassing more votes for victory."

HRC's Coleman says business must act 'to save its economy'

RAY HARTLEY

UNCONTROLLABLE violence and economic decline were pushing the government extremely close to conceding to majority rule, newly elected Human Rights Commission national chairman Max Coleman said last week.

"They will only take the decision to agree to elections when the pain of holding on exceeds the pain of letting go," he said.

Coleman said in an interview he believed business could play a vital role in ending the violence by putting pressure on government to accept majority rule.

"The business community probably hold the key to the whole thing. It's their economy that is going down the drain."

He said government's planned conference of parties favouring federalism was a strategy designed to retain regional powers because they would not win a democratic election.

A behind-the-scenes battle between the political and security arms

of government was inhibiting the state's ability to end violence, he said.

He accused the security establishment and Inkatha of a campaign to destabilise the ANC and its allies to weaken their bargaining power at the negotiating table.

Meanwhile, in a statement yesterday, the HRC defended itself against recent attacks on its impartiality by the SA Institute of Race Relations.

As a human rights body, its brief had always been to disseminate information about the observance or violation of human rights by the "apartheid state".

"We agree then ... that our perspective is one of bias against apartheid," it said.

"But it would be ludicrous to suggest the HRC has a need to invent or distort the human rights record of the apartheid state when the record is already so prolific in its detail."

Transkei SA

Federalism summit to kick off amid conflict

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT's federalism summit is set to kick off today amid a background of a likely conflict on the Ciskei border and the non-participation of the DP — long time federalism campaigner. *BIDAY*

Cabinet Ministers are adamant the conference is not a ganging-up on the ANC and the patriotic front and are confident that there will be a good show of support at the Presidensie in Pretoria. *7/9/92*

Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo will no longer attend the summit because of the threatened march on the Bisho capital but it is understood that there may be a delegation from his territory.

The summit is planned to be the first of a series planned on regionalism and federalism and appears to be government's endeavour to show that it is not sitting back while the ANC is refusing to resume constitutional negotiations.

The afternoon summit will be opened by President F W de Klerk at 2pm and then, depending on the decision of delegates, it will continue behind closed doors ending in a news conference at 5.30pm.

It is understood that government will be putting forward more detailed plans of its regionalism proposals and trying to get the other parties to agree that this could represent a framework for negotiations.

It is known that Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Tertius Delpont has been hard at work in the past weeks developing government's position. He presented portions of this at the NP Free State congress and will probably repeat this in more detailed terms.

Apart from the NP and Inkatha none of the other major political role players will be involved in the summit.

Public slanging widens gap

BILLY PADDOCK

FAILURE to reach agreement on the release of political prisoners and an amnesty has resulted in public slanging matches between the ANC and government which could widen the possibility of rapprochement.

According to senior negotiators in both camps, the latest public criticisms cast around are likely to put a damper on the progress already made by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

The government source said the two sides were "terribly close" to reaching agreement, but there was just not enough trust for the ANC to give the go-ahead despite the constructive relationship built between the two chief negotiators.

"This is a pity and the latest round of public posturing is going to weaken that trust further and make it more difficult for the two to move forward quickly," he said.

The ANC source said full bilateral talks would have been on the cards had government moved forward "on one crucial point rather than expecting us to accept them at their word".

Apparently Ramaphosa and Meyer had come close to clearing the prisoner obstacle, but on a crucial point the ANC had been told to wait until

last Friday, when Cabinet could meet to decide on the issue. This was waiting two days after the NEC was due to end its meeting, requiring the ANC to trust Meyer would deliver.

The NEC refused, seeing Meyer's request as provocative.

The ANC source identified the crucial issue as the prisoner release programme and said had government agreed to the ANC's demand on this, the organisation would have taken on trust its intention to act on violence and secure the hostels.

Phased

Because both parties are bound by confidentiality, the exact point on which Meyer required the go-ahead from his Cabinet is not known.

But it is understood Meyer had agreed to the release of the remaining 400-odd political prisoners in a phased manner on the basis of categorising types of crimes. He was also prepared to accept that the amnesty for government officials be handled by an interim government.

However, he was insisting on doing the deal now and if there was a blanket amnesty for the ANC then this

should apply to government's security forces as well.

The ANC expects a gesture of goodwill in the form of a unilateral release of identified prisoners. This would demonstrate government's sincerity and seriousness.

However, government negotiators, and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee in particular, say the release of categories of prisoners who are still being held will require specially negotiated agreements.

Many of the "so-called political prisoners" were in fact common criminals trying to introduce political motives for their actions.

"We just cannot sell this to our people," the government source said. "If there is to be a closing of books, it will have to be on both sides."

If ANC operatives such as Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride must be released, then prisoners like Church Square mass killer Barend Strydom would also have to go free. Such drastic releases could only be done under the terms of an agreed amnesty for serious crimes not covered by the accords reached so far.

The ANC says it finds government's proposals with regard to violence and the release of political prisoners inadequate.

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51 hurt as concert-goers go on rampage

STAR 719192

ANC, PAC in bid to revive Patriotic Front

1/A

JAKARTA — The Pan-Africanist Congress will meet the African National Congress in Zimbabwe on Wednesday to try to revive a common front in their struggle against apartheid, a PAC spokesman said yesterday.

PAC sources said they expected ANC leader Nelson Mandela to meet PAC chief Clarence Makwetu for talks aimed at convening a Patriotic Front conference.

PAC secretary for foreign affairs Ahmed Gora Ebrahim said during the Non-Aligned Movement summit in Indonesia that the conference in Bulawayo had been arranged by Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe.

Mr Ebrahim said the meeting could pave the way for the Patriotic Front's revival and agreement on a common strategy to press for demands for a nonracial government.

"... at this particular mo-

ment, we feel there is a need for us to unite," Mr Ebrahim said.

Leaders of 10 African states urged the ANC at a Southern African Development Community summit in Windhoek last month to renew its alliance with the PAC.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa met Mr Makwetu at the summit, but ANC sources said no progress had been made towards forming a common front.

An ANC source said then: "We feel they are riding on our coat-tails and they are not willing to do any of the work or take any of the risks."

ANC officials could not be reached yesterday to comment on the proposed meeting with the PAC.

The ANC pulled out of talks with the Government after the massacre of 43 people in Boipatong in the Vaal Triangle in June. — Sapa-Reuter.

In the event of substantive talks 'the PAC will be there', writes **Dikgang Moseneke**

Cinderella readies for the

STAR 7/9/92

11A

ball

MASS action is a legitimate site of struggle for the ushering in of a democratic order in our land. This the founding fathers of the Pan Africanist Congress understood when they launched the unfolding mass anti-pass campaign of 1960. Little wonder the western Cape ANC mass action campaign was billed as a re-enactment of the PAC's anti-pass campaign.

It would be nothing less than political obfuscation to detract from what must be the important event in the 80-year-old history of the ANC — its mass action.

Undeniably hundreds of thousands stayed away from work because they believed in "peace and democracy" and fervently wished for an end to the nightmare of white domination.

What is also true is the spectre of the "ungovernability" of the '80s weighed heavily on the minds of millions. That there was rampant intimidation with gunmen "running wild" terrorising, killing,

looting, blackmailing, as well as arson attacks and necklacing, was admitted by prominent leaders of the ANC alliance and confirmed by their leader.

Despite earlier agreements, the education of our children was severely disrupted for political reasons that were transparent, namely to swell up through schoolchildren the low turnouts of the ANC marches which preceded the stay-away. Thus we saw a return of the disastrous slogan "Liberation before Education".

The stayaway has been declared a success and said to be a referendum for the issues the ANC stands for. This is less than accurate. One need only remember that between 5 million and 7 million black people are unemployed, barricades were set up at entrances at a large number of townships, and taxis and other means of transport were simply not available to township dwellers.

Moreover, intimidation, as the PAC had predicted before the

commencement of the stayaway, was rampant.

In assessing whether the stay-away and mass action was the success the ANC claims, one should bear in mind that deals were made with employers for workers to make up hours lost during the stayaway.

The National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa, with a membership in excess of 200 000, declared an official industrial dispute to coincide with the stay-away and, courtesy of Spoornet, free trains were provided for the Pretoria march. Strange bedfellows!

An ANC spokesman asks: "How is it possible to intimidate 4 million people?" (The employers put the figure at 2½ million for the stayaway.) The answer to the ANC's question must rest in the rhetorical question: "How was it possible for 5 million whites to rule 30 million blacks with extreme brutality over the past 42 years?"

The London Spectator has computed the results of all polls conducted in this country over the past two years assessing the popularity of various parties. Their findings are that popular support among blacks for the ANC stands at 34 percent, for PAC 15 percent and for the IFP one percent. Assuming a black electorate of 20 million, the PAC would poll 3 million votes.

It would therefore be wrong to assume that two days of stayaway can be viewed — bearing in mind that there are millions of non-aligned voters — as a referendum of support for the ANC. These are early days in the contest for electoral support.

Mass action was a course the ANC had to take when it was out manoeuvred at Codesa by the regime. Mass action was the necessary antidote for the resultant dissatisfaction within the ANC grassroots support. Mass action was also a form of electioneering that has peaked at least a year before democratic elections. It is there-

fore clear that the PAC can only grow as it gears itself for elections, peaking in voter election weeks before the elections are actually held.

Codesa is dead and discredited. The PAC predicted that Codesa would never be able to deliver a genuine constituent assembly as the only legitimate path for the transformation of the minority racist regime into a truly democratic order.

The step that the PAC now has to take is to act on its congress mandate, which is initially to engage the regime in bilateral talks at the very highest level as soon as possible. This progress began at Abuja, Nigeria, when the PAC met Pik Botha.

We have to assert our point of view that Codesa is an undemocratic body and that an alternative forum is necessary to bring a constituent assembly into being. The PAC has to table its proposals for a transitional authority to ensure that elections for a constitu-

ent assembly are free and fair. We have to press ahead on independent mediation for negotiations.

We have to ensure that in particular the security apparatus is subject to executive control of political forces other than the regime, that the electronic media are placed in the hands of an independent authority and that a representative electoral commission is established. Above all we need a UN commission to investigate the horrific violence that has befallen this unhappy land.

It is in these circumstances that PAC President Marnli Clarence Makwetu declared in Windhoek, Namibia, that in the event of substantive talks "the PAC will be there".

Above all the PAC insists that bilateral and multilateral talks must be transparent. The people must know what is going on. □

● **Dikgang Moseneke is second deputy president of the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.**

PAC, ANC to meet for talks

(114) 07-19-92
JAKARTA. — The PAC will meet the ANC in Zimbabwe on Wednesday to try to revive a common front, a PAC spokesman said yesterday.

PAC sources said they expected the ANC to send Mr Nelson Mandela to meet PAC chief Mr Clarence Makwetu for talks aimed at convening a conference of the Patriotic United Front.

Mr Ahmed Gora Ebrahim, the PAC secretary for foreign affairs, told a news conference during the Non-Aligned Movement summit here that the conference in Bulawayo had been arranged by Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe. — Sapa-Reuters

Winnie in letter leak sensation

AT 7/9/92 (11A)

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela's fall from grace was compounded yesterday by the leaking of a sensational letter she apparently wrote to her alleged former lover, lawyer Mr Dali Mpfu.

The letter, signed only "It's me" but allegedly in Mrs Mandela's handwriting, was sent anonymously to two Johannesburg Sunday newspapers which published extracts yesterday.

The newspapers said the ANC would not comment on the letter. Mrs Mandela and Mr Mpfu, who have denied they ever had an affair, could not be contacted for comment.

According to the letter, dated March 17, Mrs Mandela expresses concern over an amount of R160 000 she allegedly drew from a Johannesburg bank and gave to Mr Mpfu.

"You think you can just wish away certain things Dali, not with me. I tell you I'm in trouble with the Simmons (sic) Street account which reflects over R160 000 drawn over a period for you, you don't even bother to check how we can overcome this," it states.

It also includes references to ANC social welfare department cheques cashed on their behalf.

The ANC in May this year said that it was investigating an alleged fraud involving cheques for R400 000 issued while Mrs Mandela and Mr Mpfu were in charge of the department.

"I tell you (lawyer Ismael) Ayob has been sent by Tata (ANC leader Nelson Mandela) to get an accountant to investigate my account."

Mr Mpfu is also berated for allegedly having a relationship with another woman to cover his relationship with Mrs Mandela. — Sapa

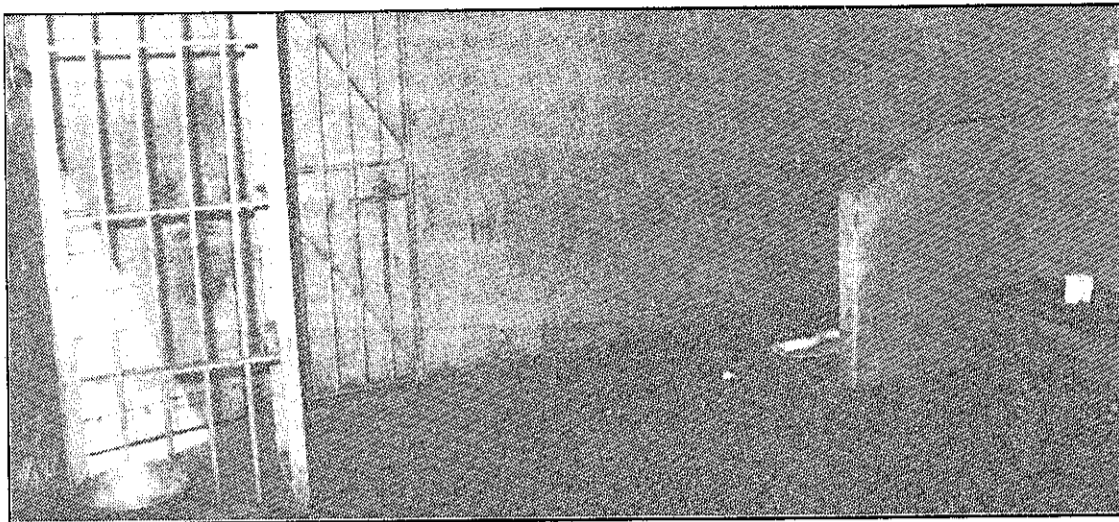
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Patriotic front talks

ANC president Nelson Mandela and PAC leader Clarence Makwetu will meet in Zimbabwe tomorrow in an attempt to breathe life into the patriotic front alliance, reports said yesterday.

Makwetu confirmed he would attend the meeting, to be chaired by President Robert Mugabe, but ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma could not say if Mandela would be able to attend.

NEWS FEATURE *Black people still dying in detention*



The cell in which Steve Biko was beaten into a coma.

The memory of Biko lives on

Sowetan 8/9/92

By Mathatha Tsedu

SOME FIGURES IN history loom larger than life. This is how a pamphlet issued by the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) starts describing the legend that Steve Bantu Biko has become.

Given Azapo's close relationship with the man and what he stood for, many may dismiss the above statement as an exaggeration, but how else do you describe a man who at 32 had achieved world notice as a stalwart of the black man's fight for freedom?

A man whose death at the hands of the police was to shake the country and the world and has led to films and operas being done in his name and memory.

As the 15th anniversary of Biko's death approaches this week, the preponderance of deaths in police custody has again focused attention on this phenomenon that has taken more than 70 political detainees' lives in South African jails.

Then, as now, detainees hanged themselves with shirts, torn blankets, or fell over soap, breaking their necks.

The 70s saw many such cases, with detainees dying almost every week. But Biko's death caused an uproar that had not been heard before.

The evidence of brutality, neglect and collusion of doctors with the police, was so shocking that steps had to be taken by the Government to review detention conditions.

It was after Biko's death that food improved, doctors were given a freer hand and inspectors of detainees were appointed to talk to detainees and look after their interests.

Today, 15 years after Biko, and with the political reform process on the way, there are fewer political detainees.

But blacks arrested for criminal offences have become the latest victims of this phenomenon, with 178 deaths recorded by police between January last year and the end of August this year.

And because the victims are not political activists, the outcry is minimal. It only gained ground when Biko's pathologist, Dr Jonathan Gluckman, lashed out at what he called police murder of detainees.

Gluckman said he had performed post-mortems on detainees and had found their deaths consistent with beatings and torture.

As a result, inspectors are to be appointed to look after the interests of

■ **FREEDOM FIGHTER** *His ideas*

gave the black man his fighting spirit:



Steve Biko

ordinary prisoners to curb deaths in detention.

Who was this man Biko?

Born in the township of Ginsberg outside King William's Town on December 18 1946, Biko enrolled at the University of Natal where he was a medical student.

He became active in student politics and led a walkout by black students from the National Union of South African Students (Nusas), which he accused of discriminating against blacks.

In 1968, Biko and fellow activists, such as Harry Nengwekhulu, Themba Sono, Aubrey Mokoape, the late Peter Machaka and others, were to gather at the University of the North to form the South African Students Organisation (Saso).

Saso was based on the principles of Black Consciousness which, briefly, stated that black people had to unite and regain their humanity before joining up with white liberals.

Black Consciousness also stated that blacks were the owners of the land and should fight to regain it and that in that fight, whites could only assist by organising their own communities separately to change white attitudes.

Biko became Saso's first president and later honorary president of the Black People's Convention (BPC), which was formed as a political arm of the movement.

Saso, and through it Biko, formed self-help projects in many parts of the country, the famous ones being the Zanempilo Clinic and the Zimele Trust, to help the families of detainees.

The formation of Saso was welcomed by the Government who mistakenly saw it as confirmation of its separate development policy.

Five years later, with the politicisation of black people in full swing, the folly of its analysis hit the Government and led to the banning of eight Saso leaders, including Biko, Nengwekhulu and Barney Pityana.

Biko was restricted to King William's Town where he, however, continued to lead the movement despite the restrictions.

Ginsberg was to become a mandatory stopover for international political figures and pressmen who wanted to understand the politics of this country.

After the arrest of Saso leaders during the rallies that were to celebrate the victory of Frelimo in Mozambique, Biko came out to Pretoria to testify.

It was testimony that gave him the chance to expound on the Black Consciousness philosophy and was later to become a subject of a book and a play.

Biko was arrested near Port Elizabeth in August 1977 and was held in room 619 of the Sanlam Building which housed the security police.

It was here that he was kept chained to the grille and tortured, resulting in a head injury that led to his death on a bare cell floor in Pretoria prison on September 12.

He had been transported naked from Port Elizabeth in the back of a Land Rover, with only a tin of water and mattress as medical provision.

Biko, the man who gave back to black people the pride and fighting spirit that has seen the emergence of guerillas in large numbers, was dead.

But in death he was to loom even larger than in life and become an everlasting symbol of resistance and a spirit of no surrender.

The movement that he founded continues today as Azapo inside the country, and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) and its military wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla), based outside.

A firm believer in the unity of the black oppressed, Biko had tried to unite the ANC, PAC and the BCM and was on his way from a unity mission when he was arrested on that fateful August day.

The failure to unite, is a betrayal of sacrifices of men like Biko, who gave their life for the cause of black people.

'Crucial turning point in struggle'

Staff Reporter *STAR 8/9/92*

The Bisho tragedy "marks a crucial turning point in the current phase of the struggle for democracy", the ANC said yesterday.

In a hard-hitting statement released shortly after the shooting, the organisation charged that Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and President de Klerk would have to assume responsibility for the "popular anger" that would undoubtedly follow the killings.

The killings were unpro-

voked and the lives of the Ciskeian troops were never in danger, said the statement, released by the ANC's department of information and publicity.

The claim that the troops were fired upon by the demonstrators was "a brazen lie" that was contradicted by witnesses.

According to the ANC statement, the killings started "with a controlled burst of automatic fire lasting more than two minutes, followed by a second burst of

● To Page 3 ■

JSE gains take afternoon dip

Gains on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange yesterday morning were pared back in the late afternoon following the news of the Ciskei shootings. *STAR 8/9/92*

The Industrial Index was nine points weaker at 4102 and the Overall Index four

points off.

Dealers said the killings should depress the market for most of the week. One dealer said buyers would pull out of the market until there was more clarity, but there was no panic selling yet. — Finance Staff.

ANC didn't do its job — De Klerk

By Peter Fabricius *STAR 8/9/92*
Political Correspondent

The shooting in Ciskei could have been avoided if the ANC had adhered to the Goldstone Commission's guidelines for mass action, President de Klerk said in Pretoria yesterday.

Addressing delegates at the start of his summit on federalism, he said that from the "fragmented" information available, it seemed that the conditions for the march laid down by the magistrate had not been adhered to.

Later at a press conference, Mr de Klerk was asked directly who was to blame for the killing.

He said that although information was still "somewhat fragmented" the ample video material available indicated that the ANC marshals "didn't successfully

● To Page 3 ■

A glimpse into ANC thinking on strategy to woo majority

STAR 8/9/92

Own Correspondent

(11A)

DURBAN — Thousands of African National Congress activists are being engaged countrywide to get the organisation's election machinery running by October 1 for the start of the ANC campaign to woo a two-thirds majority in South Africa's first all-race elections.

A document is being circulated in all ANC regions to brief members and fraternal organisations on the election strategy to be employed.

Although it is a discussion document, it provides a glimpse into ANC thinking on an election campaign which could cost the organisation more than R200 million.

The "Framework for election strategy" document is being discussed at all branches, regions and allied organisations of the ANC to spark debate, which will form the basis of a national strategy workshop to be held at the end of this month.

A key point is the organisation's acknowledgement that it will need hundreds of thousands of activists to reach the 21 million voters.

"The overall objective is clearly to win a two-thirds majority in the election," the ANC document states.

It also notes that a pre-condition to meet this objective is the

removal of obstacles, most importantly, that of violence.

Several options for contesting the election are being considered — the ANC standing as an organisation on its own; the ANC with the alliance; the ANC with the alliance plus Patriotic Front organisations; and the ANC with the alliance plus some selected PF organisations and/or non-PF organisations.

"The general feeling seems to favour a form that involves an ANC-led campaign, which involves the alliance in an integral way. Other parties should be brought on board following bilateral discussion and agreement to participate in an ANC-led campaign.

"The ANC standing alone was not favoured as it will exclude many crucial partners in the democratic movement."

Accompanying what is likely to be a concerted push for popular support, with the use of mass action campaigns and the ANC's emphasis on its decades-long struggle against apartheid, will be a parallel campaign to ensure that voters understand the election process.

Once an election date is set, a total of 15 000 full-time people — who are able to take leave for the last month of the campaign — will have to be mobilised.

This and the question of raising hundreds of millions of rands will be thrashed out by the ANC regions, the document states.

The EC troika visit was more than symbolic, says Political Reporter Kaizer Nyatsumba

Keeping all on their toes

STAN 8/19/92

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IT WOULD have been easy — and fairly tempting — to dismiss the two-day fact-finding tour last week by the European Community's troika of Ministers as yet another of those unwelcome visits by self-righteous, know-all foreigners who think they have a panacea for South Africa's ills.

Apart from putting pressure on the Government and the ANC to resume negotiations soon, it initially appeared not much was going to be served by the visit.

Not only did the EC no longer have the sanctions sword which might have needed review — a point made strongly by The Times of London on the eve of the troika's departure — but it had also become a somewhat parochial, inward-looking community which put Europe first and removed Africa from the top of its agenda.

Why the mission then?

In an outspoken editorial, The Times said the EC troika — consisting of British Foreign Affairs

Secretary Douglas Hurd, Danish Foreign Affairs Minister Uffe Ellemann-Jansen and Portuguese Secretary of State for Co-operation Jose Manuel Barroso — had no business in South Africa.

"There are no EC troops in the region, nor is there EC aid that must be injected or withdrawn. There is no pressing role for the EC to perform in the intractable politics of black/white relations in South Africa.

"It is tempting to draw two conclusions from this trip, neither of them appealing. The first is that Europe still cannot quite believe that Africa is not its own backyard, that the politics of guilt have taken the place of the politics of colonialism.

"The second is that the EC will do anything and go anywhere rather than address its painful domestic agenda," The Times said.

But the troika's visit has been of greater importance than The Times and many others could

have expected. At a time when Europe is pre-occupied with itself and its own economic and political problems, any attention given to South Africa is to be welcomed.

Increasingly Africa — associated in Europe and in the West with starvation, poverty, widespread corruption and military *coups d'etat* — is being "marginalised" in world affairs, and aid to many countries in the continent is being made conditional on "good government", among other things.

Mr Hurd made it plain during the troika's visit here that Europe's interest in South Africa was not "a fleeting one". The EC, he said, had every intention of playing an important role in the country's transition to a full-fledged democracy.

This has at least two implications. While the EC becomes more and more inward-looking, it will do more than take a keen interest in developments here. When political stability is eventually attained and an interim government

is in place, it could be expected that more investment could flow our way from the EC and its member-countries.

More importantly, however, is the fact that the EC can now be relied upon to gently prod and persuade key political players in the negotiations process, most notably the Government and its chief interlocutors the ANC. Although Mr Hurd repeatedly said South Africa's problems were for South Africans to solve, he would no doubt have urged the ANC and the Government to make sure negotiations resumed soon.

There is another level at which the troika's visit was important. By agreeing to send 15 observers to South Africa to work in tandem with observers from the United Nations and the Commonwealth, to second representatives to the Goldstone Commission's five commissions and to help in the training of the South African Police, the EC is indirectly helping Pretoria meet some of the key de-

mands made by the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress.

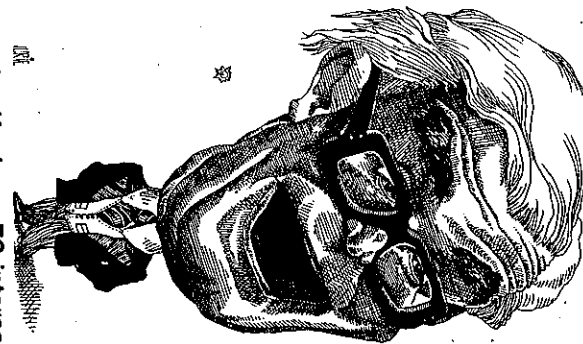
The involvement of the international community in the monitoring of violence is a demand made by both the ANC and the PAC, with the latter organisation going as far as arguing that negotiations should be chaired by "neutral" bodies such as the UN, the Commonwealth, the EC or the Organisation of African Unity.

As PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke observed after meeting the trio in Pretoria on Thursday, the EC delegation "understood the issues" here. Its visit, therefore, must have gone some way towards propelling the pace of behind-the-scenes *detente* to get the deadlocked negotiations resumed soon.

But while in the past Pretoria has always been the villain — and therefore had a lot to do "to clear the decks" before negotiations could begin — that perception is no longer as pervasive as it once was abroad.

Douglas Hurd . . . EC interest in SA not just fleeting.

Indeed, the ANC and the PAC could expect to be rapped on the knuckles equally hard — albeit privately — as Pretoria if they were perceived to be the ones retarding the pace of negotiations. Like the Government, they will have to *earn* the international community's support by appearing as reasonable as possible. And the EC troika's visit will have helped drive that message home. □



Now ANC targets three bantustans

■ Bop, KwaZulu and
QwaQwa face wrath:

By Ike Motsapi

THE ANC and its allies are now targetting Bophuthatswana, QwaQwa and KwaZulu for "Phase Four" of their mass action campaign.

The action, which is similar to the one launched in Ciskei yesterday, is aimed at installing a new democratic government by the end of the year.

Mr Mandla Dlamini, co-leader of the mass action campaign, yesterday said: "In this period we must strive to finally release the remaining 400 political prisoners. We should also achieve free political activity in all parts of our country especially Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, QwaQwa and KwaZulu."

The following actions would be undertaken:

- Build up pressure on the Government to meet the tripartite alliance's constitutional demands;
- Mobilise the broadest possible unity, stretching to all corners of the country in order to isolate the Government and its "puppets";
- Assist dismissed workers by way of regional or selected consumer boycotts, marches, pickets and occupation of offices where they had been employed; and
- March to the Mozambican border on September 29 to protest against the electrification of the fence.

Homelands issue a major obstacle to resuming talks, warns ANC

THE ANC, in the wake of the Bisho killings, has identified the homeland issue as a major stumbling block in the resuming constitutional talks.

As government negotiators struggled to evaluate the repercussions, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer would say only: "This will have a major impact on negotiations." Government will issue a comprehensive statement today on the prospects for negotiations.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday reincorporation of the homelands and the removal of Ciskei military leader

Brig Oupa Gqozo were prime obstacles to resuming constitutional talks.

Two months ago the ANC set in motion for the resumption of talks.

In a separate statement, ANC president Nelson Mandela said Gqozo had to be removed as head of Ciskei and an interim administration "established immediately" in consultation with all parties.

Niehaus said: "The whole issue of reincorporation of the homelands has moved right up the agenda. Gqozo is running wild and it has now become a matter of urgency to remove him." The ANC would tell Presi-

dent F W de Klerk he had the power to remove Gqozo and he must do this "even if it does mean more violence".

He did not rule out demands for economic sanctions and said government should continue bearing the responsibility of association with Ciskei's ruler.

Meyer said reincorporation had been comprehensively dealt with at Codesa and all parties were in broad agreement that

this would happen in a phased and orderly way, and would include plebiscites.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee said the ANC alliance had failed its first test of deal with opposing political views and was intolerant of minorities.

The NP rebuked the ANC for "callous disregard for all human life", saying its attitude betrayed the hardline communists' strategy to bring the country to its knees and seize power by force.

DP leader Zach de Beer said reports of DP comment on the Bisho killings were

oversimplified "in such a manner as to cause resentment in some quarters, which is not justified".

He repeated his criticism of the ANC leaders for deliberately putting marchers at risk, knowing there was always real danger to their lives. However, he also blamed the NP government for the tragedy to the extent that it continued to subsidise and support the homelands. And he criticised the Ciskei government for ordering troops to use live ammunition without any attempt to use non-lethal measures.

BILLY PADDOCK

See Page 8

ANC, PAC talks called off 11A

A HIGH-LEVEL meeting between the ANC and the PAC planned for Bulawayo, Zimbabwe, has been cancelled. *Sowetan 9/9/92*

The Ziana news agency said the talks were cancelled because ANC and PAC officials failed to turn up in Bulawayo. The talks, aimed at reviving the Patriotic Front, were to be convened in Bulawayo by the chairman of the Frontline States, Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe. - *Sapa*.

Boost for DP as group of Labour MPs joins ranks

STAR 9/9/92
By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

Six Labour Party MPs and the party's entire Boland region defected to the Democratic Party yesterday as the DP's campaign to build a strong centrist party gathered momentum.

The MPs were former Minister's Councillors David Curry and Chris April — both old stalwarts of the LP — and Cliff Nasson (Bokkeveld), Neville Padiachy (Genadendal), Errol Gordon (Berg River) and Barend Andrews (Rawsonville).

DP national chairman Ken Andrew hailed the move as a "major step forward for the Democratic Party and its strategy to take a lead in bringing about a strong, nonracial party of the democratic centre".

The decision by these "prominent public representatives and activists" to join the DP reflected the desire of millions of South Africans who had rejected both the NP and ANC.

"Our new members will provide valuable leadership qualities and much-needed political muscle in areas where the DP is under-represented, and will help in the process of transforming the DP in style and substance," Mr Andrew said.

The DP was now the second-largest party in Parliament and was engaged in a massive recruitment drive to build support to at least 10 percent of the

adult population and to recruit prominent leaders.

A major media campaign was planned and a national fund-raising campaign with target of R13 million was under way, Mr Andrew said.

Mr Curry said the LP had been formed when coloureds could join only coloured parties. Future elections would be fought on nonracial lines and LP members were now joining other parties which reflected their views.

The six MPs had joined the DP to strengthen the political centre and reduce polarisation, he said.

Mr Andrew said the greatest danger facing South Africa was polarisation between two power blocs, "the system" versus "the struggle".

This would cause extremism, hostility, intransigence, violence and instability.

The shooting at Bisho on Monday offered clear evidence that the confrontation between the NP and the ANC inevitably led to violence and that South Africans dared not allow their future to be decided exclusively by these two parties.

The tragedy underlined the need for a strong centre party untainted by violence, corruption or racism to defuse the confrontation between the NP and the ANC and bridge the divide between haves and have-nots, Mr Andrew said.

Ciskei leader prepared to test support

11A

BIDAM 9/9/92

BISHO — Ciskei ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo — under pressure to resign after his troops opened fire on ANC marchers on Monday, killing at least 28 people — told church leaders yesterday he would accept his support being tested in the homeland.

Church leaders, who held a vigil for the dead yesterday, are engaged in negotiations on several fronts to get Gqozo to agree to a referendum.

Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu telephoned President F W de Klerk on Monday night to get his support for the referendum. A church source said De Klerk had not yet responded. The ANC agreed on Sunday to a referendum.

"While Gqozo is able to say he is prepared to test the will of the people, he was not in a position to say that will be in the form of a referendum," SACC secretary-general the Rev Frank Chikane said after leading a three-man delegation to visit Gqozo after a fuller church delegation had held talks with him yesterday.

Chikane said negotiations were being conducted around a possible referendum question. He said Gqozo would not commit himself to a timeframe, although church leaders were proposing a poll within six weeks. Chikane said only a referendum would ease the tension in the homeland.

Gqozo, quoted on Ciskei Radio, said he would be prepared to hold a referendum if his winning it meant full UN membership and international recognition.

Border Council of Churches executive member Simon Gqubule told reporters Gqozo was "highly emotional and angry"

PATRICK BULGER

during the talks. He said Gqozo had said his soldiers did not have time to think about what was happening when they opened fire on unarmed marchers.

SA police and troops maintained a heavy presence in the King William's Town area bordering Ciskei yesterday.

Police vehicles blocked the road at the border to prevent about 5 000 marchers who had stayed overnight from crossing into Ciskei. They formed a cordon around ANC president Nelson Mandela when he arrived at the site of the shootings to lay wreaths.

Mandela said: "What happened here was not just the action of a bantustan leader. There were bigger forces behind him."

He told a news conference that "Bisho will rank alongside Boipatong on that roll call of infamy that recounts the past two years of F W de Klerk's incumbency". He said De Klerk's emphasis on strong regional government outside a democratic process and within the context of the homelands had signalled to repressive structures that they could do what they liked to entrench their authoritarian rule.

Mandela demanded an independent investigation, the removal of Gqozo and the installation of an interim administration, the repeal of section 43 of the Ciskei National Security Act, which prohibits free political activity, and the removal of SA military intelligence officers.

He said government had a responsibility to create a climate for free political activ-

□ To Page 2

Ciskei

□ From Page 1

ity in the homelands as well as in SA. He said the killings were a serious stumbling block towards negotiations.

SA and Ciskei police visited the scene of the killings and appeared to have begun an investigation into their circumstances.

Meanwhile, ANC executive member Ronnie Kasrils said yesterday he did not expect to be fired on when he led marchers out of the stadium towards soldiers concealed ahead. BIDAM 9/9/92

"I always considered that they might open fire but frankly it took the whole leadership by surprise. No, I thought they wouldn't dare open fire."

Sapa reports the African Democratic Movement, which was formed by Gqozo, yesterday deplored the shootings but said

it regretted the ANC decision to go ahead with the march, "with no apparent respect for human life and dignity".

□ Gqozo has not fled Ciskei and has no intention of doing so, he told Sapa in a telephone interview from his home in Bisho last night.

"I have no reason and no intention of ever abandoning my people. I am absolutely not going to give credibility to the non-democratic methods of the ANC and SACP and their mass action by fleeing."

Asked whether the SA government had put any pressure on him since the massacre, Gqozo said: "No. I don't believe the SA government will do that."

● See Pages 3 and 4

Ciskei:

Massacre 'serious stumbling block'
government and ANC consider

ARG 9/9/92

(11A)

A bleak afterma

TOS WENTZEL and STEFAANS BRUMMER
Political Staff

PROSPECTS for further contact between the government and the ANC appeared to be bleak today as both sides met to consider the damage done by the Ciskei massacre.

The consequences of the Bisho bloodbath reverberated around the world and plunged South Africa into a new political crisis.

African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela said last night that the massacre was a serious stumbling block to the resumption of negotiations.

He said an "enormous responsibility" rested with President De Klerk's government to bring about change in the Ciskei and "in all areas where no free political activity is possible".

He called for:

- An independent investigation into the killings;

- The removal of Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and the establishment of an interim administration acceptable to all parties;

- The repeal of section 43 of the Ciskei National Security Act, which prohibits free political activity;

- The removal from Ciskei of South African military intelligence officials.

Mr Mandela said after visiting the scene of the shootings yesterday that Bisho ranked with Boipatong, the massacre that resulted in the ANC pull-out from Codesa.

"From this day, Bisho will rank along Boipatong on that roll-call of infamy that recounts the last two years of F W de Klerk's incumbency," Mr Mandela said.

King William's Town was still being patrolled by police today and Ciskei Defence Force troops were all over Bisho.

The Goldstone Commission is gathering as much information as possible on the massacre, though Ciskei is unlikely to allow it to conduct an investigation of the type demanded by political parties.

'Restraint'

Brigadier Gqozo said he would not resign over the killing of up to 28 ANC supporters and insisted his troops had acted with restraint.

"If our troops acted irresponsibly they would have killed many people," he said.

He shrugged off a referendum call by church leaders and instead spoke of holding elections at an unspecified date.

A spokesman at Mr De Klerk's office has dismissed as "absolute nonsense" an allegation by ANC official Mr Patrick Lekota that he had given Mr Mandela an undertaking that no live ammunition would be used by Ciskei forces.

The spokesman said such an undertaking was not contained in the correspondence between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela last week. The matter had never been raised.

In Pretoria, the government policy group on negotiations met to discuss the possibility of further contact, and in Johannesburg the ANC national working committee was due to discuss the matter at its weekly meeting.

The international community has cast the blame for the massacre on all parties involved.



MOURNING: ANC president Nelson Mandela salutes during the singing of 'Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika after laying a wreath at the site of the Bisho massacre. See pages 3 and 15

Winnie gives up top jobs 'for family'

ARC 10/9/92

JOHANNESBURG. — Winnie Mandela has resigned from the national executives of the African National Congress and the ANC Women's League.

This follows newspaper revelations of a letter she allegedly wrote last March to Mr Dali Mpofu, her alleged lover and former deputy in the ANC social welfare department, about her fears of an investigation into her accounts at the department.

In a statement announcing her resignation, Mrs Mandela said it had nothing to do with her work or the way she had dealt with her private account. The ANC National Executive Committee had cleared her of any wrongdoing in relation to the account, she said.

She had resigned "primarily in the interest of my dear husband and my beloved family".

Mrs Mandela also resigned from the Regional Executive Committee of the Women's League and withdrew her membership of the league, but said she would remain a "convinced member" of the ANC.

In the letter that appeared in Sunday newspapers, Mrs Mandela allegedly wrote: "You think you can just wish away certain things Dali, not with me. I tell you I'm in trouble with the Simmonds Street a/c which reflects over R160 000 drawn over a period for you."

Mrs Mandela said in her resignation statement that she would not give her enemies the satisfaction of discussing her private life in public.

"Battles are easy where battle lines are clearly drawn, yet ... this is not the time to expend our energies on deciphering battle lines that are deliberately confused, in a struggle for self-preservation."

Mrs Mandela, who separated from her husband in April, said the intensity of attacks on her had deeply hurt her family and friends.

She said: "I am deeply grieved that they have to go through all this." — Sapa.

Venues set for Azapo rallies

11A

Swetani
10/9/92

■ **Black Consciousness Week set to be celebrated nationwide:**

By Mokgadi Pela

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) has announced venues for rallies to mark "Black Consciousness Week" and the death of Steve Biko.

Azapo secretary general Mr Don Nkadimeng said the main rally would be held in Ginsberg, Biko's hometown, on Saturday.

It will be addressed by Azapo president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, publicity secretary Mr Strini Moodley and Eastern Cape vice-president Mr Zingisa Twalo.

Cleaning the grave

The rally will be preceded by the cleaning of Biko's grave.

In Johannesburg, Mr Nkadimeng and projects co-ordinator Mr Lybon Mabasa will address a rally at the Eldorado Park grounds.

The rally will take place after the annual Steve Biko soccer tournament in Eldorado Park.

In the Northern Transvaal, three Azapo leaders will speak at rallies to be held there. They are vice-president for political education Mr Molathegi Tlhale, senior official Mr Letsatsi Mosala and regional publicity secretary Mr Mmutle Phasha.

The Bisho massacre illustrates just how thin is the line that separates negotiations from outright war, and raises questions about the level of morality which accompanies political conduct in SA today.

The march was the subject of intense negotiations involving the ANC, the Ciskei government and the security forces of both SA and Ciskei. But in the excitement of the moment, the ANC's protest march dropped its civil rights pretensions and became a poorly co-ordinated attempt to overthrow the Ciskei government.

Chicken- and egg-like, it is difficult to apportion blame. Apartheid gave SA the Ciskei homeland and its leader Brig Oupa Gqozo. Were it not for apartheid, there would not have been 28 corpses lying around Bisho's stadium on Monday. Were it not for Ciskei's soldiers the shootings would not have taken place. In other words, the Bisho tragedy becomes a typical SA situation in which individuals are spared the blame. It is the system that is at fault.

The ANC, with the backing of prominent church leaders, refuses to accept that its engaging in certain protest actions can lead to disaster. The right of peaceful protest in a society in which the majority do not have the vote is accepted as inalienable, regardless of the unique circumstances in which we find ourselves.

The ANC, convinced unshakably of the rightness of its cause, lays the blame for the shootings with President F W de Klerk. But what of the soldier who pulled the trigger, what of the commander who gave the order? What of the role played by ANC executive member Ronnie Kasrils in leading unarmed people towards a line of soldiers lying concealed with cocked weapons? In a situation in which the system is blamed, the perception is created that individuals themselves are beyond reproach — it is circumstances and institutions that are at fault. In this moral murkiness, personal responsibility is not at issue.

This, of course, is the thinking at play in societies at war. The deaths of men, women and children and the destruction of others' lives is insignificant. After all, it would be an eccentric history book that actually printed the names of the lowly

People the pawns in politicians' cynical war games

B/DAY 10/9/92

PATRICK BULGER

deceased.

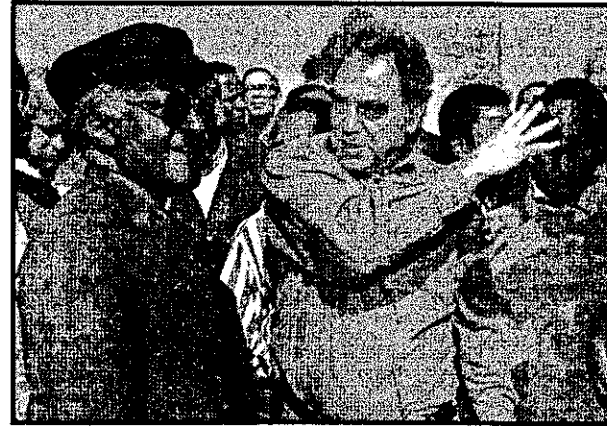
It is difficult to dispel the feeling that SA's people are being short-changed by their politicians who profess a commitment to negotiations and yet engage in actions compatible only with a society at war.

In the Bisho context, if the objective of the exercise was to attempt a danger-ridden overthrow of Gqozo, could one not argue on a theoretical level that people should in fact have been armed if there was a strong possibility that they would be fired upon?

Kasrils argues in retrospect that he did not think the soldiers would fire upon unarmed protesters in the presence of senior ANC leaders and the world's Press. For a military man — Kasrils was prominent in the ANC's armed struggle while in exile — this was a naive assumption. A soldier approached by a throng of people who may or may not be armed, has little option but to save his own skin or risk being relieved of both his rifle and his life.

Such, however, was the ANC's belief in the disillusionment of Ciskei's soldiers, that its senior leaders came to believe their own propaganda. If anything, the Ciskei soldiers appeared to open fire with more than a dash of relish. Did the ANC's intelligence department not bother to inquire as to the loyalty or otherwise of Ciskei's soldiers?

The Bisho killings have grave consequences for the success of a peaceful transition in SA. The ANC, unable to achieve its objectives at the negotiating table, has now incorporated



ANC executive member Ronnie Kasrils, right, describes the Bisho massacre to Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

mass action into its long-term strategy, reasoning that the De Klerk government is deaf to reasonable demands. On a national level, the ANC's commitment to negotiations will not be worth the paper it is written on if peaceful tactics can be replaced by gung ho military adventures as and when it suits the movement.

Is one to extract from the Bisho experience the following lesson: that the ANC is prepared to negotiate, that it is prepared to go to court to gain permission for a march and will abide by the court's ruling only up to

that point at which its aims are suited? Is SA to be led into a situation in which agreements are reached between political opponents not because they have finally agreed to set aside their differences but because the agreement provides a launching pad for the attainment of hidden agendas?

The predominant perception among ANC leaders is that the government has its back to the wall — without the right to govern and surrounded by security forces of questionable loyalty to the government of the day. Unlike at Bisho, the ANC

dare not allow itself to be deluded into believing the propaganda of its more excitable comrades cocooned in the school of struggle politics.

It may as well be said outright that the De Klerk government has no intention of relinquishing power in a manner that would leave it without a say in a future government. To the extent that the ANC and its allies are committed to the exercise of Leninist political principles — negotiating on the one hand, undermining on the other — the De Klerk government and its security forces will not let up on the covert war that is being conducted against the middle-level alliance leadership. Political cynicism cuts both ways.

Decades of apartheid have served to discredit SA's institutions — its courts, its security forces and indeed the very idea of authority.

Either we accept this state of affairs and begin rebuilding SA's institutions using the peace accord and the Goldstone commission as foundations, or the insidious slide towards a society at war will continue and accelerate. The ANC has a major role to play in both instances, and in the aftermath of Bisho must surely question whether the tactics it is employing serve not only to pluck the golden goose that is civilised society of its plumage, but actually kill the bird.

To be sure, the breaking of a rule — namely the foolhardy sprint at the soldiers from the stadium at Bisho — is not a capital offence. The Ciskei government left a long section of the stadium fence unattended before the event so that by the time the marchers arrived at the fence that was supposed to constrain them, they found it did not exist. That fence should have been there and the minutes it might have taken to break it down could have provided time for reflection, for a dissipation of adrenalin.

This is not to nitpick for the sake of it. The transition to democracy in SA cannot afford to go off the rails because fences are not mended. Factors like these will occur again and again. There is not a single detail that can be overlooked, not a single precaution that can be taken must be ignored.

The deaths of 28 unemployed peasants leaves a bitter aftertaste. In this depressing scenario, is it too much to ask our politicians to fight their own battles?

FW calls for crisis meeting with ANC

B/PAF 10/9/92

SOPA
11A

BILLY PADDOCK

PRETORIA — President F.W. de Klerk put constitutional negotiations on the back burner last night, calling instead for an urgent meeting with ANC president Nelson Mandela to resolve violence.

He told a news conference at the Union Buildings that he was taking strong action to deal with the violence and isolate "leaders and revolutionaries who continue to cling to violence".

Agreeing with the ANC that meaningful negotiations could not happen while the level of violence was so high, De Klerk asked the ANC to help — through talks — to find ways of resolving it.

He did not, as indicated by Foreign Minister Pik Botha on Monday night, threaten to suspend talks. He said the preparatory talks between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa could continue. But he said it was time negotiations were upgraded to a leadership level.

De Klerk said: "It is simply not possible to negotiate constitutional issues before the question of violence has been dealt with satisfactorily."

"A meeting between government and the ANC has to take place urgently at leadership level now. . . . I am prepared to lead the government delegation myself and urge Mr Mandela to do the same in respect of the ANC delegation."

De Klerk also announced three other courses of action government was initiating to quell violence. These were:

- That the national peace committee convene, within days, a meeting of the peace

accord signatories so that parties' responsibilities could be reviewed and additional measures to help end violence could be worked out;

- That government would hold talks with all its institutions with security components to ensure uniform, effective and responsible action, within the framework of agreed codes, on public marches. Government would call all self-governing territories to an urgent meeting on this, and negotiate simultaneously with the TBVC states on the issue; and

- That government was seeking clarity on the causes of the Bisho killings and getting the Goldstone Commission to assist.

De Klerk said it was increasingly clear that the communists in the ANC were making deliberate attempts to render further constitutional talks impossible. "The vortex of violence in which the ANC/SACP is continuously involved is sucking the entire country ever deeper into it."

According to news reports, he said, the rules laid down for the Bisho march were deliberately contravened, with prominent communists reportedly leading the break-away group. Similarly, according to news reports, the peace accord was also breached by the Ciskei government. "That is condemned by us as well," De Klerk said.

The fact remained that the ANC, under the leadership of the SACP, could not escape the responsibility for having planned the Bisho march in the knowledge that there was a serious risk of violence, De

□ To Page 2

De Klerk

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SOPA

Klerk said. He said government was not able to continue constitutional talks and could not meet its obligation to the country and the other negotiating parties while "the ANC alliance or any other grouping is doing all it can to foment a climate of instability, revolution and violence". The ANC alliance's good faith in negotiations was under suspicion, he said.

"We have to concentrate now, as our first priority, on eliminating violence and everything that instigates violence and instability," he said.

- The ANC said last night De Klerk's statement would be tabled at its extended national working committee meeting today, for an in-depth response.

It said, however, that at face value government seemed to be offering "more of the same". "The view of the ANC that needs no discussion is that mass action is not conflict-creating. It is the denial of free political activity by all kinds of government-supported petty tyrants that creates conflict."

● Comment: Page 6

Kasrils blamed by E Cape MP

Democratic Party MP Errol Moorcroft yesterday blamed ANC/SACP leader Ronnie Kasrils for the shootings and urged the ANC to cut links with the party.

Mr Moorcroft, MP for Albany, called on Nelson Mandela to curb the SACP.

"The storming of the Bisho capital by Mr Kasrils and his henchmen was the direct cause of the horrendous casualties suffered there," he said.

Mr Moorcroft called on Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to practise "the utmost restraint in the face of provocation".

The ANC replied: "It is so sad that he and his party . . . defend murderers such as Gqozo."
— Staff Reporter.

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

STAR
10/9/92

Winnie pulls out of ANC posts 11A

Controversy-ridden Winnie Mandela has resigned from the ANC's National Executive Committee and the Women's League.

Her resignation comes only days after the publication in the Sunday Star of a letter she allegedly wrote to Dali Mpofu — her former deputy in the ANC's social welfare department and alleged lover — in March.

Mrs Mandela said although those who had relentlessly waged a "vicious and malicious campaign" against her had partly succeeded in their aims, she would not give them "the satisfaction of discussing my private life in public".

"Battles are easy where battle lines are clearly drawn. Yet it is my belief that this is not the time to

expend our energies on deciphering battle lines and are deliberately confused in a struggle for self-preservation," Mrs Mandela said in a statement.

Mrs Mandela said her resignation had nothing to do with her work or with the way she had dealt with her private account as social welfare head in the ANC. The matter, she said, had

been dealt with "exhaustively and satisfactorily" by the organisation's national executive committee which had released a statement clearing her.

In addition to resigning from the national executive committees of both the ANC and the ANC Women's League, Mrs Mandela also pulled out of the League's PWV regional executive

committee — which was suspended in June because of alleged attempts to get her reinstated as social welfare head in the ANC — and withdrew her membership from the League.

However, she said she remained "a convinced and loyal member of the ANC", saying she would continue to serve her people and her country relentlessly.

She appealed for understanding from those who had elected her into her positions in the ANC.

Her resignation, she said, was "no selfish move on my part or lack of appreciation of the mandate you have given me".

Mrs Mandela said "the intensity and viciousness" of new attacks against herself had deeply hurt her family, her husband and their many friends inside and outside the country.

By Peter Fabricius and Kaizer Nyatumba

President de Klerk last night effectively suspended the Government's participation in constitutional negotiations — already stalled by the ANC — saying the Government could not negotiate while the ANC-led alliance was "fomenting instability, revolution and violence".

Mr de Klerk said the Government remained committed to a negotiated constitution. He called for an urgent summit between Government and ANC delegations led by himself and ANC president Nelson Mandela to find ways of stopping the violence.

Mr de Klerk addressed a press conference in Pretoria after a Cabinet meeting to discuss Monday's Bisho massacre in which up to 28 people were killed when Ciskei security forces opened fire on ANC marchers demanding homeland leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's removal.

Deliberate

In a tough response to the massacre, Mr de Klerk again condemned the ANC for not sticking to National Peace Accord guidelines in its march on Bisho, and said it was quite clear that communists had "taken the ANC in tow" and were deliberately undermining constitutional negotiations.

But he also, for the first time, condemned the Ciskei government and said that if the ANC and the Ciskei government had fully honoured their Peace Accord obligations, "nobody would have died at Bisho".

He announced that the Government would be meeting all the homeland authorities which control security forces to ensure a "uniform, effective and responsible" handling of protest marches.

The Government had also approached the Goldstone Commission to investigate the massacre and had asked the National Peace Commit-

tee to convene an urgent meeting of all Peace Accord signatories to review the accord and find new measures to stop violence.

Asked whether the Government was withdrawing from constitutional negotiations, he said: "I'm saying that negotiations must now be at leadership level." This did not rule out communication between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Mr de Klerk said four issues should be on the agenda of the top-level meeting between the Government and the ANC:

- The problem of violence.
- The role "conflict-creating mass action played in the transition to democracy".
- The ANC's "violation" of the Peace Accord.
- Other obstacles to the resumption of negotiations.

He said the aim of the new methods which the Government would be examining to control mass action were:

- To ensure that the right to protest peacefully and lawfully was maintained.
- To ensure that exercising that right should not lead to the disruption of society, disregard of the rights of others, or to violence.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said last night that the ANC's National Working Committee (NWC) would today consider Mr de Klerk's request for a meeting with the ANC.

Mr Mandela, who visited the scene of the shootings on Tuesday, returned to Johannesburg with Mr Ramaphosa the same evening to chair the NWC meeting.

A well-placed ANC source said Mr Mandela was "quite angry" about the turn of events in Ciskei.

He said Mr Mandela was likely to persuade the NWC to add the removal of Brigadier Gqozo from office to the ANC's 14 demands.

The ANC's national executive committee last week decided not to return to full-scale negotiations until its 14 conditions had been met.

- More reports — Page 3
- Opinion — Page 10

11A
SMA 10/9/92

Peace before talks

Tough response to massacre: 'Communists have taken ANC in tow'

FWW

ANC action plans rile the Right

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

ANC plans to launch mass action at right-wing-controlled towns have infuriated far-right parties, which yesterday threatened violent reaction and called on whites to take the law into their own hands if necessary.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging warned of "greater bloodshed than at Bisho or Boipatong" if the ANC conducted illegal mass action in Conservative Party-controlled towns.

Last night, the ANC said it took "the strongest exception" to the AWB's threats.

The ANC's department of information and publicity said the organisation remained committed to peaceful protest.

"However, we will not be blackmailed by bellicose threats aimed at the destruction of free political activity," it said.

The ANC would not let its right to peaceful democratic

protest be eroded by "a fundamentally undemocratic organisation such as the AWB".

In a statement, AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche said the AWB itself would act if the Government failed to prevent illegal ANC mass actions in white areas.

And HNF law and order spokesman Oscar Hartung called on whites to mobilise themselves to resist the ANC plans, and to take the law into their own hands, if the Government did nothing to protect lives and properties.

He said that after Bisho it was clear that the ANC had not abandoned its armed struggle and it was astonishing that the Government had not punished the ANC.

The ANC stressed that the aim of its campaign against conservative towns was to "secure free political activity".

Earlier, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC's national executive committee had decided last week to launch mass ac-

tion against institutions which inhibited free political activity, including KwaZulu, QwaQwa and right-wing-controlled towns.

He stressed, however, that the ANC had only decided in principle to target right-wing towns and had not drawn up any specific plans.

No towns had been identified and no dates set.

● The white supremacist Boere Kommando yesterday warned in Hendrina that it was preparing itself and its allies to ward off what it termed an expected violent communist onslaught against towns and farms.

In a statement, the Boere Kommando said its people had a right to self-defence if the Government was incapable of protecting them.

In an apparent reference to this week's ill-fated ANC march on Ciskei, the group said it strongly objected "to the Government allowing our country to be used as a basis for attacks on neighbouring countries".

STAR 10/9/92

Azapo rethinks talks

THE Azanian People's Organisation is reconsidering talks with the Government following Monday's massacre in the Ciskei. Azapo deputy president Dr Aubrey Mokoape announced in Durban yesterday. *Sowetan 11/9/92*

Azapo had also sent letters to the ANC and PAC to discuss a joint programme of mass action aimed at toppling the Government and calling for a meeting to try to "pool" their approach to negotiations, its publicity secretary Mr. Strini Moodley said. *(1/17)*

NEWS Talks must take country forward, says Ramaphosa ●

ANC prepared to talk, but...

Sowetam 11/9/92

(11A)

■ Talks must take the country forward, says Ramaphosa:

A MEETING between the ANC and the Government could soon be on the cards if its aim was to take the country forward, the organisation said last night.

Speaking after a meeting of the organisation's national working committee, general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the ANC was prepared to participate in the summit suggested by President FW de Klerk.

"The Government, however, should address the obstacles standing in the way of negotiations and should implement the Goldstone Commission recommendations with regard to bringing about peaceful political activities," he said.

Ramaphosa said such a summit should be preceded by practical moves to remove the stumbling blocks to negotiations, such as the carrying of dangerous weapons in

public.

The ANC condemned what it called the pre-meditated murder of its supporters in Ciskei on Monday and said the primary responsibility lay with the Government.

"The ANC's national working committee is convinced that the complicity of the South African Government and the SA Defence Force will come out," Ramaphosa said.

He said there was an urgent need to remove Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo to establish an interim administration in the territory. He said there should be free political activity in the area and that all officers seconded to Ciskei be removed.

"Peace-loving South Africans have the responsibility to rid the country of all kinds of despots who have turned their territories into personal fiefdoms," he said. - Sapa.

Winnie quits (11A)

THE African National Congress yesterday accepted Mrs Winnie Mandela's resignation and was expected to respond fully to her move by last night.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said a statement would be issued later today.

Sowetan 11/9/92
Mrs Mandela resigned on Thursday and pulled out of all ANC structures, including the national executive committee and Women's League.

Her resignation followed the publication last weekend of a letter she allegedly wrote to Mr Dali Mpofu, her former deputy in the department of social welfare and alleged lover.



DP leader Zach de Beer, left, and MPs Lester Fuchs and Tony Leon, right, at a DP strategy meeting in Johannesburg yesterday. Picture: BRIAN HENDLER

DP 'to mobilise millions of moderates'

THE DP yesterday lashed out at the government and the ANC, and said it would seek to mobilise the millions of South Africans who desired a moderate, centrist political solution. ~~South~~ ^{11A}

Beginning with a march in Johannesburg next week, the DP would seek to gain the active support of "ordinary people ... sick and tired of the violence".

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer told a meeting the ANC and the government were "squabbling like naughty schoolboys" while violence continued.

Government had sought to blame the

ANC for the talks breakdown without taking into account its own history.

Criticising the revolutionary element in the ANC, he said SACP leaders like Chris Hani and Ronnie Kasrils gave the impression in the Ciskei that they had rejected negotiations. De Beer said President F W de Klerk had to get rid of the homelands, but had to act pro-actively. Transvaal leader Tony Leon said a SA led "by the Gqozos and the Kasrils of this world ... is to descend down the slope to anarchy". But the DP believed some of the ANC's 14 demands had merit, he said. — Sapa.

Azasco to focus on class boycotts

■ Sharp but quicker methods in students' agenda.

Sowetan 11/9/92

(C) (IA)

ONGOING class boycotts by students and teachers will be focussed on during the second annual congress of the Azanian Students Convention in Durban from tomorrow until Sunday.

Azasco publicity secretary Mr Mark Mfikoe said they said would look into "sharp but quicker methods in the students' struggles which do not alienate the working class".

The congress' theme is "Education: an instrument of transformation" and will be held at the University of Natal.

Congress will begin with the second Biko-Myeza memorial lecture in honour of Steve Biko and Muntu Myeza, the late leaders of Black Consciousness.

Early Bird draw due

U. Natal



'Failure would spell disaster'

ANC ready to meet govt on violence

B/DAY 11/9/92

(11A)
(20/11)

THE ANC is prepared for a delegation led by its president Nelson Mandela to meet a government delegation headed by President F W de Klerk — but has warned of possible disaster for SA if the meeting fails to produce results.

The decision was taken at a meeting of the ANC's national working committee which considered De Klerk's invitation to Mandela on Wednesday for discussions on violence.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told a news conference in Johannesburg last night that the ANC was "ready, willing and prepared to start with the process of preparing for the summit".

A working committee statement said: "A meeting between delegations of the ANC and the government ... could have some merit if it were to address the problem of violence. But it would be a disaster for the country as a whole if it failed to produce concrete results.

"The ANC is prepared to participate in a summit between ANC and government delegations led by Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk. However, such a summit must be preceded by thorough preparations through the present channel existing between the government and the ANC, as well as practical steps in relation to the demands made by the ANC."

The failure of such a high-level meeting would take the country "irretrievably backwards", the statement said.

Ramaphosa said government would have to take practical steps to show it was serious about meeting the ANC's preconditions for a return to talks.

At present, formal contact between the

PATRICK BULGER

ANC and government is restricted to a channel of communication between Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

The statement said government now seemed to realise that constitutional negotiations could not proceed meaningfully with the current levels of violence.

"This realisation must mark the beginning of practical actions on the part of the government to address the demands of the ANC and to implement the recommendations of the Goldstone commission, for instance, on the carrying of dangerous weapons and preventing the use of some hostels as launching pads for attacks against communities.

"We trust, too, that the government will take immediate steps to release remaining political prisoners," the statement said.

ANC spokesman Saki Macozoma said the demands referred to in the statement were the 14 which the ANC had placed before government when it pulled out of constitutional talks in June.

Ramaphosa said the removal of Ciskei leader Brig Oupa Gqozo "who is an obstacle to the creation of a peaceful climate of political activity is a question that is now firmly on the agenda".

He said the ANC would put "the question of Gqozo" to government.

The working committee also called for the security forces of homeland governments to be restrained.

"The steps announced by President de Klerk about consultations with the 'self-

To Page 2

Violence

B/DAY 11/9/92

(11A)
(20/11)

From Page 1

governing' and 'independent' bantustans regarding policing and other security matters must lead to a reining in of the repressive functionaries of the apartheid government," the working committee statement said.

The committee meeting also considered the events at Bisho, but did not mention whether mass action would be pursued in

attempting to bring about political change in the other homelands.

Its statement said, however, that "the actions of administrations in Ciskei, KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and other areas are in direct conflict with the provisions of the national peace accord, the Goldstone commission and recommendations of international experts on policing and mass protest".

Winnie Mandela resigns ANC posts

WINNIE Mandela — vowing to continue serving her people and country — yesterday resigned her positions in the ANC, saying she had enemies both inside and outside the organisation.

Her decision leaves her as an ordinary member of the ANC.

She announced her resignation from the ANC's national executive committee (NEC), the Women's League NEC and the league's PWV regional executive a week after the NEC had considered a report by two independent lawyers on a demonstration in her support at ANC headquarters earlier this year.

The inquiry, led by Wits University attorney Denis Davis and Durban attorney Linda Zama, re-opened to hear evidence from Mandela after it had been closed. A second report based on her testimony was handed to the NEC last week. Davis could not say what the report contained.

Mandela said yesterday: "The generalised attacks against my person and, through me, my organisation have once

11A
BIDAM 11/9/92

PATRICK BULGER

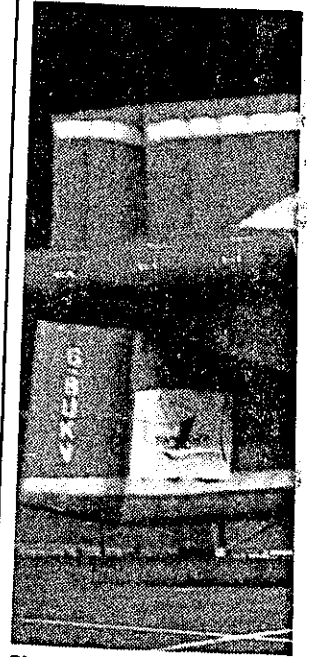
again resumed. To my enemies I now neither have a family nor privacy. The intensity and viciousness of these attacks have deeply hurt my daughters, those of my grandchildren old enough to understand, my husband, our relatives and many of our friends inside and outside our country."

She said she was tendering her resignation in the interests of her husband, ANC president Nelson Mandela, and her family.

She appealed for understanding from those who had elected her to her positions.

"This is no selfish move on my part nor lack of appreciation of the mandate you have given me. I have dedicated all my life to the only kind of existence I know: the struggle for my people. I will continue to serve my people and my country relentlessly," she said.

"My support of our liberation movement will never cease. I appeal to all to help us to lead a normal family life."



Sky Ship Marketing MD Jean...
vertising messages.

ANC disrupts QwaQwa show

THE ANC should stop its disruptive mass action campaigns which were polarising SA society and return to the negotiating table, Deputy Defence Minister Wynand Breytenbach said yesterday.

Opening the QwaQwa National Show in Phuthaditjhaba at which the ANC alliance held its "people's assembly", Breytenbach reiterated government's position that negotiation was the only way to solve the country's problems.

"Mass action has to stop. Violence must come to an end, intimidation must come to an end and those actions which affect the dignity of others must be stopped," he said.

Government's door was open to players, he said. The will and attitude was all that was lacking in the ANC and its ally or boss, the SACP, in trying to get talks back on track. He called on the QwaQwa government to maintain present constitutional structures until new structures had been established and accepted.

"A person does not break down his old house before he has built a new one," he said. Nearly a million people were em-

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BILLY PADDOCK

ployed in the agricultural sector and in 1989 they were paid nearly R1,6bn in cash and a further R516m in kind.

He said farmers had to use resources better to prevent the country becoming poorer. QwaQwa owed this not only to its citizens but the whole of SA.

Sapa reports that Breytenbach dismissed the people's assembly protest as a circus. The protest was held alongside the show and noisily competed for the crowd's attention.

The tripartite alliance in QwaQwa protested on Wednesday and yesterday to highlight their call for Chief Minister Dr T K Mopeli to resign, and for the installation of a government of national unity.

Early attempts by the SA security police to get the ANC supporters to voluntarily disperse failed. A large contingent of heavily armed SA and QwaQwa police were present. At 4.30pm the ANC supporters marched out of the stadium.

'Economic anarchy'

GREED and an undermanned and underskilled police force had allowed SA society to slide into economic anarchy, Witwatersrand attorney-general Klaus von Lieres and Wilkau SC, said yesterday.

Addressing delegates at a Johannesburg conference on fraud, Von Lieres said reported economic crimes in SA had increased by 67% from 33 101 cases in 1986 to 55 281 in 1991.

A total of 19 982 fraud dockets with a potential loss of R347bn were currently under investigation. Corporate frauds under investigation involved a potential sum of R374bn.

Von Lieres said policing levels to combat fraud in its various guises on the Witwatersrand were quite inadequate — only 134 officers and men to deal with more than 6 000 cases.

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STEPHANE BOTHMA

...ANC and SACP joint venture and

PEOPLE'S LIVES *Instead of cleansing the air in new SA the nation is again drenched in blood*

THIS SHOULD HAVE been a sober week with the nation remembering Steve Bantu Biko who died on September 12 1977.

It was time to remember those who placed the struggle for liberation on a plateau higher than where it was before they made their contribution.

It was time to remember those who died fighting for liberation.

It was time to reflect on the sins of the past, breathe all the foul air out of our system to be ready for the cleansing fresh air of a new South Africa.

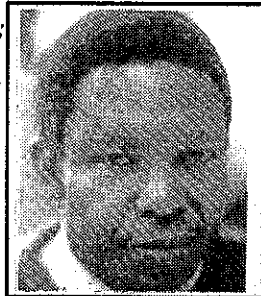
Instead the nation was once again drenched in blood and the poison was spread.

Steve Biko. He was cruelly beaten into a coma by the police while in their custody and allowed to die.

He'd always boasted that under no circumstances would he give in to oppression, whether it was from a man in the street calling him "kaffir", a policeman trying to bully him or the government trying to restrict his movements.

He and his friends, founders of Black Consciousness in South Africa, had changed resistance politics in this

It was time to remember our martyrs



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Sowetan 11/9/92
Joe Thlooe's
Perspective

country.

Towards the end of the 1960s, blacks appeared to have been cowed by vicious repression. The sentences meted out in 1963/4 - death sentences for many PAC members, life sentences for both ANC and PAC members, and long jail terms - had frozen the black community.

People in the black townships were scared to even whisper the names of the PAC and the ANC.

Biko and his friends restored our self-confidence. And it was largely as a result of their work that the liberation movements in exile then, the ANC and the PAC, got a new injection of life after 1976.

Here at home, the Black Consciousness Movement, did much more than restore our confidence in ourselves: it demonstrated black unity in practice.

Under the umbrella of Black Consciousness people who sympathised

with the ANC brushed shoulders with those who sympathised with the PAC.

For a change there was one voice from the oppressed.

Sadly that voice has now been splintered and we are now on the Tower of Babel. Liberation is now of secondary importance to the liberation movements as they try to outmanoeuvre one another hoping to be the next rulers of this country.

This was the week to reflect on these matters.

Instead the list of martyrs has grown by a staggering 28.

How long does the list have to be before we shout Uhuru?

And that's not all

PS: I had an interesting call from Mr Geoffrey Makwakwa, a spokesman of the Department of Education and Training.

"It's about your column of August 21," he says.

"We don't agree with the figures

that Mrs Sisulu gave you." He is referring to the figures about children dropping out of school.

"She says 23 percent drop out before they complete Sub standard A: our figure is 12,56 percent. The Human Sciences Research Council's figure is 13,23 percent.

"She also says that less than 10 percent matriculate while our figures show that in 1991 39,26 percent completed Standard 10 and 60,42 percent completed primary school education."

I get a little hot under the collar: "Mr Makwakwa, 23 percent and 13 percent, what difference does it make to the fact that there are millions of children out there who cannot read or write?"

"The Department is trying to bridge the gap and instead of showing the progress we are making, the wrong figures make the picture worse," he responds.

"Ten percent of a million is 100 000 and that is a great number of children."



**Speak
Out!**

ON
SATURDAY

Readers invited to select topics

Last week readers were invited to give their views about Saturday Star's **Speak Out**. While most people felt it served a useful purpose, many said they would like to suggest specific topics. This week readers are invited to phone in on any topic they like — and also to suggest future topics.

Phone (011) 633-2253 or 633-2591 today between 6 pm and 7.30 pm. Views will be published in the Saturday Star tomorrow.



Fiddle-dee-dee . . . South Africa's Edwina Sheridan (24) frankly gives a damn about the role of Scarlett O'Hara. She was chosen yesterday as South Africa's best shot at the flighty heroine in the upcoming film based on the controversial sequel to Margaret Mitchell's "Gone with the Wind", due to be filmed next year. Ms Sheridan will soon be auditioning with other hopefuls to the title in the worldwide search for the new Scarlett. At present the Cape Town actress features in Peter Toerien's production of "Out of Order".

Picture:
Rebecca Hearfield

Winnie resigns from top ANC positions

STAR 11/9/92

(11A)

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

Controversy-ridden Winnie Mandela has resigned from the ANC's national executive committee and its Women's League.

Her resignation comes only days after the publication in the Sunday Star of a letter she allegedly wrote to Dali Mpofu — her former deputy in the ANC's social welfare department and alleged lover — in March.

Mrs Mandela said although those who had relentlessly waged a "vicious and malicious campaign" against her had partly succeeded in their aims, she would not give them "the satisfaction of discussing my private life in public".

"Battles are easy where battle lines are clearly drawn. Yet it is my belief that this is not the time to expend our energies on deciphering battle lines and becom-

ing deliberately confused in a struggle for self-preservation," Mrs Mandela said in a statement.

Mrs Mandela said her resignation had nothing to do with her work or with the way she had dealt with her private account as social welfare head in the ANC. The matter, she said, had been dealt with "exhaustively and satisfactorily" by the organisation's national executive committee which had released a statement clearing her.

In addition to resigning from the national executive committees of both the ANC and the Women's League, Mrs Mandela also pulled out of the league's PWV regional executive committee — which was suspended in June because of alleged attempts to get her reinstated as social welfare head in the ANC — and withdrew her membership of the league.

THE BISHO MASSACRE

FM 11/9/92

The mob edges closer

Events leading up to Monday's massacre at Bisho raise serious questions about the willingness of SA's political leaders to negotiate a constitutional agreement.

The three main groups — the National Party, the ANC alliance and Inkatha — appear more committed to power plays aimed at a future election than the creation of a democratic platform on which to contest the election.

The Bisho killings mean the prospects of negotiations being resumed soon are now even more remote. A further round of exploratory talks between ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer has been cancelled — apparently at government's request.

On TV this week, Foreign Minister Pik Botha said government would have to reconsider whether it could negotiate with the ANC while it was dominated by the SA Communist Party. The possibility of pushing ahead without the ANC has been discussed during NP think-tank sessions, but has not been regarded as a serious option up to now.

The situation may change if the ANC steps up mass action and refuses to compromise on pre-negotiation demands. Robert Schrire of UCT's Institute for the Study of Public Policy told the *FM* recently that an attempt to reach a settlement without the ANC may become an option for government — if talks become deadlocked to the extent that there's no chance of either side budging further on major issues.

It may then be possible — but not desirable — to mobilise enough non-ANC support within SA to push through a federal option. As long as the elections are democratic, nonracial and free and fair, it's possible that the international community will tolerate, if not fully accept, the new government (*Current Affairs* July 31).

Even before the Bisho incident, government was taking a tough line. Last week's Free State Nat congress showed no sign of reconciliation. Senior spokesmen, including Free State leader Kobie Coetsee and Law & Order Minister Henus Kriel, led a bitter onslaught against the ANC and Pik Botha boasted that the NP would win the first democratic election.

In KwaZulu at the weekend, Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi urged the IFP Youth Brigade to "bugger up" the ANC to prevent the organisation taking over the country. And in response to ANC alliance threats to march on Ulundi and unseat Buthelezi, Inkatha spokesman Gavin Woods warned that if it did so the organisation would receive a "sound thrashing."

The strategic thinking behind Monday's ANC march is difficult to understand. It can't be equated to the previous round of mass action, which was aimed at making strong but peaceful political statements by taking grievances into city centres.

The Bisho march was confrontational from the outset. Its aim was to overthrow Ciskei's military dictator Oupa Gqozo and occupy his capital. The ANC was repeatedly

following the failure of CBD mass action six weeks ago to wring any major concessions from government (*Current Affairs* July 31).

The real reason for ANC opposition to Brigadier Gqozo's rule is clear — he doesn't toe an ANC line and is an obstacle to the organisation's efforts to mobilise in the homeland. He also offers a means of getting at De Klerk in a way that makes it difficult for De Klerk to respond effectively, because

of the absurd fact of Ciskei's constitutional independence.

Gqozo is condemned as Pretoria's puppet. His removal by De Klerk is expected to be added as a prerequisite to the resumption of negotiations. Yet, in theory, De Klerk cannot simply "remove" him; this is the mad harvest of grand apartheid.

The ANC has no apparent problems with either Transkei or Venda, also ruled by military men who seized power undemocratically, but who are very pro-ANC.



Taking cover at Bisho ... no-one benefits

warned by churchmen, politicians and peace negotiators of the potential for bloodshed, yet went ahead.

In that sense, the organisation must accept much of the blame for the massacre. But other parties are also guilty. The failure of leaders to put the future of SA ahead of sectarian interests shows how intellectually ill-equipped they all are to cope with the massive challenges facing the country.

The Democratic Party's Ken Andrew says too many political leaders are only considering the narrow interests of their parties rather than the pressing need for peaceful negotiation and democracy in SA. He says this is reflected in Buthelezi's attitude towards the ANC; the SA Communist Party's role in the Bisho march; and even government's federalism conference this week, which was perceived as anti-ANC.

No-one benefits from what happened at Bisho. The anarchists who believed a street mob could overthrow a petty homeland despot and then move on to the Union Buildings were proven hopelessly wrong by Ciskei's lightly armed defence force. How they hope to challenge the might of the SAP and SADF is beyond comprehension.

Nevertheless, alliance radicals appear to have gained the upper hand, as was predicted

Despite the killings, Ciskei-style mass action is expected to spread quickly to other homelands — KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana in particular.

The SACP appears to have played a significant role in organising and leading Monday's march. Eyewitness accounts show that the SACP's Ronnie Kasrils headed the defiant charge by a small group of marchers towards the waiting Ciskei troops. Considering the repeated threats by SACP spokesmen during the previous few days to oust Gqozo and occupy Bisho, it seems that the Kasrils manoeuvre was a well-planned and deliberate contravention of the restrictions placed on the marchers by a Ciskei magistrate.

But it's not clear at what level the militant approach is being co-ordinated.

Pik Botha blames the SACP. He may be right.

Apart from Kasrils's action on Monday, SACP secretary-general Chris Hani took the lead in drumming up support for the march during a whistle-stop tour of Border townships last week.

Strong and militant SACP leadership could seriously undermine the standing and influence of moderate ANC figures — and raise the possibility that, in effect, the ANC

AFTER BISHO

FM 11/9/92.

A dark age

~~TOP~~
11A ~~SCB~~

The killings at Bisho are a triumph for the forces of unreason and bitterness which stalk our increasingly desolate land. On one side, leaders of the ANC and SACP took their followers to their deaths; on the other, fearful and volatile soldiers loyal to Brigadier Oupa Gqozo appear to have fired indiscriminately.

How could such a thing happen? Here are a few reasons:

□ The confrontation with the security forces of the Ciskei was deliberate. It was part of the mass action campaign aimed at overthrowing those homeland leaders hated most by the ANC: Gqozo, Lucas Mangope and Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Elsewhere — in KaNgwane and Transkei, for example — local rulers who side with the ANC are not threatened;

□ This focus on vulnerable homelands — Gqozo has cracked down on ANC structures in his territory — arises because attempts to rattle central authority in marches on cities and the occupation of public buildings have not succeeded. The homelands are the soft underbelly of the white-dominated State, as the ANC sees it. But dictators like Gqozo are known to resort to brutal methods when they come under threat; and

□ Government has wrung its hands over the homelands for too long. Its consistent attempts to give them political credibility — so that all were negotiating participants at Codesa — did not rest on an organic reality. It rested on ethnic theories, huge subventions from the SA taxpayer and, indeed, military intervention when one of its favourites (Bophuthatswana's Mangope) appeared about to fall.

Ciskei — where Gqozo seized power in 1990 — lies in the heartland of ANC/SACP support. Once he set himself against the ANC, the probability of violent confrontation loomed. Now that it has happened — and in such vivid and awful images seen worldwide — the repercussions could be considerable. Certain attitudes are going to be hardened.

A profound responsibility rests with Nelson Mandela. He must make plain whether he is a hawk or a dove: does he want to negotiate or fight? After all, the whole issue of the homelands had been on the Codesa agenda — and it was the

ANC which walked away from that.

Government's choice is whether to pursue negotiations — and end up pleading — or prepare to handle more violence.

It may have no choice. If the telephone line between the Union Buildings and Shell House is severed and De Klerk and Mandela no longer talk to each other, even by proxy, moderates on both sides could well be radicalised.

The ANC — for a while, at any rate — could be overtaken by a sort of Ronnie Kasrils madcap triumphalism. On government's side, there would be less turning of the other cheek and more emphasis on the use of the security forces to keep law and order — despite an inevitable intensity of criticism.

Needless to say, such a supersession of the moderates will have dire consequences for the economy. Less than ever will foreign investment be attracted to these shores; more people will struggle for a livelihood in a climate of contraction; township services will further deteriorate and emigration increase. SA will have embarked upon the low road to perpetual instability and destitution.

As the *FM* has pointed out in the past, the world does not wish this to happen. Countries such as Britain and Portugal have no capacity to absorb the hundreds of thousands of passport holders who earn their livelihoods in SA. A stable, wealth-creating SA would hold out inestimable benefits for Africa as a whole — a continent which estimates suggest will be alone in the world by the end of the century in growing poorer.

But since the major world economies are driven by free-market principles, investment in SA will always be conditional on stability and democracy. Today the world is prepared to feed Africa, but not to throw money at it.

What the world community can do for SA is to offer mediation. The principle of such outside assistance has already been accepted by government and the ANC. It would now make good sense for this process to be expanded. And the next time a figure such as Cyrus Vance says that negotiations had better resume, we need to believe him. ■



NEGOTIATIONS

FM 11/9/92

The sense of talking ~~2011~~ 11A

In its eagerly awaited statement on "the way forward" last Friday, the ANC's national executive committee endorsed proposals for "the intensification of the mass action campaign." The focus:

- Measures to achieve democracy through an elected, sovereign constituent assembly without delay;
- Practical steps to deal with the violence;
- The immediate release of political prisoners;
- Free political activity in all parts of the country, including KwaZulu, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana, QwaQwa and rightwing controlled towns; and
- Socio-economic problems including soaring food prices, housing and workers' rights.

Details of the programme of action were to follow in due course. However, word was already out that there would be a massive march into Ciskei the following Monday, in a "final push" by the ANC alliance to topple Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

It seemed obviously timed to coincide with and deflect attention from President F W de Klerk's Pretoria conference on federalism, which Gqozo was expected to attend.

Before the march on Ciskei turned into a disaster (as some had feared and predicted it would), the ANC also "reiterated its commitment to the process of a negotiated settlement." But it placed the onus for meeting its preconditions squarely on the "regime," which "still lacks the political will to take immediate and visible steps to stop violence."

Based on Ramaphosa's report on his "contact" with Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, the NEC agreed "unanimously" that government's responses to the ANC's demands were "unsatisfactory on the key issues of violence and the release of political prisoners." There was no real fuss over Ciskei and the others.

Another hopeful sign amid this sullenness seemed contained in the NEC having "noted that the regime has now gone a long way

towards accepting the idea of a democratic constituent assembly." In this regard, said the ANC, government had indicated its support for the following elements of such an assembly:

- That it be democratically elected;
- Draft and adopt the new constitution ("implying that it should sit as a single chamber");
- Be bound by constitutional principles;
- Have a time frame;
- Have adequate deadlock-breaking mechanisms;
- Function democratically by arriving at decisions with certain agreed majorities; and
- Be elected within an agreed predetermined period.

This important though provisional achievement was "attained through the struggles of the people of our country," said the ANC — obviously convinced of the dividends that can flow from mass pressure employed as an arm of negotiations, following last month's "peace and democracy" stayaway.

Further cause for optimism about talks resuming (even as protests were on the go) seemed implicit in the ANC's unveiling of a draft "Transition to Democracy Act" (TDA). This is meant to serve as a framework for the transitional period pending adoption of a new constitution; and to address government concern at a legal and constitutional vacuum in the interim.

The TDA — which NP and government leaders are studying and will respond to fully in the spirit of negotiations — abolishes the present parliament, the distinction between "own" and general affairs, the all-powerful presidency, the President's Council and other features of the tricameral system.

It envisages that the TBVC homelands will simultaneously make appropriate provisions for reincorporation into the new SA. Provision is made for the people of these areas to take part in all transitional and further arrangements, including elections.

The ANC's transitional law envisages a parliament consisting of a single chamber made up of 400 "women and men" elected on the basis of one person one vote of equal value, by citizens (including homelands) aged 18 and over. An electoral law will provide for proportional representation.

Parliament will perform two functions:

- It will act as the constitution-making body; and
- Act as the law-making body during the transition from the time elections have taken place until the installation of the first new government under the new constitution.

It will be defined in this way (constituent

assembly and legislature) to ensure that there is no confusion between these two separate functions. Drawing up and adopting a new constitution must not become enmeshed with governing the country in the interim phase, explained the ANC's Mohammed Valli — though it is difficult to see how the functions will be separated in practice.

This is perhaps why the ANC provides for an "executive authority" based on the principle of a government of national unity. The executive during this phase will be made up of representatives of parties which have won 5% or more of seats in proportion to their number of seats in parliament.

A clear decision-making formula, including time frames and a deadlock-breaking formula, is called for.

Thus, when parliament sits as constituent assembly it will

adopt each article of the constitution and the whole document by a two-thirds majority — and it must do so within nine months.

If 67% can't be mustered in that time, a new procedure comes into play. First, fresh elections are held to create a new constituent assembly, which will have only six months to pass a new constitution.

If the second assembly can't cut it, "then a constitution enjoying the support of a simple majority of the constituent assembly shall be put to the people for approval by way of a referendum at which the constitution must enjoy a majority of 55% to be adopted."

If this also fails, a fresh election will be held for a third assembly, which shall have the power to adopt a new constitution by a simple majority.

In addition to the TDA, the ANC says various other measures will be necessary in the interim, to give legal effect to agreements designed to level the playing field and guarantee free and fair elections. They will provide for certain structures to be set up prior to elections — for example, a multiparty commission to control security forces.

On regional and local government during the transition, the ANC believes that the whole issue of demarcation of new regions, and the distribution of powers, functions and structures is the prerogative of the constituent assembly. Pending this, the present provincial system, with appropriate adjustments to include the homelands, should be retained.

The DP's Tony Leon, in a preliminary response, said some of these proposals are a blatant negation of generally accepted democratic principles. Simple majoritarianism, which the ANC plan boils down to, is no guarantor of constitutional democracy. Institutional checks and balances must be entrenched to underpin the new constitution, says Leon; and the ANC is allowing a period of only 17 months for a new constitution to be drawn up before it is agreed by a simple majority of 50% plus one.



Meyer



Ramaphosa

cont'd

P.T.O.

LABOUR PARTY

Crumbling act

Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party, once the most numerically powerful opposition group ever to face the National Party in parliament, crumbled further this week when six MPs quit to join the Democratic Party.

Among them were two of Hendrickse's staunchest allies, David Curry and Chris April. The LP is now left with only 17 MPs in the 85-seat House of Representatives (HoR). After the first tricameral election in 1984, the LP held 80 seats. The party was effectively broken last year when a concerted Nat effort wooed most LP MPs and forced it into opposition in the HoR.

So far only one LP MP has quit to join the ANC, though a few of those remaining have strong ANC leanings. They include Hendricke's son, Peter, and son-in-law, Desmond Locky. *FM 11/9/92*

One MP who joined the DP, Cliff Nasson, says the majority of MPs still in the LP are keen to join a centrist party like the DP while a smaller group is likely to go to the ANC.

For Curry, joining the DP was like coming home. He was a member of the old Progressive Party until the now repealed Prohibition of Political Interference Act prohibited non-racial political parties.

The DP's Ken Andrew says the addition of

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the six MPs makes the DP the second-biggest party in parliament and strengthens the base from which to grow.

"We are determined initially to build our support to at least 10% of the adult population and, in the process, to recruit leaders of national and local prominence." ■

11A
CT 1119/92

Winnie may still face a full ANC inquiry

Staff Reporter

MRS Winnie Mandela could still face a full-scale investigation and a disciplinary hearing by the ANC despite her resignation from the national executives of the ANC and its Women's League on Wednesday.

ANC national executive committee member Mrs Thandi Modise-Mkhwanazi said an inquiry investigating Mrs Mandela's suspension from the organisation's Women's League national executive was re-opened to hear fresh evidence last week.

The inquiry relates to a protest staged in May at the Johannesburg ANC offices in Shell House by Mrs Mandela's supporters against her suspension from the Women's League executive.

Wits Professor Denis Davis and attorney Ms Linda Zama had recommended a full-scale investigation after hearing evidence from Mrs Mandela and others, she said.

Professor Davis confirmed yesterday that Mrs Mandela had given evidence last week after a request by the ANC to re-open the inquiry but declined to release details of the completed report.

Yesterday's announcement follows revelations by Sunday newspapers of a letter allegedly written by Mrs Mandela to lawyer Mr Dali Mpofo expressing fears of an investigation into her bank account. The letter also mentions ANC social welfare department cheques cashed on their behalf.

Mrs Mandela has said her resignation had nothing to do with her work nor her private account.

ANC sources said yesterday they believed the letter leaked to newspapers had been the "last straw".

There was also the question of serious irregularities in the department of social welfare's books, they said.

"An amount of R400 000 has been mentioned but it is believed to be slightly less than that. Nobody knows the figures because we are not being informed about it," said a source.

re-
ber
AP

Group news to

Scene set for top-level talks on violence

ANC agrees to summit

STAR 11/9/92

11A

By Peter Fabricius
and Kaizer Nyatumba

The ANC announced last night it was prepared to take part in a summit on violence at top leadership level with the Government.

The surprisingly conciliatory decision was made after a two-day meeting of the national working committee (NWC) to discuss the ANC's reaction to Ciskei's shooting of up to 28 ANC marchers on Monday.

A meeting between the ANC headed by its president Nelson Mandela and an SA Government delegation led by President de Klerk could soon be on the cards, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said last night.

The decision followed an invitation by Mr de Klerk on Wednesday for a top-level meeting of Government and ANC delegations — led by himself and Mr Mandela — to discuss violence.

Mr de Klerk effectively suspended the Government's further participation in constitutional negotiations pending resolution of violence.

The Government, under increasing foreign pressure to bring Ciskei military lead-

The contest between the ANC and the Government to win international favour in the wake of the Bisho tragedy heated up yesterday as Mr Mandela interrupted the NWC meeting to brief ambassadors, and Mr Botha announced that he had taken the Bisho row to the UN.

He said he had written to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali urging him to persuade the UN Security Council to condemn "provocative" ANC actions — like the Bisho march — which led to loss of life.

Mr Botha stressed that he was calling for the UN to play more than just the observer role it has so far played in the SA conflict.

He also warned at the press conference for media and diplomats that coercive measures would be taken if the Ciskei government rebuffed SA Government attempts to persuade it to use more enlightened methods to control protest marches.

He did not specify the methods, but Government sources said they could start with financial sanctions.

Mr Botha was referring to Mr de Klerk's announcement that he would call together all homeland governments to ensure that they handled marches in an "effective and responsible" way.

Mr Botha said he had written to the UN secretary-general urging him to send a representative to South Africa as soon as possible to help strengthen the National Peace Secretariat.

Mr Botha suggested that the UN representative attend, as an observer, the special meeting of the signatories of the National Peace Accord which President de Klerk called for on Wednesday to improve measures to curb violence.

The UN representative should also enter into discussions with the main political players to help end violence and remove obstacles to negotiation.

In his 20-page letter to the UN secretary-general, Mr Botha slammed the ANC for deliberately ignoring the National Peace Accord, the Goldstone Commission's guidelines and the conditions imposed by a magistrate for the Bisho march.

He said the ANC had targeted Ciskei for mass action, not because it did not allow free political activity, but because it was anti-ANC.

Mr Botha added that incidents like the Bisho massacre in which ANC members were victims attracted worldwide publicity but the world virtually ignored massacres of Inkatha Freedom Party supporters.



Cheeky cub . . . Ntombi seems to be shaping up as her mother's successor.

Picture

More reports
— Pages 3 and 13

er Brigadier Oupa Gqozo into line after the Bisho massacre, said it was now ready to use "coercive measures" against him.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha sounded this warning to the Ciskei leader at a press conference in Pretoria last night and also announced that he had invited the United Nations to step up its presence in SA to try to end political violence and get talks back on track.

The ANC's decision to attend a summit on violence pleased observers who had feared an uncompromising reaction.

Earlier foreign governments had urged the ANC to attend the meeting and not to put impossible demands on the Government — such as the removal of the Ciskei leader — as a condition for resuming negotiations.

They urged instead that the ANC should call for the Government to pressure Brigadier Gqozo to allow free political activity in Ciskei. Mr Botha's threat to use coercive measures — possibly financial sanctions — against Ciskei was seen as helpful in this regard.

White lioness missing

By Julienne du Toit

Whitey, the famous white lioness of the eastern Transvaal, has disappeared.

But her two-year-old cub Ntombi appears to be shaping up as her successor, and could now be the only white lion in the area.

Whitey, who would be about 11 years old now, has not been seen for two months, said Megan Cesare of Motsuari game reserve, near Hoedspruit in the eastern Transvaal.

"We don't know what has

happened. She could have been poached . . . maybe she has just passed on."

Ntombi, a cheeky, robust young lioness, is showing dominant tendencies, just like her mother, who was matriarch of the 14-strong pride. The recessive gene which makes certain lions white at birth also seems to make them larger. "This gives them a bit of an edge as youngsters," said Mrs Cesare.

Many of the white lions, originally from the Timbavati game reserve, are in zoos all over the world.



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Slabbert: SACP 'riding' on ANC

(117) CT 11/9/92

Political Staff

THE ANC had a deeply divided political personality and it had to decide whether it supported confrontation or negotiation. Idasa's policy director, Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, has stated in an interview.

He also said the times were too serious and critical to be misled by the sort of Mickey Mouse revolutionary politics advocated by the SA Communist Party.

Dr Slabbert, former Leader of the Opposition in the House of Assembly, said in the interview, being published in today's issue of Vrye Weekblad, that the SACP was totally relying on the ANC's back to ride into the first election.

The interview is his most outspoken attack on the SACP and on its manipulation of the ANC.

He said he was not convinced that now was the time to start a new political party but what was more important was that people were talking about this possibility more often and with greater intensity.

The ANC was, on one hand, a liberation movement with ideals with which he could identify without much difficulty, but, on the other hand, strategically the organisation was the

prisoner of its most coherent and determined partner, the SACP.

"The time has now broken for the alliance to decide what profile it would offer to the voters in the coming election."

One of the most important qualities of the communists that was they were absolutely honourable, open and unequivocal about their position.

"Therefore, in completely the same way I can say equally unequivocally that if they are part of the alliance in an election, I cannot vote for them in terms of their policies and strategies."

Said in private

Dr Slabbert said he had great respect, even admiration, for Mr Nelson Mandela, but he could not compromise his sacrifices for a communist strategy that had caused so much suffering and hardship this century.

It did not help him that individual members of the ANC said in private that the views of SACP members were not the official standpoint of the ANC because the SACP and the unions under its control were the most organised faction of the alliance.

It was clear that people like Mr Chris Hani and Mr Ronnie Kasrils regarded negotiations as only another terrain of struggle.

NP meet on disquiet over

Political Correspondent

THE National Party's parliamentary caucus last night began gathering for a "backroom" this

ship style, particularly his handling of the ANC.

It is understood some party members believe Mr De Klerk has not been

argument rision the going to ANC seizing the

SOWETO Democratic Party leader Andile Mzaidume gets ready to address a spruce little meeting in Funda Centre on Saturday afternoon. He's nervous, he confesses, because he's never chaired a meeting before.

About 17 blacks and half that number of whites are perched neatly on chairs, listening intently, waiting for MPs Tony Leon and Lester Fuchs to talk to them on the issues of the day and tell them why they should join the DP.

At first blush the meeting seems to have more in common with a Bible study class than what one had come to expect of a township political event, but then the DP is a newcomer to Soweto.

Mzaidume admits the DP's recruitment drive in the country's largest township "won't be easy."

"There are lots of people sympathetic to the DP who would like to join. The problem is that most people are afraid to come out in the open." He has a point. Only three of the people *The Weekly Mail* spoke to after the meeting would divulge their names.

"They have to see the party is alive in Soweto. In time they'll want to come aboard as well," says Mzaidume.

Cesar Khumalo, 22, who signed up a year ago, explains he likes the African National Congress, but opposes its alliance with the South African Communist Party.

"It doesn't matter that we are small as long as we know our objectives for a new South Africa," he says.

Everybody seems to agree that the National Party has no growth potential in Soweto.

"The DP is a party of negotiation and non-violence. That's why I joined them," says Victor Khambule, who is unemployed. "The ANC is a violent party. They always want to propose mass action which people don't like. People are far too hungry. But the Nats are the party of apartheid. They will never get our support. People here are well aware they are suffering because of the Nats."

Fuchs kicks off the meeting on a hearty note: the time has come to recognise the DP as a party in its own right, not a dating agency set on marrying the ANC and Nats. "We are a player not a referee, a bride not a bridesmaid. We are confident that if our resolve is strong enough we can put the DP firmly on the map. Only our best efforts will ensure that democracy exists in the country."

For Leon and several other MPs, going it alone was not exactly first prize. Six months ago papers were written, and there was plenty of talk, in the direction of going into a new party together with the Nats.

That option was firmly quashed by the majority of DP MPs. And in the wake of further revelations about state involvement in violence, corruption and renewed evidence of NP duplicity on a range of issues, the debate is definitely over. Any doubts about this were dispelled by the party's refusal to

Blushing bride enters Soweto

The Democratic Party, like an eager bridesmaid, is going for the garter. But its hopes to catch a large black constituency are limited. By **GAVIN EVANS** and **PHILIPPA GARSON**

participate in the NP's alliance-building conference on federalism on Monday.

The decision, however, has not been without its cost. It has been noticeable, for instance, that the SABC has recently been all but ignoring the DP (a perception most starkly illustrated by an "all-party" debate on *Agenda* this week which included the Afrikaner Volksunie and the Bophuthatswana government, but not the DP).

Even the DP's opponents now agree that under the leadership of Dr Zach de Beer the party has played an exemplary role in negotiations. In particular, De Beer, party chairman Ken Andrew and former leader Colin Eglin have won just about everyone's respect as politicians of integrity by putting forward workable compromises and scrupulously maintaining their independence.

"Of all the political organisations, the DP and its predecessors are the only ones who have tried to reconcile black aspirations and white fears, and that is what negotiations are all about," Andrew says. "We've been in that game for 30 years, and the positions we adopt are not based on power but on what is best for South Africa, so it's not surprising when the compromises reached are close to what we argued."

The problem, though, is the party has not been particularly successful in translating this into structures, organisations or any other indicators of solid support outside the white electorate. Despite its record of opposing apartheid, and the existence of a considerable — and probably growing — constituency of black people who don't trust the National Party, hate Inkatha and are wary of the militancy, and communist links of the ANC, its township performance has

been far from inspired:

De Beer is surprisingly frank on this point and acknowledges that few inroads have been made in the African or Indian areas.

"In the black areas we are pleased and surprised by the friendliness with which we are received. But very few people have shown an inclination to join us. The majority are definitely ANC. We appear to be everybody's second choice. We now have a few branches — in Mamelodi, Soweto and the east Rand, but we haven't done more than scratch the surface."

Their last major foray into the Indian communities was in the 1989 election when they won three of the nine seats they contested. Little has been done since then.

"In the coloured areas we've been more successful and things are going well. We have seven branches in the Cape Flats, three in Port Elizabeth and one in Johannesburg, and new ones are being launched weekly.

"The coloured community tends to be conservative. Most people are terrified of communism, so they're not attracted to the ANC, and most will not readily join the party which gave them the Group Areas Act.

"The polls showing massive Nat support are not necessarily accurate because a high proportion of the community fears the government and doesn't understand polls."

In all three communities, he admits, the problem is one of leadership. The party took a controversial decision by accepting (or rather carefully selecting) six former Labour Party MPs into its ranks. David Curry, Chris April, Cliff Nasson, Neville Padiachy, Errol Gordon and Barend Andrews are among the more credible of the "tri-cameral" politicians. This, the LP's recent dalliance with the ANC, combined with the growth of the coloured section of the NP, have made the issue less controversial. But it was a decision that wasn't taken lightly and De Beer notes that the DP's two most credible coloured stalwarts — Professor Richard van der Ross and Norman Daniels — were reluctant to accept the move.

In the African areas the party would love to attract the likes of Enos Mabuza and Oscar Dhlomo, but both are accumulating directorships and staying away from party politics.

The DP's problem is that despite its considerable non-racial potential it remains a party of well-off, largely English-speaking white people (who are not impressed by the party's poor performance in running the Johannesburg and Sandton city councils).

De Beer, however, is far from pessimistic: "In 1989 we got the vote of 20 percent of the white community. After that we lost a lot to FW, but most have since come back because of the widespread disillusionment with FW.

"Right now we could not be sure of getting even five percent of the vote in a non-racial election, but our aim is to get between 10 and 12 percent. I think it's realistic."

THIS IS RIDICULOUS!

BUT MADAM...IT'S NOT

GO AHEAD...EYE DUCK THE

D-DAY FOR HOMELANDS



Symbols of a tragedy: The imaginary Ciskei border is marked by soldiers and wreaths

Photo: SARAH PRALL

SA's negotiations by massacre

**Behind the
showdown:
Both sides
have an eye on
elections**

THE African National Congress and the government are headed for a bloody showdown in the homelands. After this week's confrontation and massacre in Ciskei, the ANC is targeting President Lucas Mangope; the organisation has announced a plan to march on Bophuthatswana next Saturday. Tension is also building up between the kwaZulu government and the ANC.

The government yesterday signalled a hard-line determination to resist the attack on its homeland allies. Foreign Minister Pik Botha said ominously that the government was

ready to use "coercive action in the interests of all the people of the region".

Both sides are driven by election strategy. The ANC sees it as essential to establish free political activity in these repressive areas before any voting campaign can begin. The organisation has also been under severe pressure from its members in these areas to do something about tough conditions in the homelands.

The National Party feels it has to defend its potential election allies if it is to survive a vote. Botha has said that with the help of homeland leaders, the NP can win an election.

At stake also is the government's notion of a federal state, with strong regions counterbalancing central government power. Without the homelands and homeland leaders, its federal option will be short-lived.

The ANC this week presented the government with a simple choice: either ditch your homeland friends, or shoot us.

The government and its allies chose the latter — setting the scene for a bloody confrontation that has little to do with the drive for peace, and everything to do with winning votes.

● See PAGES 2, 4, 5 & 19

BISHO: THE LATEST ROUND IN SOUTH AFRICA'S NEGOTIATIONS BY MASSACRE

Homelands move to top of the agenda

W/Mail 11/9-17/9/92

THE Bisho shootings have presented the African National Congress with its sharpest dilemma yet.

Will it pursue mass action to bring political freedom to the homelands, even at the risk of more bloodshed and an evaporating possibility of resumed negotiations?

In the wake of the Bisho massacre the government is more vulnerable on the homelands issue than ever before. It is under mounting international pressure to pull the plug on its embarrassing surrogates — even though this

would mean sacrificing vital members of a potential election front.

The actions of both the government and the ANC around the Bisho confrontation have been dictated by one overriding concern: the building and maintaining support for an upcoming election.

Also at issue are opposing conceptions of a future South African state. While the ANC favours a strong central state, the government is committed to maintaining the homelands as allies in promoting a federal option. The massacre coincided with Presi-

The Bisho killings present the ANC with a unique opportunity for an assault on the homelands — but the option is fraught with danger.
By **PHILIPPA GARSON**
and **MARK GEVISSER**

dent FW de Klerk's Pretoria summit for pro-federalist organisations.

At the National Party Congress in Bloemfontein last week, Foreign Min-

ister Pik Botha stated that an NP-led alliance could win 51 percent of the vote, with the help of homeland leaders.

At the same time, the ANC has become increasingly aware that time is running out if it is to campaign successfully for constituent assembly elections in homelands which have systematically stifled free political activity.

In the past, the ANC has been slow to support mass action in the homelands, despite frequent calls from local activists in Ciskei and Bophuthat-

swana. But escalating repression in these areas in an era when electioneering has already begun has prompted a renewed strategy.

There are already moves to extend the Bisho strategy. The ANC staged a peaceful march in QwaQwa this week, while an alliance march on the Bophuthatswana capital of Mmabatho is tentatively scheduled for September 19.

Alliance leaders stress that the aim is not to take control in the earmarked homelands but to create the conditions for open political activity. And if that means deposing tyrants like Gqozo and Mangope, then so be it: "Getting rid of these leaders and achieving free political activity cannot be separated," commented ANC head of political

education Raymond Suttner.

Added senior South African Communist Party member Jeremy Cronin: "We can't go into elections in places where lack of free political activity continues to be a reality. That is why it is imperative that we open up the political space. This is designed to normalise the political situation, not raise the political temperatures."

Countering Botha's complaint at a press conference yesterday that the ANC had not targeted Venda and Transkei because they were its allies, Suttner said these homelands were being exempted from mass action "not because they are our allies, but because they allow a measure of political freedom (Transkei military ruler Bantu Holomisa has personally acquired a degree of popularity, precisely because he allows free activity). The government has also employed, with renewed vigour, the age-old strategy of attempting to split the alliance by blaming the communist tail, once more, for wagging the communist tail, once Klerk said on Wednesday that "the communists have taken the ANC in tow".

While Bisho has undoubtedly caused latent tensions between moderates and militants to surface, the decision to embark on a mass action campaign in the homelands, starting with Ciskei, was almost unanimous at last week's national executive committee meeting.

And, critically, the motivation to start a mass action campaign in Ciskei came from the ANC's regional and local structures — and was simply ratified, not prompted, by national leadership.

An ANC tactical blunder and the savagery of the Ciskei Defence Force led to 28 deaths. But, on one level, Ciskei activists got what they wanted: the homelands are now on the agenda, and the point has been bloodily made that negotiations cannot continue until there is some level of political freedom in homelands like Ciskei, kwazulu and Bophuthatswana.

But at what price? At a leadership level, the issue was hotly debated at an extended National Working Committee pow-wow yesterday, and is so sensitive that a tight-lipped ANC president Nelson Mandela would not even divulge strategy to high-level diplomats at a briefing between sessions.

Some in the ANC are beginning to ask whether the politics of confrontation in places like Mmabatho and Bisho will ever lead to what the ANC really wants: referenda to demonstrate the support of homeland citizens for reincorporation.

It is highly unlikely that De Klerk will agree to referenda that will show ANC support even in supposed federalist-front strongholds such as kwazulu and Bophuthatswana. He may offer a compromise — the right to organise freely in these areas while their current rulers remain in place.

Govt will block ANC takeover at all costs

Weekly Mail Reporter

THE government is convinced the African National Congress alliance has decided to use every tactic possible to bring all the homelands under its control in order to assume power when negotiations restart — and that it has no alternative but to resist this strategy.

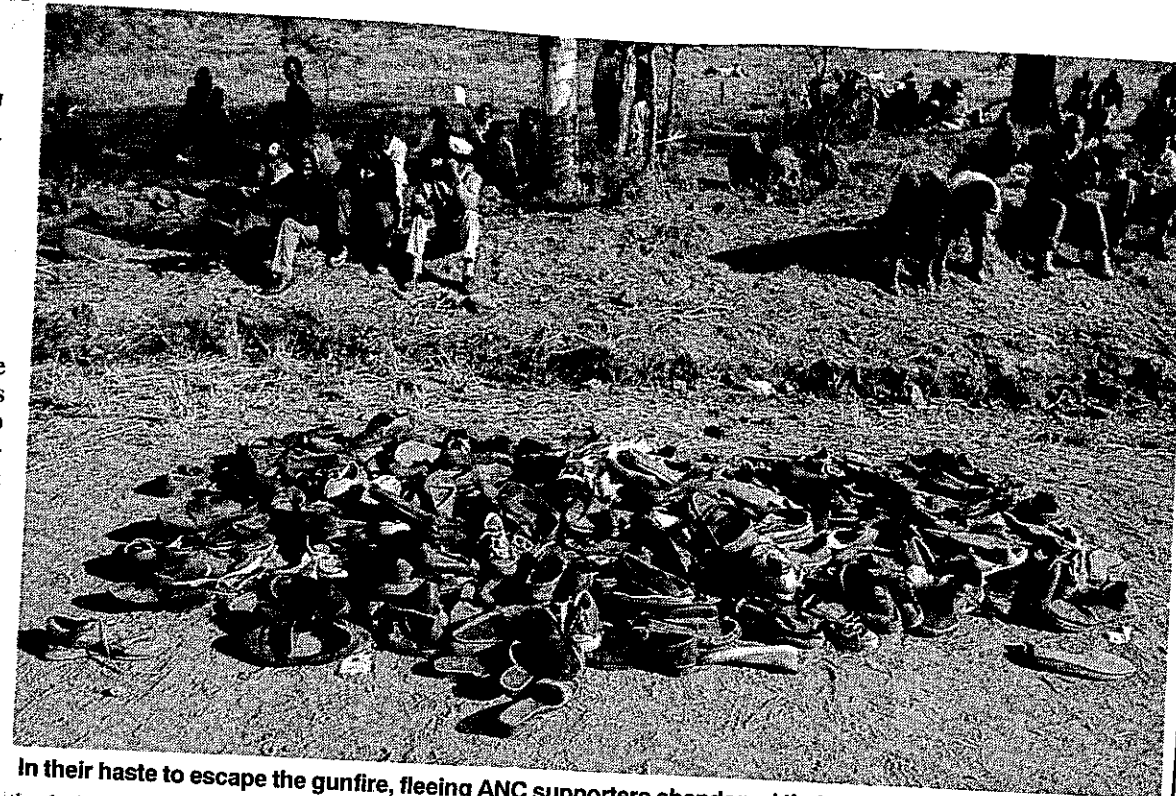
It also believes that the Bisho massacre will look like a picnic if the ANC alliance takes its campaign to Bophuthatswana and kwaZulu. Conflict would fan out through Natal and the Reef hostels would erupt.

Yesterday Foreign Minister Pik Botha sent a memorandum to United Nations secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali urging him to send a representative to hold discussions with key political players and to demand that the ANC and the South African Communist Party abandon "any further provocative actions".

In a hard-line document released at a Pretoria press conference, Botha charged that the ANC/SACP actions at Bisho and withdrawal from Codesa violated UN Security Council Resolutions 765 and 772. Mass action, he said, was "aimed at eliminating leaders of those parties who refuse to be cowed and intimidated by them".

He warned that the government was ready to use coercive action in the interests of all the people of the region.

One of the major spinoffs of the massacre, say government sources, is



In their haste to escape the gunfire, fleeing ANC supporters abandoned their shoes Photo: SARAH PRALL

that levels of trust between the government and ANC have plummeted to a new low: they say agreements were reached at Bisho but the ANC leadership deliberately decided to break them.

They did not expect Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's troops to use live ammunition as the first line of fire, but ultimately Gqozo was in power, legally and politically, and it was his responsibility.

"It was a grab for power. The ANC wanted to change the chess board," one source said. "The ANC broke the agreed conditions and wanted to occupy Bisho. They should have known that Gqozo had his back to the wall. They wanted to oust him and they got their come-uppance."

The government believed the march

was aimed at taking control of Ciskei and the occupation of Bisho was the first stage of a campaign to bring all the homelands under its wing. "After this, all other issues pale into insignificance. It could not be tolerated."

The source said the government had made a concerted bid to prevent conflict despite its scepticism about the real aims of the march.

It sent representatives down a week before, the National Peace Committee was alerted, the minister of law and order and two deputy ministers were on hand, the ANC leadership was continually contacted, diplomats were briefed, and broad agreement was eventually reached, but these conditions were deliberately broken.

In the circumstances, it would be

very difficult to restore reasonable levels of trust for meaningful negotiations to be resumed.

The sources also said Pretoria wanted to ensure that whatever happened, it would not be linked to the Ciskei government.

Botha had even phoned the SACP secretary general Chris Hani in the presence of foreign diplomats to reinforce the fact that it wanted to keep its distance from the Ciskei and persuade him not to force confrontation.

One source said the major beneficiaries of the massacre were those, on both sides, who did not want to see negotiations succeed. "Only two people, Gqozo and Ronnie Kasrils, had their planning right," the source said.

Guardian/W

Nonviolence is a better bet

11A



WHILE the de Klerk government has at its disposal the full power of the state, ranging from its army and security forces through government controlled television and radio, the ANC now has neither the threat of armed struggle nor international sanctions, says *Barbara Harmel*, writing in the *International Herald Tribune*. The most powerful weapon for the ANC is that of protest and other forms of "people power."

The 1980s provided striking evidence of the potential of non-violent action in fighting political oppression. It was a decade in which the term "people power" came into its own. In the Philippines, China, Argentina, Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Un-

ion and elsewhere, "people power" challenged long-standing dictatorships and authoritarian regimes, prompting important political changes. In South Africa, "people power" forced the government away from repression and into negotiations.

The ANC has much to gain in its struggle to achieve a democratic society by developing a program for the strategic use of non-violent direct action. Most immediately, it could provide vital leverage at the negotiating table when talks resume. Swift deployment of well-timed strikes or well placed boycotts would be

far more effective than time-wasting walkouts from the negotiations. Through the strategic use of "people power," the ANC could impose short-term but real costs for heel-dragging.

A platform of non-violent mass action would underscore both the ANC's commitment to peaceful change and its militancy. It would sharply distinguish the ANC from Inkatha, whose members have so frequently been captured by television cameras brandishing their "traditional" weapons, while enhancing the ANC's appeal to those who demand a tougher stance from it.

Further, a program of non-violent action could make contributions to the ANC's organizational capacities. Communications between leadership and the rank and file have been less than satisfactory. Lack of information about the party has been a frequent complaint from ANC members. The strategic use of "people power" would require tight communication with the people on the streets via well-functioning channels of information.

The ANC has vast resources to tap among its membership, some of whom have felt increasingly alienated from the political process.

Directly engaging members in a process of creative thinking about tactics would develop a repertoire of non-violent actions and mobilize the membership.

South Africa lacks a democratic tradition. Authoritarian rule and decades of conflict have characterized the society. Perhaps the most important role the adoption of a program of non-violent action could play is establishing a solid base for a democracy.

The writer is director of The South Africa Program at the Albert Einstein Institution, a non-profit organization that promotes research and education on non-violent responses to political violence.

Blood and tears

11A
11/9-17/9/92

Guardian [w/in w/Mar]

ONCE again the crackle of gunfire in South Africa has thrown into question the entire future of the sub-continent leaving political analysts desperately trying to gauge the consequences of a massacre, which are as predictable, and as difficult to predict, as the path of a ricocheting bullet.

Perhaps the most significant impact which the Bisho massacre will have is on the African National Congress itself, which — despite its public face of outrage — must be suffering some misgivings in its leadership at the strategy which led its supporters (and some of their leaders) into the Ciskei guns.

The thinking which took them there is well-known and to some extent understandable. In the face of deadlock in the constitutional negotiations and with the realisation that the status quo always benefits those in power, the ANC had to develop political leverage. Their strength being in numbers, they had to mobilise crowds. Requiring a focus for their mobilisation, they turned almost predictably on the weak points in what might be described as the enemy alliance — Pretoria's homeland puppets of whom Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, a creation of South African military intelligence and its proxies, was a prime example.

But by taking the mobilisation across the border, from the demonstration of power to the attempted exercise of it (the declaration of the organisers that their intention was to occupy Bisho and force the resignation of the brigadier) they were engaging in brinkmanship of a kind which must be questioned, if with hindsight. They were making that mistake familiar to the hunters of Africa, of cornering a quarry and rendering the hunt doubly dangerous.

It is also unfortunate for the ANC, if only in propaganda terms, that those who took the lead in organising the Bisho march — the likes of Chris Hani, Ronnie Kasrils and Raymond Suttner — are also prominent members of the South African Communist Party. Despite the line constantly trotted out by government politicians, there is no evidence of a communist-nationalist split in the ANC. But it is a line for which more

ammunition has been provided; it will be only too easy to present the Bisho march as the work of frustrated revolutionaries, romantics of the gun determined to provoke a situation which will facilitate a call to the barricades of which they have been robbed by negotiations.

Among the ANC's supporters such arguments will carry no weight; just the opposite. And that is the problem for the leadership and the price they (and the country) will have to pay for Monday's events, over and above the lives and pain of the dead and the injured.

There is little doubt that the ANC and the government were on the brink of another significant negotiating breakthrough before the massacre took place. Political insiders insist that it was a matter of weeks — and some face — saving theatre — before the deal would have become apparent. It requires little in the way of imagination to picture the frustration now felt by Nelson Mandela, who has been so anxious to break the deadlock that he has had to be specifically prohibited by his national executive from engaging in personal contact with government ministers.

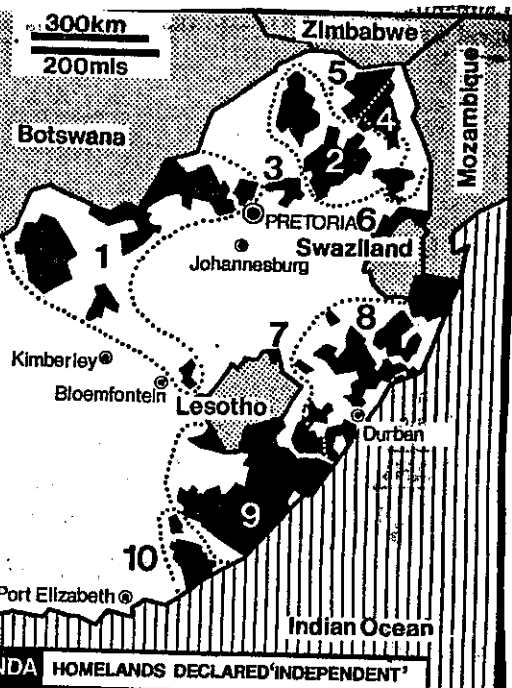
But Mandela, above all others in the ANC leadership, will appreciate the impossibility of now being seen to reach a settlement, in the face of the popular fury in the townships which pays little attention to the distinction between the brigadier and president, between puppet and puppet-master. In the longer term, emotions will no doubt subside and the path towards a settlement re-open. But it is at that point that the path of the ricocheting bullet becomes so difficult to assess.

There is a possibility that Brigadier Gqozo, a product of the P. W. Botha era, will be dumped by F. W. de Klerk for the sake of peace and a deal. It would be easy to do — the brigadier (who has previously shown himself vulnerable to whispers in the ear from his South African military advisors) only has to be persuaded that his life is dependent on his submitting himself to the popular test of a referendum on reincorporation. It is a test he would undoubtedly lose and the administration of the

SOUTH AFRICA

The black 'homelands'

Homeland	People
1 BOPHUTHATSWANA	Tswana
2 LEBOWA	N. Sotho
3 KWANDEBELE	Ndebele
4 GAZANKULU	Shangaan & Tsonga
5 VENDA	Venda
6 KANGWANE	Swazi
7 QWAQWA	S. Sotho
8 KWAZULU	Zulu
9 TRANSKEI	Xhosa
10 CISKEI	Xhosa



Six areas (Gazankulu, Lebowa, KwaNdebele, KaNgwane, Qwaqwa and KwaZulu) are now designated as self-governing states. A further four (Bophuthatswana, Ciskei, Transkei and Venda) are regarded as independent republics by the South African government but are not recognized as such by the UN.

territory would return to direct rule from Pretoria, presumably with the approval of the ANC.

It would be the sort of refreshing move that the world has come to expect from President de Klerk. But there are indications that divisions within his own cabinet — reinforced by white perceptions (as always so different from those in the townships) that the massacre was all the ANC's fault — may make it a difficult path for him to follow.

What also has to be assessed is the psychological impact which the massacre could have on other homeland leaders. At the weekend there was a massacre which went largely unnoticed by the South African press as well as the international media — as ever (some would say) when the victims are the members of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha movement.

Twelve delegates were shot dead on Fri-

day night last week by gunmen while on their way to a conference of the Inkatha Youth League. It was an incident which had the bellicose chief declaring on Saturday that it was time to "bugger up" the ANC, a fantasy which on Monday he saw brought to realisation by a man whom he must regard as by far his inferior in the warrior stakes.

Gunfire, say those who have experience of pulling the trigger, has an addictive effect. In addition it offers the appearance of an easy way out for men already addicted to power — men such as Brigadier Gqozo himself, Chief Buthelezi, and the Bophuthatswana leader, "President for Life" Lucas Mangope, who must have been feeling increasingly threatened by the bi-lateral negotiations which have been taking place in secret over the last few months between the ANC and the government. It is in their reaction to the events in the Ciskei that ricochets could find unintended targets.

By David Beresford

If Monday's Bisho march had taken place a few months ago, Winnie Mandela would have undoubtedly been at the head of the column, designer-fatigued and fist raised between Ronnie Kasrils and Chris Hani, two of her stronger supporters in better times.

Instead, she was behind the walls of her Soweto fortress, fending off the ignoble revelations of the letter of jealous rage, printed in the Sunday papers, allegedly written to the lover who spurned her, Dali Mpfu.

Three days later, Mandela resigned from all her posts in the African National Congress and from the Women's League — once her bastion of support. It was only hours before the movement's highest body, the National Working Committee, was to finally decide her fate.

Mandela's parting statement was the woman personified: both eloquently moving and bitterly vindictive. While she was adamant that the resignation had "nothing to do with my work", she did use the opportunity to take a final parting shot at the "cabal" that she believes forced her out: she spoke of "enemies", some of who were "inside our ranks", who "have rejoiced in reading about our problems" and who "for selfish political reasons have waged a vicious and malicious campaign against me, and through me the leadership of my husband and our organisation".

"There's nothing for any of us to rejoice about," countered Women's League Secretary-General Baleka Kgositsile. "It's a tragedy that someone who is clearly talented and who has such strong qualities of leadership could not be utilised to the fullest by the movement. Nevertheless, she has taken the right decision."

There had been rumours of the resignation at ANC headquarters all week, and Nelson Mandela had indicated to colleagues that it was forthcoming and that it was "a family matter", following the leak of the letter.

Is it a coincidence that the letter was leaked to the press, precipitating Mandela's resignation, in the very week that the ANC was to decide her fate? Has the letter been used by the ANC to do its dirty work? For months, the ANC has been in a "no-Winnie situation". It has been patently clear to the movement that she was one of its greatest liabilities, and yet it had dithered and prevaricated at taking action: since June, for example, it has been sitting on a damning report on her abuse of power within the Women's League.

Discussions this week with a wide range of senior officials in the ANC reveal an intense level of desperation at the movement's inability to suspend or dismiss its most troublesome member, even as allegations of misdemeanours and crimes mounted to a fevered pitch. "Incrim-

The ANC finally resolves its no-Winnie situation

The African National Congress dithered over Winnie Mandela's fate until a leak to the press finally resolved the dilemma.

By **MARK GEVISSER**

w/maail 11/9-17/9/92

inating letters have been circulating around Shell House for a while now," commented one source. "I can absolutely say that there was no official decision to leak it. But I would not be surprised if, in a moment of desperation, some individual had done it in a personal capacity."

While the Stompie affair has tainted Mandela in the public eye for over three years now, matters only reached crisis point within the ANC at the end of May when a group of ANC members, calling themselves the "Social Welfare Support Committee", staged a sit-in protesting her resignation from the head of the department and the firing of her second-in-command, Mpfu.

When members of the Women's League reported to the ANC that Mandela herself was behind this demonstration, a snap commission of inquiry was conducted by Professor Dennis Davis of the Wits University Law School and prominent Durban lawyer Linda Zama.

The commission's findings, which have not been made public, are that Mandela and a small group of supporters on the Women's League PWV Regional Executive, of which she was chair, planned the event themselves. They recruited women from squatter camps, many of



whom who were not even aware of the fact that they would be protesting against the ANC. According to ANC sources, the commission found that the final meeting before the sit-in was held in Mandela's Soweto home and that she personally made some of the placards.

"If that is the case," commented a Women's League official, "then Mandela abused her power greatly, by conning the very women she says she is working for, and by not using the appropriate channels for internal dissent."

One of the major points made in a memorandum issued by the Social Welfare Support Committee was that "for too long now there has been talk of a secret cabal operating within the leadership structures". The whole event, says another source, "was a direct attack on (Cyril) Ramaphosa. Winnie was using loyal ANC members to effect her personal revenge on the man whom she believed to be her principal detractor."

The Women's League incurred Mandela's personal wrath by acting swiftly, first suspending the entire executive of its PWV region, and then suspending Mandela from her position

on the League's National Executive.

But the ANC's National Executive Committee, of which Mandela is also a member, was slower to act. At a meeting in early June, the Davis/Zama findings were debated for five hours. According to members who attended, the NEC was initially adamant that Mandela be suspended from all her leadership positions, but a "moderate" line eventually won out. It was decided to submit the findings to the NWC for disciplinary action and to hold Mandela to a series of restrictions: she was forbidden to appear publicly on behalf of the ANC or to work, at any level, within ANC structures.

But the NWC kept on avoiding the issue at its meetings, purportedly because other matters, such as the breakdown in negotiations, took prominence. Several senior ANC officials, however, believe that the issue was avoided for political reasons. "We just didn't know what to do about her," one says. "At this stage, unlike in earlier meetings, no one was actually protesting her innocence. But there was the fear that suspending her would be divisive, and would impact negatively on Madiba, even though they were already separated."

And while the NWC dithered, Mandela systematically violated the terms of the NEC's June meeting. She continued to appear publicly, and she refused to vacate her office at the PWV regional headquarters: when she found that she had been locked out, she changed the locks.

One official commented this week: "The prevailing view in the ANC has been that the best policy is to sweep the Winnie mess under the rug and hope that it will be forgotten. But there has been so much corruption in the De Klerk government and if we did this, how would we be different from the current regime? It's imperative that the ANC shows publicly and forcefully that it will not tolerate corruption, even from the wife of its leader."

The ANC no longer has to dither: the deed has been done. Will Winnie Mandela now be dropped from the South African public consciousness, or will she remain her prominent and indefatigable self, albeit no longer festooned in the rhetoric and fashion of the ANC?

In the revival of *Sarafina*, which opened at the Market Theatre after the Mandela separation, the play ended with Hugh Masekela's anthem, *Bring Back Nelson Mandela*. But Masekela's famous line, "I want to see him walking down the street with Winnie Mandela," was omitted.

Winnie Mandela will remain with us, but alone and tragic rather than as the hero walking down the street arm-in-arm with the man and the movement to whom she was once wed.

**It's us or
Gqozo,
STAY
Says ANC
12/9/92.**

**KEN VERNON
Deputy Editor**

ANOTHER major obstacle has been placed in the way of negotiations by this week's massacre at Bisho — the ANC has vowed not to have contact with any forum that includes Ciskei strongman Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

ANC executive member Ronnie Kasrils yesterday said the organisation would not have any contact with Ciskei until Brigadier Gqozo had been removed.

"He has to go, there's no two ways about it," he said, adding that if the Ciskei leader was present at future Codesa negotiations, the ANC would not take part.

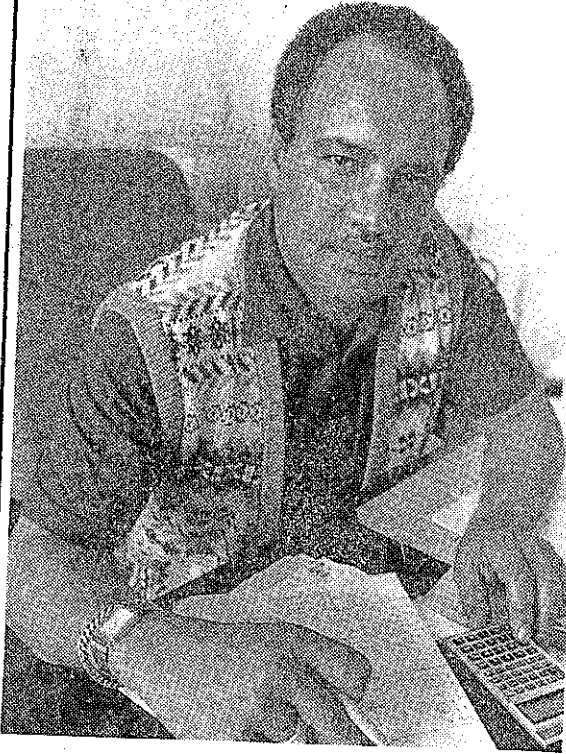
He said, however, that he felt the military leader's days were numbered. "We have precipitated a crisis for the De Klerk regime and they will have to get rid of him."

● Full report - Page 2

A competition for power, says man arrested with Biko

(11A) ARG 12/9/92

■ Today is the 15th anniversary of the death in detention of Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) leader Steve Biko. Weekend Argus Reporter **VUYO BAVUMA** spoke to Peter Jones, the senior BCM activist who was arrested with Biko on August 13 1977.



Picture: LEON MÜLLER, Weekend Argus.

□ **BIKO COMRADE:** Steve Biko comrade and current Azapo activist and accountant Mr Peter Jones in his Rylands office.

PETER Jones believes the philosophy of Black Consciousness is more relevant today than it was when Steve Biko died 15 years ago today.

He maintains that then, in 1977, black people, though they were still oppressed, were united and did not indulge in "destructive competition for political turf".

But today, he says, a lot of the creative energy of black political leadership is being wasted on the interne-cine struggle that is engulfing the country.

Though this conflict is caused by many factors, Jones reckons BC philosophy's most important tenet — psychologically liberating blacks so they can remove their own yokes of oppression — could lead to a more peaceful new South Africa.

And to help douse the flames of violence, black people should channel their energies towards the right targets and should shape their own destinies pro-actively.

The former Azanian People's Organisation executive member spent more than 500 days in detention after being detained with Biko at a roadblock in 1977. He was released early in 1979 and was banned until 1983.

He recalled how "painful" it was when he heard about Biko's death — three weeks and three days later.

An accountant and the father of two daughters, Jones is involved in community affairs in a strictly "academic" sense.

His accounting firm, which he started in 1984, takes in graduate students for intensive training and services more than 600 clients, including trade unions and co-operatives.

Although he holds no position in

Azapo, he "remains a loyal member of the movement".

Jones says he plans to return to active politics and will attend Azapo's national congress in Port Elizabeth in November.

Although Black Consciousness is chastised in some quarters as being racist and followed by armchair believers, Jones maintains the philosophy is still concerned about black destiny.

Jones also credits the BC for attempting to seal a union between the then banned Pan Africanist Congress and African National Congress so that they agreed to a more unified approach before the "idea of the Patriotic Front became fashionable".

The BC also contributed quality leadership for black organisations in the late Eighties until now, he said.

When Biko died he did not sacrifice the black unity on the altar, but actually strengthened it.

Jones said: "The political organisations are currently caught up in a competition for power which is a severely self-destructive cycle.

"There seems to be no vision at all. The so-called main players in the South African political field are not focusing on how to consolidate the entire black community, but are seemingly after power.

"The liberation movements need to set their priorities and not allow anything to destroy the black people's unity," Jones said.

This would set the people on a proper road for liberation for all.

■ A service marking the end of a week-long commemoration of Biko's death will be held at Eantu Church, NY2, Guguletu, at 2pm today.

Dragged back from the brink



RAMAPHOSA: Mass action will go on but prepare for elections.

STAR 12/19/92

11A

PETER FABRICIUS, Political Correspondent

THE Bisho massacre pushed South Africa to the brink of disaster and a return to the armed struggle this week — and jolted the Government and the African National Congress back to talks.

It took the slaughter of 28 ANC marchers by Ciskei military dictator Oupa Gqozo's troops to prod the two warring parties into agreement on a summit on violence — which would be the first meeting of full Government and ANC delegations in months.

The killings also shocked the international community to turn the screws on both of them to get back to talks and to accelerate efforts to mediate in the conflict.

The United Nations responded within 24 hours to an invitation by Foreign Minister Pik Botha to dispatch a special envoy to address the violence, and teams of violence monitors from the IIN

and other international organisations are due to start streaming into the country from the weekend.

Special envoy Virendra Prasad is due to arrive in Johannesburg on Wednesday, preceded by an advance party flying in today. UN sources said special envoy Cyrus Vance, who visited South Africa recently, would have been sent had he not been deeply involved in the Yugoslavian peace effort.

● See Pages 2, 3 and Undercurrent Affairs on Page 12

Officials working for Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa were hurrying to arrange a meeting between the two men to plan the all-important summit on violence which President de Klerk proposed and the ANC, rather surprisingly, accepted.

It is understood that Meyer may leave an important weekend strategy meeting of the National Party caucus to meet Ramaphosa, if this can be arranged.

De Klerk had impressed upon both parties the need for the meeting to take place urgently.

ANC national executive committee member Aziz Pahad said the ANC's decision to attend the violence summit — despite the immense anger in the organisation over the Bisho killings — "reflected our concern that the country was sliding into the abyss. The killing was so shocking that I think it jolted people on both sides to their senses".

But it was a close and nerve-racking week for the country. After the Bisho slaughter it looked for a few days as though a return to the dark days of armed struggle and violent repression was imminent.

South African Communist Party leader Chris Hani virtually abandoned the route of negotiations in favour of armed struggle when he said Bisho had taught his people a lesson that only

● TO PAGE 2.

P.T.O

A risk too far for Kasrils

STAR 12/9/92

(11A)

THIS week things went horribly wrong for Ronnie Kasrils. The ANC's man of action, who is used to taking risks and staring death in the face, took one risk too many in Bisho and 28 people got killed. But, as he told Deputy Editor KEN VERNON, he thinks it was worth it.

THE ANC's Ronnie Kasrils is a man who takes risks.

He has stared death in the face many times... and lived to laugh about it.

This week at Bisho he was once again where he loves to be — at the cutting edge of the struggle, leading by example. But things went wrong and at least 28 people died.

Was Kasrils to blame? Was the dash away from the main march on Bisho and through the stadium, triggering the shooting, another case of Kasrils derring-do gone wrong? Was the march itself an unnecessary provocation?

In a hard-hitting interview he denied that he, or his organisation, was responsible for the Bisho tragedy. "The men who killed those 28 people are the men who pulled the triggers and the men who ordered them to do so — they are the ones who are responsible."

Even when asked whether he did not cynically lead a group of men to their deaths in order to create the martyrs necessary to remove a political opponent, Kasrils did not lose his composure.

"If we really wanted

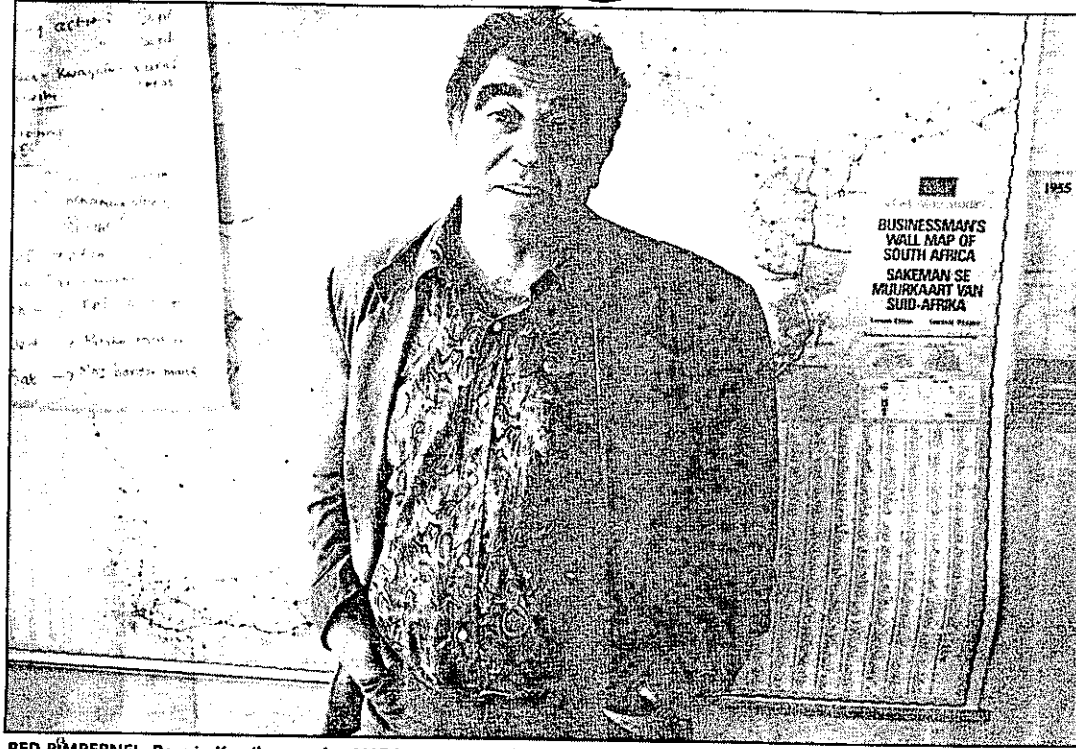
to do that, to have people killed, would some of the top leaders of the ANC have been at the forefront of the march? No, we may have miscalculated. We really believed that a major element within the Ciskeian army sympathised with us and would waver and either run or join us.

"We never believed that they would openly fire on a mass of people before the eyes of the world — the press, the international observers, the Peace Commission."

Kasrils says those who followed him on his dash through the stadium and towards Bisho were members of a hand-picked group who had all been briefed on what to do, and that it was planned that at least half the marchers were then to have joined them in the occupation of Bisho.

"Everyone knew what we were to do. Everyone knew there was a risk. There is no such thing as a risk-free strategy in this kind of situation. But we assessed the risks and believed that getting rid of Gqozo was worth that risk."

He said the final decision to dash through the stadium had been taken only minutes before, al-



RED PIMPERNEL: Ronnie Kasrils says the ANC is not responsible for the deaths at Bisho. "We really believed a major element of the Ciskeian army sympathised with us and would waver and either run or join us." ● Photograph: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

though the possibility of the action had been discussed and agreed to by the march leaders much earlier.

"I reconnoitred the stadium and realised the potential that the gap in the fence represented. The plan was that we would rush away from the soldiers opposite the gap to avoid any head-on confrontation. But we got only about 30 m before they opened fire.

"To say that I was re-

sponsible for the dash for Bisho is wrong. It was a joint decision and had been approved by the leaders of the march beforehand and by the ANC leadership when the march was planned. Even the decision to go ahead through the stadium, taken in a rush as we approached the wire, was taken jointly."

Despite the deaths, Kasrils is adamant that the march was both necessary and the right

thing to do. "We have been in a life-and-death struggle for decades and in order to get where we are, sacrifice has been needed. If we had not been prepared to sacrifice we wouldn't have got where we are — on the eve of liberation.

"The march was necessary because the people of Ciskei were crying to us that they were being beaten and killed by Gqozo. We had to respond. But the march is

just one aspect of the pressure we believe is still necessary to force real change.

"We need to make people motivated and mobilised to force change. Perhaps Gqozo would have fallen without the march, but I doubt it. Now he cannot survive. Pretoria can't afford to keep him in power."

Kasrils denied that the mass action campaign in Ciskei, and other cam-

paigns planned against Bophuthatswana, contradicted the ANC's previous commitment to negotiations with people the organisation regarded as having no legitimacy.

"We have never said that, because we are talking, we set aside our right to exert pressure through mass action. During the Vietnam War the US continued to fight while they talked. During industrial action a

Tentative date set for funeral

EAST LONDON — The funeral of the Bisho massacre victims has been tentatively set for next Wednesday.

At a press conference yesterday, the ANC said the date could change depending on its consultations with the victims' families. A final announcement would be made today.

● The ANC is planning a consumer boycott of Bisho next week, it was reported yesterday. — Sapa.

union may continue to strike while talking with management. Mass action falls into the same category."

He also denied that Ciskei and Bophuthatswana had been singled out for mass action primarily because they disagreed with the ANC, not because they were undemocratic military dictatorships.

"They have been targeted because they are refusing to allow people to take part in normal political democracy," he said. Why then, I suggested, isn't Transkei — also ruled by a military dictator but one who happens to be well-disposed towards the ANC — also the target of mass action?

His reply was that in Transkei and Venda — another ANC-aligned homeland — people were free to join political parties such as the ANC and to have peaceful protests.

In the

Get into
gear for
polls. (11A)

Cosatu
STAR 12/9/92
told

JOHN PERLMAN
Chief Reporter

MASS action must continue, but start preparing for elections. That was the message delivered yesterday to the Congress of South African Trade Unions by Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary-general of the African National Congress.

Ramaphosa spoke at the opening of a three-day conference in Johannesburg, where 300 delegates from Cosatu's 14 affiliates will review mass action and other campaigns.

"The ANC and Cosatu must resolve to build our organisations through mass action. We are going to continue with that in all areas where free political activity is denied."

Oppressive

Ramaphosa said the Bisho shooting had not deterred the ANC from staging similar marches in Bophuthatswana and in right-wing towns.

"These things are not launched from head office. In planning our campaigns we have to take into account the feelings of the people on the ground. Our people in these places experience the oppressive measures taken against them."

Ramaphosa told delegates that while the ANC, Cosatu and the South African Communist Party had "emerged victorious from our mass-action campaign"

● TO PAGE 2.

Elections

● FROM PAGE 1.

they should not be giddy with the success.

"It is important to analyse what De Klerk is doing and respond accordingly. We need to put our organisations on an election footing," he said.

"The National Party is already focused on winning an election. We are the majority but we have to work hard to retain that status.

"The election for a constituent assembly will be the most crucial test of our struggle. Unless we put our organisations and leaders on an election footing we will be surprised at the polls."

Ramaphosa said the ANC would meet the Government on violence, as recommended by the organisation's national

executive committee, once certain preparatory work had been finished. (11A)

This included the immediate release of all political prisoners with no link to amnesty, the fencing of hostels and continuous searches of their premises and effective steps to prevent the carrying of dangerous weapons. (11A)

"Tyranny in the so-called independent homelands will have to be addressed, particularly the lack of free political activity in Bophuthatswana."

"Another problem needing attention is the KwaZulu Police and the havoc they continue to wreak on our structures," said Ramaphosa.

"Only after the apartheid regime has done all that will we be able to agree that they have taken sufficient steps to warrant a full meeting."

Biko's ideas still inspire

By MOSES MAMAILA

IT IS 15 years since Steve Bantu Biko died in police custody, yet the philosophy he was instrumental in carving out - black consciousness, known by its affectionate shorthand as "BC" - retains a powerful influence among SA's black intellectuals.

Multitudes of BC adherents yesterday converged on centres around the country to commemorate one of the most inspirational leaders the coun-

try has produced.

Biko wrote that under racist white colonial rule, blacks had come to accept their subjugation in the form of a debilitating inferiority complex.

The complex had involved a destructive self-hate, a lack of respect for life and did untold damage to black self-esteem and dignity.

Black psychological and physical oppression had caused blacks to aspire to being "white" - for, in terms of white rac-

ist thinking, whites were human while blacks were

... Political observers argue that if BC was revived among all members of the black community, so-called black-on-black violence would end.

Calling for a return to BC, well-known community and church leader Bishop Stanley Mogoba said: "It is difficult for people who have been changed by BC to be manipulated by others for selfish ends or to resort to

the primitive practice of violence.

"People must be taught to think for themselves and not to be steamrolled by mass thinking and mass hysteria."

The far-sighted Biko had warned against tribalism, saying blacks should be united around their common objective - to free themselves from all forms of oppression.

BC activists say even in death Biko led the struggle against repression.

C/Prom 13/9/92

(11A)

Winnie still faces probe

S/Time

13/9/92

By CHARLES LEONARD

WINNIE MANDELA is still to be investigated by the ANC despite her resignation from all her party posts this week.

Referring to the alleged fraud in the ANC's social welfare department under Mrs Mandela, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said: "The investigative process is still going on.

"If any financial mismanagement is discovered in the department, steps will certainly be taken."

Four months ago, the ANC said it was looking into allegations of fraud involving cheques for R400 000 issued while Mrs Mandela and her lover,

lawyer Dali Mpofu, were in charge of the department.

On Wednesday, following publication last week-end of a letter she had written to Mr Mpofu, Mrs Mandela resigned from the ANC's National Executive Committee, the national executive of the Women's League and the league's regional executive committee.

Mrs Mandela's resignation pre-empted possible disciplinary steps following an inquiry by senior ANC member Alfred Nzo, who was due to present his

report to the national working committee meeting this week.

Mr Nzo's investigation followed a demonstration by Women's League members outside Shell House in Braamfontein, demanding Mrs Mandela's reinstatement as social welfare head.

Rumours

Youth League president Peter Mokaba said this week Mrs Mandela did not need executive positions in political organisations to maintain her support.

Her resignations gave rise to fresh speculation

that Mrs Mandela planned to form her own political party.

Rumours to this effect first surfaced earlier this year following a series of secret meetings between Mrs Mandela and small groups of supporters.

Sources in the ANC believe it entirely likely that Mrs Mandela will try to mobilise support for a new party.

A senior official said: "She is still very ambitious, but moves in that direction could spell trouble for the ANC as Winnie is something of an unguided missile."

Anxious govt awaits ANC talks decision

~~22A~~ BILLY PADDOCK 11A

BLOEMFONTEIN — Government is waiting anxiously to see if the ANC will confirm its belief that the deadlock in negotiations has been broken. *Blom*

Today the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) will announce the decisions reached last night behind closed doors after three days of deliberations.

Hopes for a rapid resumption of talks received a boost yesterday when President F W de Klerk said he was confident they would be on track soon. *3/9/92*

His comments to the NP Free State congress were, however, more muted than those to a confidential meeting of the Institute of Directors on Tuesday. He told directors he was confident of a breakthrough this week.

Yesterday, he appeared reluctant to commit himself before the NEC's decision was known, saying: "Obviously things can still go wrong." But he told delegates at the congress that progress had been made in bilateral talks between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

De Klerk took several swipes at the ANC and its SACP allies during his speech. The NP's political opponents were "making themselves guilty of opportunism, intimidation and ultimatum politics, disruption of the economy and aggressive, distorted propaganda".

These tactics would "not get anyone anywhere" and the NP and its allies would not be intimidated.

His message to NP supporters was: "Stand firm against pressure and coercion. We shall not yield and surrender the country to radicalism. We shall not allow ourselves to be overrun."

He also outlined the NP's "fundamental bottom lines" for a new dispensation. These were a democratic model that prevented domination by a simple majority; the effective protection of universal rights; and a market- and work-orientated economy that went a great deal further than "mere general declarations or good intentions and vague fine promises".

● See Page 4

Riddle of the US funds

11A

NY Times 13/9/92

By SIMON BARBER: Washington

HUNDREDS of thousands of dollars supposedly raised by ANC president Nelson Mandela during his triumphant visit to New York in June 1990 have yet to be accounted for.

The missing money includes donations tour organisers said had been made by superstars Madonna and Michelle Shocked and \$750 000 claimed to have been raised at a \$2 500-a-head party co-hosted by Robert DeNiro.

At the time, organisers said Mandela's three-day New York tour had netted the

ANC more than \$2-million.

But records belatedly filed with the New York state Charities Bureau by the Nelson Mandela New York Anti-Apartheid Welcome Committee last month show the ANC received only \$270 000.

Nearly double that amount — over \$500 000 — was drained away by administrative overheads for staff, hotels and travel, which the organisers had earlier said they would meet themselves.

Virtually all the \$270 000 the ANC is shown as having received came from a rally at the Yankee Stadium — which organisers originally claimed had generated proceeds of at least \$1-million.

By law, the Mandela Welcome Committee — which was supposed to handle all the money raised in New York — should have filed a final report to the Charities Bureau 15 months ago.

Intrigue

The committee finally filed under pressure from state authorities, but even now the books are strangely incomplete.

No mention is made of the money pledged by Madonna and other stars, nor of proceeds from the celebrity reception at DeNiro's restaurant, nor of the \$50 000 allegedly raised at an event at the Brooklyn Academy of Music.

Equally intriguing is the fate of the \$215 000 donated by church groups. Only \$9 100 shows up in the report.

A spokesman for the Charities Bureau said the committee would be given an opportunity to respond before action was taken.

ANC'S

SUNDAY TIMES, September 13 1992 9

● Govt, ANC 'bargaining' on cards

● UN team arrives

Crucial week for talks

(IA) ~~SA~~ 14/9/92
By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The Government and the ANC's chief negotiators are expected to meet early this week to try to arrange the all-important summit on violence between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk.

By late yesterday ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer — due to debate on SABC's "Agenda" programme last night — had not met and it became clear there would be bargaining before a date was set.

ANC sources yesterday said Mr Meyer and Mr Ramaphosa first had to tackle the release of political prisoners, an end to violence, and the hostels issue before the violence summit could take place.

The summit was likely to have been discussed by the National Party caucus at its mid-recess meeting in the eastern Transvaal at the weekend.

Meanwhile, hopes for peaceful future ANC marches against homeland governments were raised by the arrival in South Africa of UN observers and the Goldstone Commission's appointment of independent violence investigating teams.

Monitors

Mr de Klerk last week said he would meet homelands controlling security forces to discuss uniform measures for marches.

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone said at the weekend he hoped the presence of independent monitors would "put a brake on people's conduct" at marches.

The vanguard of a 50-person UN observer team, which will spend six months in South Africa to observe the ongoing political violence, arrived at the weekend.

It is understood the ANC agreed to the summit after the Government recognised that constitutional negotiations could not proceed until violence had been curbed.

The leader of the UN advance team, Ismat Steiner of Tanzania, yesterday said his party's immediate objectives were to meet the signatories of the National Peace Accord and establish offices in Johannesburg and Durban.

The Johannesburg office will be run by the leader of the observer team, Angela King of Jamaica. Mr Steiner will work from Durban.

Conditions 'must be met first'

ANC spells out its terms for summit

B/DAM 14/9/92.

11A

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC adopted a hardline attitude yesterday to President F W de Klerk's call for a leadership meeting on violence, insisting that government would have to meet its key demands in preparatory talks before a summit could take place.

Last week the ANC agreed conditionally to an urgent meeting between delegations led by De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela to discuss ways to end violence.

The ANC has refused substantive talks with government until there is agreement on the issues of the release of political prisoners, action on the hostels issue and a ban on carrying weapons in public. It now appears these demands are being made conditions for the De Klerk-Mandela talks.

A government source said yesterday the ANC could not claim political points from agreeing to the summit if it was effectively refusing to negotiate by constantly insisting on preconditions.

Despite the gloomy outlook, however, there was a glimmer of hope that Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa would find a way through the impasse — possibly as early as this week. Their first meeting following De Klerk's call will take place within two days.

ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa said yesterday the summit on violence had to result in substantial agreement, but this depended largely on "adequate agreement being reached in preparatory talks" between Meyer and Ramaphosa. If there was not a successful conclusion to these preparatory talks, the summit "will not make much sense at all".

The three areas the ANC was insisting on having resolved were the release of political prisoners without linkage to amnesty, a ban on carrying weapons in public and steps to prevent the hostels being used to launch attacks.

Valli Moosa said if government was serious about the summit being used to resolve violence, it would accommodate the ANC's demands.

Meyer said he had not yet spoken to Ramaphosa since last week's call for the summit and had not been given the preconditions personally. They still needed to meet to assess their respective positions.

Another senior government source on the negotiating team said De Klerk's call was clearly in agreement with the ANC's demands to act forcefully and purposefully on violence. The summit was not about constitutional negotiations but specifically to work out ways of combating violence.

De Klerk had insisted on a top leadership meeting to ensure the major decision-makers on both sides would be involved in the talks and that any agreements reached would be binding.

The source said it was vital that delegates be influential and in a position to ensure agreements were carried out. "Otherwise it gets to be an exercise in futility with constant new demands being put every time the messenger goes back to his constituency," he said.

The key issue to be resolved is still the release of prisoners, with government understanding that the ANC requires visible

□ To Page 2

Talks

results to prove its decision to deadlock the talks has not been in vain.

Meyer, after studying the ANC's statement on Thursday when the organisation agreed to the summit, said it appeared "the issues they want resolved in preparatory talks are the same as those we did not have time to resolve in the last round".

He said the week before the Bishopscroft meeting, he and Ramaphosa were close to reaching agreement following their first round of talks to remove the obstacles to full bilateral talks on constitutional negotiations. They had been in constant contact during the extended three-day national executive committee meeting but "just ran out of time and could not strike a deal".

Meyer was hopeful that as the issues had not changed there was a good chance of reaching agreement.

Government still maintained that because the remaining political prisoners could not be released in terms of the agreed definition, amnesty was the only way forward. This would have to apply across the political spectrum to avoid problems from sectors such as the security forces.

Government is prepared to allow this to be introduced on a phased basis with a certain level of disclosure of the deeds for which people are being forgiven.

From Page 1

It is understood that Ramaphosa and Meyer are seeking a new principle to apply to the prisoners which dispenses with previous conditions. The principle being mooted was that if the crime was committed with a clear political motive then the person could be excused.

Both sides are fairly confident that the hostel issue will not be difficult to resolve adequately and government hopes it can persuade the ANC on the issue of weapons.

The government source said they were hopeful a formula could be found to deal with the weapons, but a blanket ban was impossible.

Meanwhile, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi threatened to withdraw from co-operating in constitutional talks if government "succumbs to this pressure from the ANC/SACP demanding a ban on the carrying of cultural weapons at all times in public".

"I fear that will be the end of any co-operation in any talks they may have with us in the future," Buthelezi said.

He said that if government believed it could resolve SA's problems without "an input from the Zulu nation, let them proceed to ban our cultural accoutrements under all circumstances".

● Comment: Page 8

Aggrey
Klaaste's



On the
LINE

How Codesa turned out to be an unwieldy animal

Sowetan 14/9/92
SEPA 11A
AS COMMENTATORS ARE RATHER panicky and are talking about the abyss and other hair-raising eventualities facing us, it is useful to give a more cautious, if sombre view of current events.

As people all around us lose their heads and put the blame on others, let us try and analyse the process up to and after Codesa.

A few months after the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of political organisations, a startling political development was taking place.

There seemed to be, worldwide, the opening of closed political systems. A more intriguing movement in South Africa appeared to be the opening of space for debate between the Government and the African National Congress.

Black politics

A colleague described this new development in black politics in this fascinating way: He said there were a number of formations taking shape in black politics.

The first and most noticeable was what he called the optimistic left, a new grouping that was making deliberate if cautious moves towards talking to the Government. The ANC and its allies fell into this group.

At the opposite pole was what my friend called the optimistic right, made up of those black groups that had always been working with the Government, like the homelands and black local authorities.

The formation of an optimistic left resulted in tensions moving more fiercely to the left in black politics to create what my friend called the pessimistic left.

Taking this paradigm as a per-

Mandela's popularity, charm and attraction is plainly quite powerful

spective might help show the pitfalls that the negotiation process faced.

The first obstacle was that the Government and the ANC took the main positions at Codesa, simply because they had started the 'toenadering' and also because they were quite plainly the most powerful parties.

This caused severe tensions to grow in left-wing and right-wing black groupings. The right-wingers, chiefly the Inkatha Freedom Party, panicked when they thought they saw a deal being struck between the state and their perceived enemy.

The groups to the left, the PAC and Azapo, were at first somewhat taken aback. They then entered the fray with gusto and undisguised delight by claiming that the ANC was selling out by speaking to the Government. It was rather difficult, almost impossible to speak of a Muzorewa option with Nelson Mandela as the centre-piece. Mandela's popularity, charm and attraction is plainly quite powerful.

The mega political shifts in the world could not be ignored. They were forcing local politics to take this inevitable direction, not just in South Africa but all over.

As a result of this clumsy but inevitable historic process, Codesa became an unwieldy animal. Among other extraordinary things it recognised or gave credibility to weak and unpopular homelands regimes and their tinpot leaders, like Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and the Congress of Traditional Lead-

ers of South Africa (Contralesa), a group of no particular consequence.

This increased the attacks from the extreme left, who quite rightly said there could be no negotiation with leaders who were so obviously unrepresentative and definitely unpopular. For who was going to give credence to decisions made by such people, particularly decisions that would involve the country's future.

Tragedy, almost like in Classical Greek plays, began to weave its macabre spell and came to the "rescue" of more than one party. And perhaps the "rescue" eventually of the entire process.

I have always been against the revolutionary assertion that the tree of freedom should be watered with blood. For just too often it seemed the blood referred to belonged to ordinary people and not the intellectuals and leaders who mouthed these learned pronouncements.

In the saddest way ever, it seemed the blood spilt at Boipatong and now at Bisho might bring things to a head.

Unfortunate metaphor

To give the image an even more unfortunate metaphor, the playing fields are being levelled.

The realisation has come that the ANC and the Government, while they are the strongest contenders, cannot be the main parties at the negotiation table. Secondly, that while it is important to make the talks as representative as possible, it is not useful to have too many petty leaders with very little or no following to encumber the process.

Finally, it points to the importance of having at least the extreme left in black politics and the extreme right in white politics at the table.

Services for 15th Biko anniversary

THREE Black Consciousness organisations held a service in Guguletu on Saturday to mark the 15th anniversary of Mr Steve Biko's death in detention.

The Azanian People's Organisation, the Azanian Student Movement and the Azanian Youth Organisation participated in the memorial service at the Presbyterian church in NY2.

And in King William's Town about 150 people, including his mother Mrs Alice Biko and Azapo leaders, held a memorial service at his grave in Ginsberg cemetery.

"Steve Biko died to liberate black people," Azapo official Mr Mzukisi Madlavu said at the service.

"The things that Steve stood for will be realised. It is our duty to carry out the liberation struggle to ensure they will be realised." — Staff Reporter, Sapa-AFP

PWV region won't let Winnie quit

■ Branch to release info "in due course" that secret ring within ANC compelled Winnie to resign

THE African National Congress Women's League PWV region has refused to accept the resignation of its chairman, Winnie Mandela.

ANC president Nelson Mandela's estranged wife resigned from three ANC posts last week following allegations of corruption.

ANCWL regional deputy chairman Gwen Mahlangu told a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday that a group within the ANC had pressurised Mrs Mandela into resigning from the ANC national executive committee, the ANC Women's League NEC, and the ANCWL PWV regional executive committee.

She said information regarding the group would be released at an appropriate time.

The group was not the cabal headed by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa to which Mrs Mandela's alleged former lover, Dali Mpofu, referred soon after he was fired from the ANC's social welfare department some months

ago, she said. Regional members would rather resign from the ANCWL than accept Mrs Mandela's resignation, Ms Mahlangu said.

She pointed out while members accepted the reasons for her resignations from the ANC NEC and the ANCWL NEC, they did not accept her resignation from the ANCWL PWV.

Mrs Mandela had not been given a chance to serve the region which was suspended after

members allegedly demonstrated against her resignation as head of the social welfare department.

Ms Mahlangu said a commission of inquiry into the suspension, established by the ANCWL, had found it to be unconstitutional and therefore null and void.

Mrs Mandela would have to continue as chairman, she pointed out. - Sapa.

for info 14/9/92

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NEWS Ciskei victims to be buried with Biko ● Economic crisis can be overcome

Steve stood for liberation

■ Memorial service held to honour the man who popularised black consciousness: (11A)

Sapa-AP and Abbey Makoe

ABOUT 150 people gathered for a memorial service on Saturday at the grave of black consciousness leader Steve Biko, who was killed in police custody 15 years ago.

In a quiet ceremony, his elderly mother, Mrs Alice Biko, and top Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) officials paid homage to the man who popularised black consciousness philosophy and who inspired Sir Richard Attenborough's film *Cry Freedom*.

The service in Ginsberg cemetery was five kilometres from the stadium where

Ciskei soldiers massacred 24 African National Congress supporters Monday. Many of them will be buried in Ginsberg cemetery next week.

"Steve Biko died to liberate black people," Azapo official Mr Mzukisi Madlavu said. "These things that Steve stood for will be realised. It is our duty to carry out the liberation struggle to ensure they will be realised."

At Eldorado Park near Soweto, Azapo's projects co-ordinator Mr Lybon Mabasa said his organisation would never entertain any argument to allay so-called white fears.

"It's the majority that need to accept

the minority and not the minority accepting the majority," he said.

He stressed Azapo strives to fulfil Biko's dream of black solidarity, black unity, and a complete seizure of power.

He said whites who wished to live in a liberated Azania would have to do so under conditions laid down to them, "as much as blacks living in Europe were doing so under the conditions laid down to them by Europeans".

Meanwhile, Russel Molefe reports Azapo secretary-general Mr Don Nkadimeng dismissed reports Azapo was about to enter into constitutional negotiations with the Government.

Empowerment before winning competition

■ Seminar addresses job creation, entrepreneurial spirit:

Sowetan 14/9/92.

By Don Seokane

THE focus of *Sowetan's* job creation project was not on winning the competition but on empowering developing business people and prospective entrepreneurs, managing editor Mr Joe Thloloe, said at the weekend.

Addressing a job-creation seminar co-sponsored by National Sorghum Breweries at the University of the North, Thloloe said the country's economy was

in a crisis, and ordinary men and women have to change.

Prospective entrepreneurs and developing business owners at the seminar were taught about business plans.

Get Ahead Foundation's marketing assistant, Mr Jackie Kola, said the job-creation competition was to encourage black people to enter manufacturing and service industries. Preparations are underway for a seminar focusing on budget analysis, drawing financial statements and preparing cash flow projections.

5777 14/9/92 (11A)

'We won't let Winnie resign'

The ANC Women's League PWV region has refused to accept the resignation of its chairman, Winnie Mandela.

ANC president Nelson Mandela's estranged wife resigned from three ANC posts last week after allegations of corruption.

ANCWL regional deputy chairman Gwen Mahlangu told a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday that a group within the ANC had pressured Mrs Mandela into resigning from the ANC national execu-

tive committee, the ANC Women's League NEC, and the ANCWL PWV regional executive committee.

She said information regarding the group would be released at an appropriate time.

The group was not the cabal headed by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa to which Mrs Mandela's alleged former lover, Dali Mpopu, referred soon after he was fired from the ANC.

Regional members would rather resign from

the ANCWL than accept Mrs Mandela's resignation, Ms Mahlangu said.

She pointed out that while members accepted the reasons for her resignations from the ANC NEC and the ANCWL NEC, they did not accept her resignation from the ANCWL PWV.

Mrs Mandela had not been given a chance to serve the region, which was suspended after members allegedly demonstrated against her resignation as head of the social welfare department.

ANC row over Winnie grows

JOHANNESBURG. — The row within the ANC over Mrs Winnie Mandela intensified at the weekend when the African National Congress Women's League PWV region refused to accept her resignation as branch chairman.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's estranged wife resigned from three ANC posts last week following allegations of corruption.

ANCWL regional deputy chairman Ms Gwen Mahlangu told a news conference

here yesterday that a group within the ANC had pressurised Mrs Mandela into resigning from the ANC national executive committee (NEC), the ANC Women's League NEC and the ANCWL PWV regional executive committee.

Information regarding this group would be released later.

Regional members would rather resign from the ANCWL than accept Mrs Mandela's resignation, Ms Mahlangu said.

Mrs Mandela had not been given a

chance to serve the PWV branch, suspended after members demonstrated against her resignation as head of the social welfare department.

Ms Mahlangu said a commission of inquiry into the suspension, established by the ANCWL, had found it to be unconstitutional and therefore null and void.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the findings had not yet been presented to the ANC's National Working Committee. — Sapa (114) CT 14/9/92

De Klerk 'silly' (11A) to suggest ANC split with SACP

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN Political Staff

IT is "silly" of President De Klerk to blame the South African Communist Party for a hardening of attitude by the African National Congress over the Bisho massacre, says SACP secretary-general Mr Chris Hani.

The former Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff was commenting on calls by the government and the National Party for the ANC to drop the SACP as its ally.

He said: "We are part of the ANC and there's no way in which we can be taken out of the movement. We are fighting a common enemy. There can only be talks of a parting of ways when we've defeated apartheid."

"Before that has been achieved it would be silly to talk about it."

He said last week's Bisho march had been planned by the ANC, the SACP and the Congress of South African Trade Unions.

Mr Hani, who was one of the leaders of the Bisho march, has recommended that the Goldstone Commission investigate several issues regarding the massacre.

He said it was equally silly for Mr De Klerk to claim the SACP was influencing the ANC.

"There's no such thing as hawks and doves in the ANC. Let them give us a list of the so-called hawks and doves in the ANC."

Mr Hani said he was not surprised by attacks on the SACP.

"It's all part of an NP crusade, dating back to the 1950s, to destroy us. We were the first to be banned by the NP. What frustrates them is that they have failed to finish us off."

He said the government had predicted the SACP would "die a natural death" after it was unbanned in 1990.

"But we are still here. They are frustrated by our resilience."

ANC, Govt thrash out problems

(11A)

(BANK)

■ Preparing for a Mandela-De Klerk meeting:

Sweta 15/9/92

THE GOVERNMENT and the African National Congress met at a secret venue yesterday to prepare for a high-level summit between State President Mr FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela.

Although no formal statement was released after the meeting, it is understood that "relative progress" was made and three issues were dealt with: political prisoners, the violence and "dangerous weapons and hostels".

The Government was represented by the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, and the ANC by its secretary general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa. Both were accompanied by aides and legal advisors.

Yesterday's meeting was prompted by an invitation to a high-level summit De Klerk sent to the ANC "to discuss ways of ending the violence in the country" after the Bisho bloodbath last Monday.

Ramaphosa said a meeting between Mandela and De Klerk could only take place after the ANC demands - the release of political prisoners, the hostel issue and the banning of dangerous weapons - have been met by the Government.

DP march is a foray into mass action

THE DP-initiated march for peace and negotiations today through the centre of Johannesburg marks the party's first foray into the controversial territory of mass action.

DP leader Zach de Beer and justice spokesman Tony Leon, formerly strong opponents of mass action marches because of the adverse effects on the economy and marches' propensity for violence, yesterday called on employers to allow their staff time off work for the march.

However, local DP city representative Jack Bloom said the march would be free of violence and intimidation and different from those of the ANC "because in our case there will be no toyi-toying".

Leon said the DP guaranteed that the march would be peaceful and free of intimidation.

He did not spell out how the organisers would ensure this, as it was open to all.

Many parties and organisations, including the Black Sash and the Five Freedoms Forum, will participate.

Leon said the march was the perfect mechanism for the ordinary man in the street to voice his demand and send a message to political leaders to get on with negotiations immediately, and also to move on towards creating peace.

"All parties must immediately re-enter negotiations and recognise that

only through open-ended discussions will we create a durable constitution," he said. This was the DP's most important demand, he said.

But he took a swipe at the SACP and the security forces in stating the second demand of the "March for Negotiations Now! Peace Now!" action.

He said: "Communist Party-style mass action and oppressive security responses thereto must end. These are jeopardising prospects for a peaceful future."

The march will begin at the Civic Spine's Library Gardens and proceed up Rissik Street to the Civic Theatre, where De Beer and International Pentecostal Church of SA president Frederick Modise will address the expected crowd.

Leon said the DP had called on employers in the CBD to allow their employees time off between 12.30 and 2pm.

Motorists who could not participate were called on to show solidarity by driving with their headlights on during the march.

The DP southern Transvaal executive resolved on Sunday that people should encourage all those who identified with the purpose of the march to wear a blue ribbon or to place one on their vehicles, Leon said.

Mandela on Zambia visit

LUSAKA - ANC president Nelson Mandela held talks yesterday with Zambia's President Frederick Chiluba in hopes of rebuilding an alliance diminished by political change.

"We are looking forward to closer relations with you," Mandela told Chiluba before their meeting in Lusaka. "It doesn't worry us if governments change... we are assured of your support in our struggle," he said.

Under former president Kenneth Kaunda, Zambia was the ANC's staunchest supporter in Africa, serving as the headquarters for its guerrilla leaders and giving sanctuary to thousands of South African exiles.

But after Chiluba came to power in elections last November his government established relations with SA and opened a trade office in Pretoria.

Relations with the ANC cooled as SA goods poured into Zambia's shops and SA government officials were invited to visit the country.

Mandela is scheduled to meet again with Chiluba today. He also will visit ANC exiles yet to return to SA, despite government amnesty pledges - Sapa-AP.

BILLY PADDOCK

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...shuttle service Zimbabweans

March on Mangope is off, but ...

ANC alliance intensifies mass action

BIDAM 15/9/92

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THE ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance — stung by accusations of recklessness during last week's march on Ciskei — yesterday hit back by announcing an intensified mass action programme.

The mass action will unfold even as preparations get under way to haul constitutional negotiations back on track.

However, a planned march into Bophuthatswana to unseat President Lucas Mangope was yesterday called off during a meeting in Johannesburg of alliance representatives.

ANC campaigns committee chairman Ronnie Kasrils said: "Preparations in Bophuthatswana have not been adequate for any action by this weekend." It is understood the repercussions of the Ciskei incident in which 29 people were killed, and the relative weakness of the ANC in the western Transvaal, played a role in the decision.

But both Cosatu and the SACP gave additional impetus to the mass action campaign yesterday. Cosatu deputy secretary-general Sam Shilowa, speaking after a weekend Cosatu campaigns conference, said mass action and negotiations were not mutually exclusive. And the SACP said mass action had given the alliance the upper hand over President F.W. de Klerk. Cosatu actions include a regional stayaway in the eastern Cape to coincide

PATRICK BULGER

with the funeral on Friday of the Ciskei victims, a march to the electrified fence on the Mozambique border, a week of marches and other protests from October 11 to demand the release of political prisoners, and an attempt to prevent the sitting of Parliament on October 12 by mounting large-scale occupations and blockades of towns and cities.

Cosatu said marchers should stop delivering memorandums but should demand responses.

Cosatu set November 1 as a target date for it and the ANC to stop paying PAYE to government and November 1 as a target date for employers to stop paying PAYE. In addition, Cosatu announced campaigns against companies responsible for dismissing workers during the August stayaway.

The SACP — defending the actions of its central committee members at Bisho — lashed out at what it called the victimisation of white communists for what had happened at Bisho, and said mass action had strengthened the alliance.

"Everywhere in mass action, throughout the length and breadth of our country, the red flag of our party has been in evidence," a party central committee statement said.

The committee said it had noted a very significant shift in the balance of forces in

To Page 2

Mass action

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favour of the broad liberation movement. "This shift is due notably to the three months of rolling mass action for peace and democracy throughout our country. The central committee salutes the millions of South Africans who have taken part in the mass action campaigns.

"We call upon them to intensify the struggle for a constituent assembly, an interim government of national unity and for the extension of free political activity to every corner of our country," the statement said.

The SACP reaffirmed its commitment to a negotiated settlement and said it backed the ANC's decision not to meet De Klerk until he had responded satisfactorily to the ANC's demands.

Both Cosatu and the SACP said De Klerk would also have to take concrete steps to end violence before a summit could take place. These were in regard to fencing hostels, banning dangerous weapons, reining in proxy forces and releasing political prisoners.

6/10/92 1579/92

Top PAC official in SA

THE PAC said its first deputy president and former exiled commander of the Azanian Peoples Liberation Army Johnson Phillip Mlambo arrived in SA from Tanzania yesterday.

PAC sources said Mlambo's stay would be temporary until the NEC took a decision on his role either in or outside the country.

PAC chief arrives in SA (11A)

MR Johnson Mlambo, first deputy president of the PAC, arrived in South Africa from Tanzania yesterday. *Sweeten 15/9/92*

He was expected to immediately consult with PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu on political developments inside the country, the organisation's publicity director, Mr Waters Toboti, said yesterday.

Mass action is a fight against marginalisation of the ANC Left, argues R W Johnson

The internal struggle continues

STAR 15/9/92

1/A

THE tragedy at Bisho again prompts the question: What on earth is the ANC's mass action campaign all about? All too frequently, even in South African newspapers, one reads that this strategy was launched when "the Boipatong massacre caused the breakdown of negotiations" — when the breakdown actually preceded Boipatong and came over the 70-75 percent squabble over constitutional amendment.

But that issue was settled long ago — and mass action goes on.

We are now told the major issues at stake are political prisoners and ending township violence: but mass action clearly aggravates township violence and the ANC agreed to a deal on prisoners last year.

Similarly, the campaign against Ciskei could hardly have been a principled protest against military dictatorship, for then why not campaign against Transkei and Venda? Nor can it really be about homeland reincorporation, since this was already agreed in princi-

ple at Codesa: if the ANC wants to be rid of Brigadier Oupa Gqozo it merely has to wait for elections to sweep him away. Similarly, the ANC can have an interim government and (with certain strings attached) a constituent assembly any time it likes.

But the rub starts there. Imagine if Codesa had proceeded smoothly towards the formation of a consensus interim government under a Mandela-De Klerk co-presidency. It would have been easy to agree on senior positions for Thabo Mbeki, Cyril Ramaphosa and Jacob Zuma; for Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Drs Frank Mdlalose, Zach de Beer and Enos Mabuza; and for Messrs Coetsee, Meyer and Keys; but after that?

On the ANC side one would have to rule out the veterans — Sisulu, Gwala, Govan Mbeki and so forth — and select those with sufficient technical background to have some hope of mastering their departments.

One would end up, probably, with names like Louis Skweyeia, Kadar Asmal, Patrick Lekota,

Linda Zama, Ismail Mohamed and Tito Mboveni.

Such a list makes starkly clear the fact that the constitution of such an interim government would imply the marginalisation of the ANC Left, the group we may refer to in shorthand as the SACP but which also includes Peter Mokaba, Winnie Mandela and other ANC radicals as well as a phalanx of Cosatu figures led by Jay Naidoo.

It is possible that the gesture might be made of offering a post to a Hani, Slovo or Naidoo, but they would, in any case, almost certainly reject it, knowing that they would find being part of a Cabinet consensus within such a government both uncomfortable and compromising.

Such a prospect conjures up the SACP's nightmare scenario: the coming to power of a "bourgeois opportunist ANC Right" which strikes a deal with big business and Mr de Klerk at the expense of the working class (for which read the SACP and Cosatu). All over

Africa, from Ghana to Egypt, communists supported liberation struggles only to find themselves marginalised and ultimately crushed by the "bourgeois nationalists" they had supported. This is, quite understandably, a scenario the SACP wishes to avoid here.

Hence the ultimate rationale of mass action: it is a weapon not only with which to bludgeon the Government but, at least as important, is a form of struggle waged by the SACP against its internal opponents within the ANC's alliance. Mass action creates a climate of militancy and confrontation which naturally disadvantages and hobbles the ANC's moderates and mediators, causing them to keep their heads down.

Loyalty means they have to support mass action if pressed, but it is not their game and it shows: they are penned in and "controlled" by the tactic, even more than the Government is.

In the mass actions themselves, the SACP naturally plays the leading role — for it is playing the classic vanguard role by the (Len-

inist) book, attempting to put the Communist Party at the cutting edge of every confrontation, galvanising militants to their cause, sweeping along non-party elements with them, and giving an example of courage and militancy which thrills the activists and outflanks the moderates.

Much of the criticism of the SACP's role at Bisho is ill-judged: there is no more point in blaming the SACP for being Leninist than there is in criticising the Pope for being Catholic. And while it would suit almost everyone else if the SACP called for mass action and played dead, it would be quite unreasonable to expect it to do so.

Perhaps the key statement by Ronnie Kasrils after Bisho was that "the people are prepared to make sacrifices provided their leaders are with them".

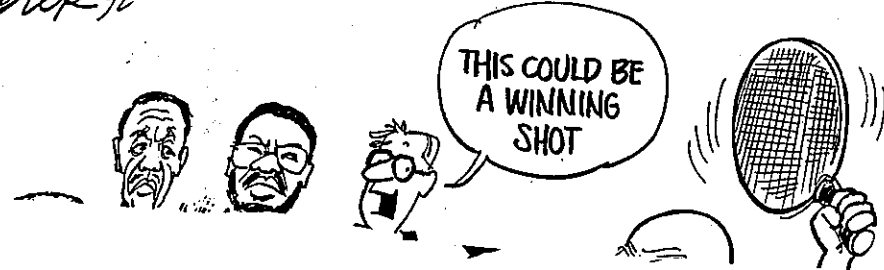
The point does not need much elaboration: the SACP was there in force at Bisho. The Border region is Steve Tshwete's constituency, so he had to be there. Cyril Ramaphosa gets dragged from

one symbolic action to the next because — who would envy him his job? — as ANC secretary-general he can hardly refuse. But where, in the heat of mass action, does one espy a Mandela, Thabo Mbeki or a Jacob Zuma, a Thomas Nkobi or an Alfred Nzo, or indeed any of those in our imaginary interim government above?

Already we have been told that Moses Mayekiso will play a leading role in the mass action against Lucas Mangope, a key piece of colour coding. For Mr Mayekiso heads a national civics association and civics have nothing to do with Bophuthatswana... but the pieces fall into place when one remembers that Mr Mayekiso is not only a leading SACP cadre but is the Left outsider who has already taken on Mr Mandela in public. The struggle continues, comrades — the internal struggle, that is. □

R W Johnson is a South African Rhodes scholar and an Oxford don. He is currently on sabbatical at the University of Natal, Durban.

DW FEVER '92



The unspoken art of diplomacy

A WINK might be as good as a nod in business and academic circles, but not in the diplomatic world. There, the distinction might mean the difference between friendly relations and se-

Out of Africa



GFRAID

Mandela's olive branch

By Richard Steyn and Shaun Johnson

STAR 15/9/92

To "save the country from disaster" the ANC is eager to restart negotiations — and wants to make it as easy as possible for the Government to do so, ANC president Nelson Mandela has told The Star.

The Government need not make any new concessions to the ANC to get talks under way again, he said; it had only to make good its previous undertakings to the ANC and United Nations envoy Cyrus Vance on the issues of

● Interview — Page 13

hostels, political prisoners and dangerous weapons.

Mr Mandela made it clear that if President de Klerk delivered on earlier promises, the ANC was ready to talk again.

Speaking before his departure for Zambia, Mr Mandela said he was prepared to accept undertakings in good faith from Mr de Klerk on the three outstanding issues, in order to get South Africa "out of the quagmire".

Mr Mandela said that over and above the political crisis

prompted by the Bisho massacre, he was deeply concerned about the state of the economy, following a report from Finance Minister Derek Keys.

He said the country had come "very near to a disaster" after the Bisho massacre, and that the negotiations deadlock had to be broken. He said that if the summit went ahead, the moves made by Mr de Klerk and himself could "save the country from that disaster".

The proposed summit could breathe new life into the stalled negotiations process, and the ANC remained committed to the National Peace Accord and Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's guidelines for demonstrations.

Mr Mandela said in a wide-ranging interview with The Star: "If Mr de Klerk can just say to me: 'You have expressed your three concerns. I give you my undertaking that I will address them'... I will be able to go back to my people and say: 'Look, he has met us. Let us meet him'."

During an extraordinarily frank discussion, in which he stressed that the credibility of negotiations had to be re-established by all politicians, Mr Mandela addressed several other issues. He said:

● Progress towards democ-

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Mandela's olive branch

● From Page 1

racy had to be made before it was too late to repair the economy.

● He believed Mr de Klerk's call for a summit was calculated to break the political deadlock.

● Mass action could fall away if there was agreement on interim government, and sanctions and isolation would then no longer be necessary.

● All sides in the country had to admit their errors and work together to ensure that tragedies like the Bisho massacre were never repeated.

● The installation of democracy in South Africa was the ANC's priority, and "for this, compromises become absolutely essential".

● Codesa was not dead, and did not need to be restructured in order to fulfil its functions.

● The business community should take strong positions during the transition, telling all politicians when they thought they were acting unreasonably. The ANC would work to inspire the confidence of the business community.

● Free political activity had to be ensured throughout the country, especially in homelands.

● The ANC was discussing what went wrong at Bisho, and would take appropriate action. Regional leaders had to ensure that their actions did not impact negatively on national politics.

Mr Mandela emphasised that South Africa still faced great difficulties — the most pressing being the continuing violence and loss of life — but he made it clear that his organisation wanted to follow the path of negotiation rather than confrontation.

Peaceful mass action was being used only because no other alternatives were available to the ANC, given the deadlock in negotiations.

Mr Mandela said he was coming under increasing pressure from ANC members who believed negotiations had not produced results, and said it was urgent for the sake of the country that the benefits of talks be obvious to all. This meant that a speedy transition to democracy was urgently needed.



Hooggenoeg mine.

Picture: Dirk Nel

STAN 16/9/92

(11A)

(25)

Cebekhulu 'need not fear ANC'

LUSAKA — Katiza Cebekhulu, the controversial co-accused in the Winnie Mandela trial now languishing in a Zambian jail, should have nothing to fear from the ANC and the organisation would do everything possible to get him out of prison, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Mr Mandela said after

meeting Zambian President Frederick Chiluba that he had raised the matter with Foreign Minister Vernon Mwaanga.

"The ANC has no interest in Mr Cebekhulu being in prison. We will do everything to get him out," Mr Mandela said at the end of a two-day visit to Zambia. — Star Africa Service.

FW urged to give undertakings

Mandela calls for help on peace summit

ANC president Nelson Mandela last night appealed for President FW de Klerk's help in creating conditions to get their peace summit off the ground.

Arriving back in Johannesburg after a short visit to Zambia, Mandela said an undertaking from De Klerk on the release of political prisoners, the fencing of hostels and the banning of the public display of weapons would be sufficient to get the two leaders talking face to face.

Mandela indicated last night that he was facing pressure from within the ANC to maintain a hard line in regard to talks with government.

Mandela said he hoped De Klerk would give the undertakings which would help him to "convince everybody around me to meet the government so that we can try to address the problems facing the country."

"If he makes an undertaking and stipulates the time-frame within which he will implement those undertakings, we will be prepared to consider them," he said.

Although the ANC has postponed its proposed march on Bophuthatswana this weekend, Cosatu has announced an escalation of mass action and the SACP has saluted the role mass action has played in obtaining government agreement on a constituent assembly.

It is believed that Finance Minister Derek Keys's concern about the poor state of the country's economy has played a role in prompting the ANC leader to redouble efforts to break the negotiations deadlock.

Mandela has also had several meetings with business representatives in recent weeks.

Keys recently gave ANC economic planning department head Trevor Manuel and

BIDAM 16/9/92

PATRICK BULGER
and PETER DELMAR

others a detailed analysis of the extent to which major economic sectors had declined. Manuel conveyed this information to Mandela, who said it frightened him.

The Keys presentation was made at the recent launch of the Mont Fleur economic scenarios compiled by a widely representative team, including ANC economists, businessmen and academics. The scenario paints a picture of GDP falling by 2% annually by the turn of the century if a generally acceptable government is not installed.

Keys has said it is necessary to cut public sector consumption of GDP from its current 21% to 16% in the next four to five years, and boost private fixed investment to about 22% to produce annual growth of 3% or 4%.

Keys said yesterday he was pleased economic realities were "starting to figure in the decisions of the major players in SA".

Sacob chief economist Ben van Rensburg said the chamber welcomed "the obvious recognition by the ANC and Mr Mandela of the reality that the economy is a very determining factor in whether a political transition will be successful or not".

"We hope that this will result in the calling off of further mass action which would result in further damage to the economy and loss of life," Van Rensburg said.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa last night spelled out further details of the organisation's conditions for a summit between De Klerk and Mandela.

The ANC had identified at least 120

□ To Page 2

Mandela

prisoners who clearly fell within the terms of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria agreements on indemnity.

They had to be released immediately, and an agreed time-frame established for the rest to be freed, he said.

The ANC had also identified 18 hostels in the PWV they believed were being used to launch attacks on its supporters. Special security arrangements had to be made at these sites. 8/10/92 16/9/92

"We are happy to negotiate and compare our list of hostels, which we have given to the Goldstone commission, with that of the government. Once we agree on a final list, we want to see government acting immediately, by starting to fence off the hostels and upgrade security at the entrances to prevent weapons being taken in or out. We also want the hostels checked to ensure no weapons are being stockpiled," he said. "We also want definite commitments on the blanket banning of the carrying of weapons in public before we can move on to the final phase — the summit on violence," said Valli Moosa. The ANC was eager to see substantive

constitutional negotiations on track again as soon as possible, but there was no question of rushing into situations that would not be successful.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa has also said thorough preparation for the summit has to be completed to ensure its success.

Valli Moosa said: "We cannot allow the summit to fail which is why we are insisting on these obstacles being resolved first. We are very worried that at the end of the summit neither ANC president Nelson Mandela nor President de Klerk should say that there was not much progress."

He said this would be a disaster for the country and would intensify the atmosphere of gloom and doom and even lead to greater conflict and tension.

In the past week ANC sources have consistently pointed out that the release of political prisoners is the single most important demand. They stress that when rank and file members see friends and relatives freed from jail and fences erected around hostels they will back a return to negotiations with government.

□ From Page 1

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Code of conduct to be drafted for ANC leaders

PATRICK BULGER

THE ANC Women's League has begun drafting a code of conduct for ANC leaders in the wake of the Winnie Mandela saga. *B10M 16/11/92*

The ANC's national working committee yesterday accepted Mandela's resignation from three key posts but the former Mother of the Nation still faces possible disciplinary action, including expulsion.

The committee is due to consider a report on a demonstration in favour of Mandela earlier this year. The report recommends that the demonstrators be brought before a procedural inquiry.

And a second investigation into allegations of corruption in the ANC's social welfare department was still being set up, the league said.

Referring to a letter from Mandela to her former deputy and alleged lover Dali Mpofu that was leaked to the media recently, the ANC said it "finds it necessary to reiterate that the allegations contained in the letter of a campaign within the organisation aimed at Nelson Mandela are completely without foundation".

In a recent edition of the league's publication, The Rock, the league's general secretary Baleka Kgositile said the suspension of Mandela and others underlined the need for a code of conduct for leaders.

"Our ability to deal honestly and firmly with signs of similar situations in our ranks will go a long way in determining transformation of our society."

focus on Talks

ON why the ANC insists on mass action

One of the mistakes that has been made by both the ANC and the National Party is that we have embarked on an electioneering campaign while we are negotiating. One party is talking to the other while at the same time trying to undermine that party. Now, that destroys the whole atmosphere of negotiations.

But I have explained that we must have free political activity, and the efforts we have made to ensure that. In addition it is quite clear that the Government is now fighting an electoral campaign, and that they are using the homelands as areas where they can start with maximum votes, where they have no competition.

Look at our situation. We have done everything in our power. We are left with two years (before elections). We must make sure that all political parties can operate throughout the country. If we can't make progress as far as negotiations are concerned, if we can't make progress in discussions with the bantustan leaders affected, what are we expected to do? We can't sit down and fold our arms. The ordinary people in these particular areas want action.

On the limits of acceptable mass action

We are very concerned about the situation, but as I've said, we can't just fold our arms. However, while the regions can take decisions, they must always keep the national perspective in mind.

Nothing should be done by the organisation which suggests that we now want to violate the parameters of the National Peace Accord or the guidelines of the Goldstone Commission. And in the last meeting of the NEC I stressed this point, as I did in King William's Town the day after the massacre.

We do not feel that the mere launching of mass action in itself is anything which needs to worsen the position - no. The masses of the people; the overwhelming majority, want the right to operate in their own area. And they have been prevented by Gqozo.

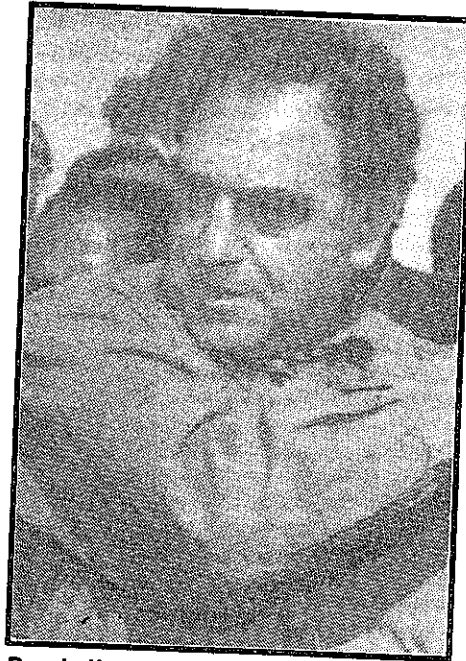
But we must do something when people are being persecuted in these areas, when there is no democracy there.

On whether the Bisho march crossed the line between protest and insurrection

Regional leaders must always consider what effect their actions will have on the country as a whole. Now our image has been affected to some extent by what happened in Bisho. Even some of our loyal friends locally and internationally have got reservations about what we did in that demonstration.

But you must understand that what happened in Bisho has not been the pattern of mass action. On August 5 I led the march on Pretoria. It was disciplined and the police said the crowd behaved magnificently. That was the position throughout the country generally.

Shortly before his departure for Zambia, ANC president Nelson Mandela gave a wide-ranging interview to The Star's Editor-in-Chief, **Richard Steyn**, and Political Editor **Shaun Johnson**. The following are extracts from this important interview.



Ronnie Kasrils

Now we said we were going to occupy Bisho. Remember that we occupied the Union Buildings, actually hoisted our flag. There was no interference from Mr De Klerk or his police. He was completely relaxed. After I had left he came out and addressed the press, complimented me for my conciliatory speech.

On Ronnie Kasrils's actions

Our concern is not primarily the actions of individuals. What we are concerned with, is what can we do to prevent a repetition of what happened at Bisho? And in that context we are discussing, therefore, what individuals have done.

But you must also remember that I actually asked the secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, the head of the Women's League, Gertrude Shope, Steve Tshwete, the man who has normalised sport, to go down and lead that demonstration. Now the concentration is on Ronnie Kasrils, which is not really the proper perspective.

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You must also remember that the idea of the march, to which we all agreed, was that we would do the same in Bisho as we did in Pretoria. That was not the decision of Ronnie Kasrils, it was ours. Therefore his judgment may not have been a correct one, to go beyond the stadium once the magistrate had said we should not, but the idea of us going to Bisho was a decision of the organisation which he was merely carrying out.

But I can assure you that this is a matter that we are going to examine very carefully. Ronnie Kasrils and Chris Hani are very loyal members of the ANC who have made tremendous sacrifices. Secondly, they are disciplined. If I were to say there should be no further (independent) statements by anybody (on behalf of the ANC), and this was the decision taken regarding future demonstrations, I will get their maximum support.

On who was to blame at Bisho, and what is to be done now

There have been accusations and counter-accusations, some correct and others incorrect, from both sides. But leaving this aside, we still have to answer the question: Has the ANC any strategy to pull South Africa out of the morass in which decades of apartheid generally, and this massacre in Bisho particularly, have plunged it?

Now it seems to me that we should not worry very much at this stage with what mistakes individuals have made. The crucial question is how to mobilise the democratic forces in the country to concentrate on the task of saving South Africa. I am talking about neither the ANC nor the Government, but we, the people of South Africa, black and white.

Our problem is that Brigadier Gqozo ignored the guidelines for demonstrations. The guidelines say that even if one party deviated from an agreement in the course of a march, the other party is not entitled to use force unless it is threatened. They must meet during the march. Gqozo was not prepared to talk to us right from the beginning. He violated the peace accord right from the beginning. The marching out of the stadium towards Bisho was not actually a violation of the peace accord itself. But even if it was, then the task of the other party was to have called us and discussed it.

Code of conduct for ANC on cards

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Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — THE ANC Women's League has begun drafting a code of conduct for ANC leaders in the wake of the Winnie Mandela saga.

The ANC's national working committee yesterday accepted Mrs Mandela's resignation from three key posts but she still faces possible disciplinary action, including expulsion.

The committee is due to consider a report on a demonstration in favour of Mrs Mandela earlier this year. The report recommends that the demonstrators be brought before an inquiry.

A second investigation into allegations of corruption in the ANC's social welfare department was still being set up, the league said.

In a recent edition of the league's publication, *The Rock*, the league's general secretary Ms Baleka Kgositsile said the suspension of Mrs Mandela and others underlined the need for a code of conduct for leaders.

"SA is wriggling with pain from a past and present full of corruption and abuse of power and privilege to the detriment of the interests of the majority.

"Our ability to deal honestly and firmly with signs of similar situations in our ranks will go a long way in determining transformation of our society."

Govt responds positively to Mandela interview

Boost for negotiations

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

New hope for a speedy return to negotiations has been raised by ANC leader Nelson Mandela's conciliatory remarks in an interview with The Star — and a positive response from the Government last night.

Mr Mandela's overture to the Government for a quick resumption of negotiations — welcomed by the Government and others as "positive and conciliatory" — has improved prospects for a meeting soon between Mr Mandela and President de Klerk to discuss the issue of violence.

This in turn is the key to a return to formal constitutional negotiations, suspended in June.

The Government yesterday welcomed "the positive and conciliatory tone of many of the statements made by Mr Mandela in his interview with The Star on Monday.

"It trusts that this attitude will be reflected in the actions and statements of other ANC leaders as well," Government spokesman Dave Steward told The Star.

"In particular it hopes that it will be manifested in the talks which are currently taking place between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, and which are aimed at bringing about a meeting between the State President and Mr Mandela



'Dogs killed by AWB instructors'

By Gien Elsas
West Rand Bureau

An Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging member has told an animal rescue centre that he attended a weekend training camp where dogs were killed by instructors demonstrating the quickest ways to dispatch humans.

Anne Cronje of the Irwin Animal Rescue Centre in the Vaal Triangle said the distraught AWB member had attended a camp in Heidelberg last weekend.

The man, whose name will not be disclosed, was interviewed on tape, which was played back to The Star yesterday.

Mrs Cronje said camps were held every second weekend at Heidelberg.

The man and his family were horrified when three small dogs were killed in front of them in demonstrations by three different instructors.

He told chief inspector Stan Cronje of the Animal Rescue Centre that one dog's throat was slit, another was stabbed in the neck and a third strangled.

The man was so shocked that he telephoned AWB leader...

discuss the issue of violence. This in turn is the key to a return to formal constitutional negotiations, suspended in June.

The Government yesterday welcomed "the positive and conciliatory tone of many of the statements made by Mr Mandela in his interview with The Star on Monday.

"It trusts that this attitude will be reflected in the actions and statements of other ANC leaders as well," Government spokesman Dave Steward told The Star.

"In particular it hopes that it will be manifested in the talks which are currently taking place between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, and which are aimed at bringing about a meeting between the State President and Mr Mandela as soon as possible."

Mr Meyer and Mr Ramaphosa met for the second time in two days yesterday to try to set up a summit on violence, and are expected to meet again this week.

On his return from a trip to Zambia last night, Mr Mandela said the summit was "crucial" for progress in the peace process.

The Government should take the initiative by releasing political prisoners, banning the public display of dangerous weapons and fencing off hostels.

"I sincerely hope Mr de Klerk will carry out these reasonable demands and help me to convince everyone around me to meet," the ANC leader said.

Mr Mandela told The Star in the interview that "to save the country from disaster" the ANC was eager to restart negotiations and that the Government need not make any new concessions for this to happen.

It would be enough for it to make good its previous undertakings to the ANC and United Nations special envoy Cyrus Vance on hostels, political prisoners and dangerous weapons.

He was deeply concerned about the state of the economy, following a recent report from Finance Minister Derek Keys which he found "frightening".

His remarks were welcomed by politicians and business organisations yesterday, although the IFP expressed reservations.

Mr Keys said he was "glad to see economic realities are starting to figure in the decisions of major players".

Democratic Party finance spokesman Ken Andrew said Mr Mandela's "reasonableness and statesmanlike attitudes should be reciprocated

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New hope for negotiations

● From Page 1

by everyone concerned about the well-being of our country".

National Party secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe welcomed Mr Mandela's conciliatory tone but demanded action to back up his words.

"The fact that he has indicated that there are only three remaining outstanding issues to be addressed by the State President before the leaders can meet, and the more realistic terms in which Mr Mandela defines these issues, is progress indeed," Dr van der Merwe said.

SA Chamber of Business chief economist Ben van Rensburg welcomed Mr Mandela's "recognition of economic realities".

The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry welcomed Mr Mandela's gesture and hoped other parties would respond similarly.

IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said steps to get back to negotiations were to be welcomed. But he did not think Mr Mandela's remarks represented a "sudden conversion to the politics of moderation and compromise". He attributed them to the negative local and foreign criticism of the ANC's "revolutionary agenda".

ANC benefited little from hiring Washington lobbyist

THE ANC's decision to engage Washington's former non-voting congressional delegate Walter Fautroy as its US lobbyist has yielded few results, documents filed by Fautroy with the justice department show.

In a report on his activities submitted to the department's foreign agents registration unit last month, Fautroy said the movement had paid him \$229 990 on December 19 last year, to draft and lobby for a Bill, HR 5036, to establish a "SA-American enterprise fund" with government seed money to solicit private contributions for black businesses in SA.

The Bill is now in limbo, stripped by House Africa subcommittee chairman Mervyn Dymally of the seed money, and unlikely ever to reach a vote in either the House or the Senate.

Under his original contract with the ANC Fautroy was to have provided a far more ambitious list of services, including a major fundraising drive, from whose proceeds he would have been paid a further

11A SIMON BARBER

\$470 000.

He was to set up a nationwide ANC support network and revive SA Now, a syndicated pro-ANC television news programme.

Fautroy undertook to "assemble a team" of economic and development experts to assist the ANC in obtaining US aid for health care, housing, education, business development, job training and "security services".

In a diary of "activity on behalf of the ANC", which Fautroy included in his justice department filing, he also sought to develop a "SA-American business council".

This entailed a three day organising session at the London Hilton and trips to Chicago, New York and Baltimore, in the course of which, Fautroy said, he ran up travel expenses of \$19 300, excluding \$7 400 for "seminars and conferences".

Fautroy's contract expires next month and ANC sources have said it is unlikely to be renewed.

The SACP's Raymond Suttner says his party is being made a scapegoat

'Don't blame us for Bisho'

STAN 17/9/92

(11A)

THE massacre at Bisho last week has not only evoked anger and sorrow within the black community. It has also unleashed a massive attack on the organisers of the march, in particular those leaders of the ANC who are also South African Communist Party leaders.

The suggestion has been made that the SACP hijacked this march and that the masses were used as cannon fodder to gain political turf. The cynicism of this move is said to be underlined by the fact that the only targets of mass action in the bantustans are those that are unsympathetic to the ANC — as evidenced by no marches being planned for Transkei and Venda.

Where does the truth lie? Is the ANC guilty, along with the South African Government and the Ciskei?

What seems to be absent from most accounts is that the violence in the Ciskei did not start on Monday September 7. The march was decided on because of widespread and daily violence, killings and in-

timidation of the people living under Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's rule for a long period.

The places where this violence occurs are not reported in the commercial press. Many do not even appear in the conventional maps of South Africa such as Didedikane, Masakhanane, Ngqwele, Qongqotha, Pakamisa etc.

The people of this region demanded an end to the violence. What were we to do? Observers counsel patience because bantustans are due to be reincorporated within a year. Is this an adequate answer to those who may not survive that year or may be maimed while they wait?

The idea of a march came from the Border region of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance and other allied formations, including the churches and civics. It was endorsed as a national campaign by the tripartite alliance.

The Border region of the ANC requested a number of us to come down before the event to assist in mobilising people and organising the march. These included Chris



Bisho massacre ... the marchers acted in response to earlier violence, says a leading Communist and ANC member.

Hani, Ronnie Kasrils and myself. We are, as the newspapers note, also in the leadership of the SACP. A number of other people were also requested to come or volunteered, such as Steve Tshwete and Thozamile Botha.

It is alleged that the SACP hijacked the march. But everything we did in the Border region, whether or not we were Communists, was under the direction of the Border alliance. In the case of

people like Mr Hani, Mr Tshwete and Mr Kasrils, they were asked to go round to factories and villages mobilising support. In my case I did media work. We did not choose the way we were deployed.

The Border alliance also selected a strategising committee to take decisions on the day of the march. Mr Hani, Mr Kasrils, Mr Tshwete and I were asked to join it. On the day of the march it was supplemented by Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary general of the ANC,

and John Gomo, president of Cosatu.

In the course of the march, it was decided that a group would proceed to Bisho stadium and make its way into Bisho through a gap in the fence that had been reported. The rest of us would proceed to the razor wire blocking the entrance to Bisho. In neither case did we plan to use arms or face gunfire, but hoped nevertheless to proceed.

As is well known now, before we could talk, we faced fire from a number of directions. Some commentators are suggesting that the leadership used the people as cannon fodder. It should be noted that the leadership was in front and we were the first target. Secondly, as mentioned before, the idea of the march came from the Border region and was endorsed as a national campaign of the whole alliance, as a way of trying to end the violence of the Gqozo administration.

Why do we not target Transkei and Venda? The answer is not the cynical battle for turf suggested

in some commentaries. Our people are simply not being harassed or killed in these areas. They are allowed to engage in free political activity. In fact, there have been marches in the Transkei. In some cases there was tension, though no violence ensued.

It is a pity that this national tragedy is being manipulated in order to attack Communists, especially white Communists, instead of mounting massive pressure on the Government to do what it is perfectly capable of doing — remove Oupa Gqozo and end the misery that he makes of people's lives.

If one is looking for white instigators, let us look at the real ones: those in the Department of Military Intelligence and others who have been shown to have played a substantial part in the Bisho massacre. □

Raymond Suttner is Head of Political Education and a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC. He went to Bisho on behalf of ANC.

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Govt and PAC to confer in *Star* Gaborone

17/9/92
By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Reporter

The Pan Africanist Congress and the Government will meet soon in Gaborone, Botswana, to discuss the PAC's full involvement in negotiations, PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke has told The Star.

A member of the six-man PAC delegation that has twice held talks with the Government inside the country, Mr Seroke said Pretoria had finally agreed to the demand that a meeting at the highest level be held "at a neutral venue outside the country".

Also still under discussion was who the "neutral" chairman would be.

The PAC, he said, had suggested that the chairman of the Frontline states, Zimbabwean President Robert Mugabe, should chair the meeting. Pretoria was insisting that the head of state of the host country, President Quett Masire, should be chairman.

Mr Seroke said the PAC's delegation was likely to be led by the organisation's two deputy presidents, Dikgang Mosenke and Johnson Mlambo.

Police probe raises hackles of ANC

8/08/92 7/9/92
BILLY PADDOCK

TALKS between government and the ANC have been complicated by a police probe into the possibility of senior ANC members being involved in crimes before the ANC's unbanning in 1990.

The ANC warned that any attempt to arrest or prosecute its leaders would derail the current limited talks as well as any future negotiations.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa have been locked in talks since Monday in a bid to arrange a summit meeting between the two parties' leaders.

The ANC is demanding the freeing of political prisoners, without the release being linked to a general amnesty, before it is prepared to allow its president Nelson Mandela to meet President F W de Klerk.

Law and Order spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said yesterday a police team had intensified investigations into unsolved crimes in which senior ANC, PAC and right-wing leaders could be implicated.

The ANC said the move showed government was not serious about negotiations and said the investigation was a cynical attempt to get a blanket general amnesty for government officials.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel denied this allegation last night.

Kotze said people who had been granted indemnity for certain crimes would not be prosecuted, but if they were linked to other crimes, it would be a different matter.

● Cosatu is to go ahead with plans to mourn the 24 people massacred in Bisho last week.

The trade union federation has discussed a possible shut-down of workplaces tomorrow with Western Cape representatives of the Cape Chamber of Commerce, Cape Chamber of Industries, Cape Town City Council and Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut.

"The employers' response to this request was sympathetic. They indicated they would recommend members adopt a sympathetic stance towards the workers' request. This would involve a 'no work, no pay' approach."

A lunchtime service is being planned for the Grand Parade. This will be followed by a march to the Ciskei consulate on the Foreshore, where a rally will be held at 2pm, to be followed by a march to Groote Schuur, President De Klerk's official residence, at 3pm.

ARG 17/9/92
Cosatu

fires salvo at Mandela

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela has been slated by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Western Cape) for his "unilateral" decision to restart negotiations.

In a hard-hitting interview, regional Cosatu secretary Mr Jonathan Arendse said, "We in the region are closer to the people on the ground than he is. We know the people want action."

He also accused the ANC National Working Committee, the movement's shadow cabinet, of "sowing confusion".

He said Cosatu (Western Cape) was unimpressed by Mr Mandela's shift.

"Whatever he has said does not affect what we've planned for October 12 (the day when a special sitting of Parliament begins).

"We will have a day of action and are not thinking of deviating from our plans. Regionally we don't accept unilateral decisions."

He said the ANC's decision to call off a planned protest march in Bophuthatswana had been taken unilaterally.

"The alliance comprising the ANC, Cosatu and the South African Communist Party, had planned that march. The ANC national working committee had no right to call it off. The committee is sowing confusion through its unilateral action."

He said "people on the ground" were angered by the decision.

No drama expected at NP Transvaal congress

BILLY PADDOCK

THE NP Transvaal congress, which starts at the World Trade Centre today, is once again set to be overwhelmed by events beyond the control of the ruling party.

There are no great expectations of President F W de Klerk making groundbreaking announcements as he did at congresses in the past two years.

At the party's Free State congress two weeks ago, De Klerk stayed for barely an hour and confined himself to giving delegates a general overview of the political situation.

Today, delegates' attention will be focused on talks between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa rather than on the congress agenda. The aftermath of the Bisho killings and the possibilities of an ANC march on Ulundi will also divert attention.

Meyer will be addressing the congress later this afternoon, but the secretive nature of his negotiations with Ramaphosa means he is likely to give only a vague indication of the progress.

Either De Klerk or Meyer is also expected to provide more clarity on enabling

constitutional legislation which government is to put before Parliament next month.

On Tuesday Meyer gave some indications of government's plans for the special short session, but said it had not yet been finalised. Cabinet met yesterday and it is understood that the issue was discussed.

Meyer said any Bills to set up a transitional executive, phase out own affairs and abolish by-elections would only be of an enabling nature, to be implemented once agreement with negotiating partners had been reached.

Transvaal leader Pik Botha will speak at lunchtime today before officially opening the congress tonight. Other speakers will include Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers and Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Tertius Delport, who might sketch NP plans for federalism in a new constitution.

Also to be decided at the congress will be the changes to the principles in the NP constitution which scrap Christian nationalism.

PAC and govt set to discuss forum

PATRICK BULGER

THE PAC will take part in a forum in SA to plan elections for a constituent assembly, and intends meeting government in a neighbouring state this month to discuss the forum, says a senior PAC official.

PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim, who took part in the first three contacts in SA between government and the PAC after the PAC was unbanned, said yesterday Botswana was a likely venue for the talks that were being set up.

However, both Namibia and Zimbabwe had indicated they would be prepared to host such a meeting.

Ebrahim said that at his last meeting with Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, government had agreed to the principle of meeting the PAC at a neutral venue outside SA and under a neutral chairman. Government and the PAC met in April this year in Abuja, Nigeria.

"We will be representing the position of the Patriotic

Front aimed at creating a new and more representative forum which would pave the way for the establishment of an elected constituent assembly.

That forum would meet in SA, he said.

The Gaborone meeting, Ebrahim said, could still be convened as a summit between President F W de Klerk and PAC president Clarence Makwetu. However, at present it was envisaged as a meeting of delegations headed by Meyer and himself.

Botswana date for PAC, Govt

■ Pretoria accedes to demand for a neutral venue:

Dwefan 17/9/92.
THE Pan Africanist Congress and the South African Government will meet in Gaborone, Botswana, before the end of this month to discuss the PAC's full involvement in negotiations.

PAC political affairs secretary Mr Jaki Seroke said yesterday the Government had finally agreed to his organisation's proposal for a neutral venue.

A member of the six-man PAC delegation which has twice held talks with the Government inside the country, Seroke said Pretoria had finally agreed to the organisation's demand that a meeting at the highest levels of both parties be held "in a neutral venue outside the country".

He said although agreement had yet to be reached on the date on which the meeting will take place, he was confident it would be held before the end of September or, at the latest, early next month.

Also still under discussion was who the "neutral chairman" would be at such a meeting.

"At first we were pulling hither and thither on the venue and finally we agreed on Botswana. The regime was suggesting the Ivory Coast and we were saying it should be in one of the Frontline states," Seroke said.

Hani treated by doctor

21/11/92
114
JOHANNESBURG. — SA Communist Party chief Mr Chris Hani is sick and being treated for a glandular problem.

SACP national executive committee member Dr Essop Pahad, standing in for Mr Hani at a speaking engagement at the Islamic Bank here, said Mr Hani was not feeling well on Tuesday night.

By yesterday morning he had to be treated by a doctor at his home.

Dr Prahad assured the 50 people attending the meeting that it was not a "very serious matter". — Sapa

● Lecturers' strike at Turf ends

IFP not impressed by Mandela's proposals

Sowetan 17/9/92 (11A)

THE INKATHA Freedom Party has rejected the hand of friendship offered by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

They say the conciliatory remarks by the ANC leader had been a "face-saving" gesture.

Mandela said in an interview published in *Sowetan* yesterday that the ANC was eager to restart negotiations, urging the Government to make good its undertakings on the issues of hostels, political prisoners and dangerous weapons.

IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose said yesterday that while the IFP welcomed steps to get South Africans back to the

■ Remarks are a gesture to "save face":

negotiation table, the organisation saw the ANC as the chief "wrecker" of negotiations.

Mdlalose said the ANC had bitten off more than it could chew and was now reaping the rewards of intensely negative international and domestic criticism of its revolutionary agenda.

"The organisation is now desperate to save face by negating its spoiler image through generous offers by its statesmanlike president."

Police probe 'an attempt to pressure ANC'

5/1/92 17/9/92
Reports of a high-level police investigation into past crimes involving ANC leaders were a "cynical attempt" to pressure the organisation into accepting a general amnesty, the ANC charged yesterday.

It is understood a tentative agreement between the Government and ANC on the release of remaining political

prisoners — one of three key issues delaying a summit meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk — broke down after the Government insisted on linking the releases to a blanket amnesty, which would include State officials.

The ANC is opposed to a general amnesty without the indemnified ne-

ple disclosing their crimes.

Reacting to reports yesterday that a "special unit" had been set up by the police to investigate ANC leaders, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said the police probe into acts of terrorism was not aimed at the ANC "as an organisation per se". — Political Reporter.

Anthony Garvey
reports from Dublin

ANC 'may have to split'

11/11
S/M
17/1/72

THE ANC's mass action campaign, if maintained, can lead only to a South African Yugoslavia — and beyond that to a South African Somalia. That's the warning from a respected international affairs commentator, Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien, the former UN diplomat and Irish Minister.

He urges the ANC leadership to recognise that the mass action campaign must lead to "the disaster of civil war" among South Africa's blacks, and to have the courage to face down their militants. And he calls on Western governments to reassess their attitude to the ANC if it fails to end the campaign and return to the negotiating table.

Dr O'Brien describes as ridiculous the attempts to blame President de Klerk for the killing of ANC marchers in Ciskei. In an article in the Irish Independent, he compares what happened in Ciskei to a bloody incident in Northern Ireland involving the British security forces.

He writes: "In Derry, on January 30 1972, trained British troops shot dead 13 violent but unarmed rioters. Was a higher standard of restraint to be expected from the Ciskei troops, whose brutal conduct ANC speakers routinely denounce?"

He says there are two main reasons for the mass action campaign — one internal, the other external. "The internal reason has to do with actual potential divisions within the ANC. In June, the negotiations with De Klerk had very nearly reached agreement. The remaining difference was over a mere 5 percent in the minority representation to be accorded in the non-racial parliament.

"But the leadership was aware that if it reached an agreement on the lines towards which the negotiations pointed, it would be accused by the young radical militants of having consented to a sell-out. The leaders seem to have lost their nerve at that point. They shrank from the showdown with their left wing which must come at some point if there is to be a negotiated settlement leading to the creation of non-racial institutions. Compromise with De Klerk is possible, forcing his surrender is not."

The external reason for the mass action, says Dr O'Brien, is the expectation that the outside world will blame Mr de Klerk for the bloodshed and pressurise him to agree to the ANC demands. "Those demands are the programme of the radical militants. They involve one man, one vote without any protection for minorities. This is expected to lead to ANC rule, and probably permanent one-party rule, with no opposition allowed for, and no second free election." Dr O'Brien warns that the National Party will never concede this, "and if they were to attempt to do so, the result would be a military coup."

He adds that the only hope for South Africa is a negotiated settlement leading to a non-racial coalition government with safeguards for minorities, and adds: "That can probably not be achieved without a split in the ANC. The price is worth paying in view of what is at stake." — Star Foreign Service. □

Summit date may be set this week

STAR 17/9/92
By Peter Fabricius

Intensive negotiations to set up a Government-ANC summit on violence are continuing, with some hope that a date could be set by the end of the week.

Both the Cabinet and the ANC's national working committee met yesterday when they were likely to have discussed the obstacles still impeding the arrangement of a summit.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela improved the mood for agreement when he said in an interview with *The Star* this week that he would be prepared to attend a summit on violence with President de Klerk if the Government gave the organisation assurances on the release of prisoners, a curb on carrying dangerous weapons, and adequate security around hostels.

Mr Mandela's remarks have put pressure on both sides to come to terms and led to optimism, at least on the Government side, that agreement could be reached this week.

Government and ANC delegations under Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa have had several meetings this week to try to resolve these issues.

The ANC has warned that the speed with which an agreement could be reached would be determined by the Government's response to its three demands.

Pick 6 set to top R3-m

The Pick 6 pool at Turffontein.



Welcome . . . Deputy Minister of Law and Order Gert Myburgh (right) welcomes United Nations representative Jan Smuts at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday. • Report — Page 3

UK move rocks markets

By Magnus Heystek
Finance Editor

World financial markets were plunged into renewed crisis yesterday when the Bank of England increased its base lending rate from 10 to 15 percent in a desperate bid to prevent a formal devaluation of the pound.

The move sent shockwaves through currency and equity markets, including those in South Africa.

The 5 percent increase by the Bank of England came in two stages.

Yesterday morning the base lending rate was put up from 10 to 12 percent but when this failed to support the pound, it was further increased to 15 percent in the afternoon.

However, the move had

little impact and sterling remained pinned to the floor.

According to international economists, the Bank of England now has no option but to formally devalue sterling. Any further increase in interest rates is likely to harm the UK economy, already in the midst of a severe recession. STAR 17/9/92

Elsewhere in Europe, Sweden increased its prime rate by a staggering 500 percent to 75 percent, in an effort to halt the slide of the Swedish krona, and the recent run on the Italian lira continued.

The current bout of uncertainty on world currency markets was precipitated by the surprise cut in lending rates by the German Bundesbank.

Stock markets have also been badly affected by the

volatile currency markets.

Yesterday's events in Threadneedle Street in London badly buffeted world bourses.

The All Share Index dropped 40 points to 3138, wiping out all of its gains earlier this week, and the Industrial Index dropped by 45 points to 4087.

Gold was the only beneficiary of volatile markets and was trading at around \$349 an ounce after a morning fix of \$346,20.

The Gold Index rose by 20 points to 913 and looks set to rise further in the face of extreme uncertainty on world markets, said analysts.

The rand slipped back against the US dollar and was quoted at R2,82 but strengthened against sterling to R5,28.

ANC strategy blamed for violence

PIETERSBURG — A main reason for violence in South Africa was the ANC's strategy to make the country ungovernable, SA Institute of Race Relations executive director John Kane-Berman said yesterday. Speaking to the Pietersburg Chamber of Business, he said the ANC's strategy of a people's war was formulated in the 1980s to focus on the Government. But it was also a declaration of war against sections of the black community. — Sapa.

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RONNIE KASRILS

The red pimpernel

Among the ANC figures whom outsiders most love to hate — or poke fun at — is its ebullient campaigns chief Ronnie Kasrils. He sometimes comes across as a bit of an overgrown (and overblown) campus radical.

Meeting Kasrils, however, leaves an altogether more benign impression. Though he is now criticised for being at best naive — if not cavalier with ordinary people's lives — he has sincerity, charm and intelligence.

His image as a revolutionary romantic predates the central role he played in the ill-fated ANC march on Bisho on September 7. It can be traced to his clandestine return from exile in 1989 as part of the ANC's alleged insurrection plan, "Operation Vula". The oddball fugitive in his famous leather jacket would surface as the "Red Pimpernel" to meet journalists at venues like Mike's Kitchen in Parktown.

Kasrils (54) is the very image of a Yeoville "boykie", which isn't surprising since that's where he was born and grew up. His boyhood buddies included some who went on to become top SA businessmen: Mannie Simchowitz, Tony Bloom, Leon Hacker and the Bachers.

After Yeoville Boys' he went to King Edward VII, where he was the half-mile champ. "Basically, from Grade 1 onwards I won everything I ran in — and there's a connection with Bisho," he explains wryly. "My problem in life has been that I've always run faster than any other bugger. Of course it gave the impression at Bisho that I was leading a breakaway."



Kasrils ... the image of a Yeoville "boykie"

But, as he points out, this was a strategic decision taken by the march organisers. "I wasn't doing anything irrational or individualistic. It was all on the basis of a collective decision and very clear objectives ... It is depressing and angers one when innocent blood is spilled this way. But the finger must be pointed to the perpetrators of the violence."

Kasrils is a member of the SA Communist Party (SACP); he makes the familiar point that it's not the ideals of socialism, but the way it was attempted that was at fault. Socialism should not be "foisted" on people.

"I go along with our present party policy, which is for a multiparty approach to politics. That doesn't mean multiparty govern-

ment, unless we're talking about voluntary coalition." While he has "undivided loyalties" to both the ANC and the SACP, the ANC has been his first home. He joined it after the Sharpeville massacre of 1960.

He left SA in 1963, having been in the regional command of Umkhonto we Sizwe. He married his wife Eleanor, a South African, in Tanzania in 1964 and set up home in England. He has two grown sons there and a stepdaughter in SA. In 1970, he worked part-time on the archives of Bertrand Russell and, as a result, helped edit a book of the philosopher's letters and co-wrote a two-volume biography (with Barry Feinberg) called *Bertrand Russell's America*. He remembers the sage, at 90, as "an outstanding human being with a very open mind."

In exile, Kasrils worked for the ANC in Angola, Mozambique, Zambia and other neighbouring states. His *nom de guerre* was "ANC Khumalo" and under this name he started writing revolutionary poetry in Tanzania. He acknowledges that he is not primarily a poet.

Kasrils was indemnified in June 1991. Last year, he was elected to the national executive committee of the ANC and earlier to the central committee of the SACP.

His role as campaigns chief is certain to keep him in the forefront of mass action in the weeks ahead and raises serious questions over its suitability to volatile SA conditions. One can only hope that his image of himself as a Byronic spirit leading the masses will not again lead them into another Bisho. ■

FM 18/9/92

11A

POLITICS

FM 18/9/92

ZOPA IIA

Can the centre hold?

The DP protest march through the streets of Johannesburg this week will probably do little to end the petty bickering between government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

But it crystallised an increasingly prevalent view that mainstream political leaders have lost sight of their main goal — a negotiated settlement to the country's constitutional impasse. The aim of the march was to emphasise the need for peace and the resumption of negotiations and to demand that the "bullies of the Left and the Right" stop their political infighting and posturing.

There appears to be growing disillusionment, particularly within the besieged business community, with the performance of many politicians. The feeling was summed up by a delegate to a SA Chamber of Business regional conference in Stellenbosch last week, who stated cynically that "politics is too important to be left to politicians."

DP leader Zach de Beer says Tuesdays' march was neither an act of hostility nor a protest. It wasn't even a party-political demonstration. Instead, it was "an act of faith" by people who believed SA could succeed. He says radical change in SA would have been difficult even under the most favourable conditions. But with the domestic and international economies under severe pressure and in the face of "political opportunism and violence," change may appear impossible.

He says the "democratic centre" in which the DP stands believes the main task facing SA is to frame a new constitution that will be workable, just and acceptable to the vast majority of all South Africans.

"Progress towards the new constitution is being held up because certain of the major political actors are having trouble keeping their own supporters in position behind them and are having to take specific action to remedy that and because they are eager to position themselves advantageously for the inevitable election.

"They are actually starting to fight that election before we have the constitution in terms of which it will be fought. In a way, I can understand this behaviour, but it is causing a long and harmful delay while we bleed economically and literally every day."

De Beer appealed to political leaders to "say and do what you know to be right and have faith that the people will follow." For-

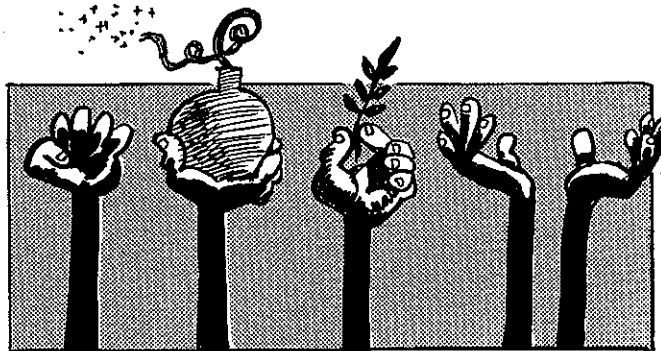
mulating a new constitution is the priority, followed by an election. However, De Beer believes a "grand coalition government of national unity" will serve SA best for the first few years.

"That should be our first prize, but failing that, at least let us get the constitution first and have the fight later."

But his pleas appear to be in vain. Though hopes that negotiations would soon resume flared last week, when the ANC accepted a government proposal for President De Klerk and Nelson Mandela to lead delegations to a meeting aimed specifically at ending the violence, the euphoria was short-lived.

The dismal performance of ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer on TV's *Agenda* programme on Sunday night confirmed that a return to the negotiating table remains a long way off. Instead of using the opportunity to instil confidence and hope into all South Africans, the two traded

Is there a way out? Suggestions that a new moderate coalition party may offer hope are gaining favour. But, like the DP, a new party espousing moderate liberal values is unlikely to draw much support at this stage. ■



petty insults and mutual recriminations.

The "debate" was reminiscent of the party political duelling seen on TV during the referendum campaign; not one ounce of statesmanship shone through. Meanwhile the killing goes on and Cosatu raises the political temperature by announcing plans for city blockades and further economic disruption to force additional concessions from government.

Equally disturbing are indications that De Klerk is relatively undisturbed by the lack of real progress towards resumed negotiations. He is understood to be satisfied that international opinion is, on the whole, backing government and that the ANC is busy shooting itself in the foot. This suits the National Party, sections of which believe that the chances of an NP-led coalition winning a majority rule election will improve the longer the ANC fails to negotiate. But even if this assessment is correct (most observers reject it) the cost in lives and economic stability will be considerable.

Joint control of departments likely

GOVERNMENT and the ANC are set to reach agreement that legislation be tabled in Parliament next month to allow multi-party joint control over government departments.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said last night after his address to the NP Transvaal Congress that an announcement to this effect was possible within the "next day or two".

At Codesa all parties agreed that transitional executive councils be set up in terms of a transitional constitution. Until now government has been unable to include this in its plans for the October session because it required the ANC's agreement.

In saying this, Meyer lifted the veil of secrecy to show he and secretary-general

BLOOM 18/9/92
BILLY PADDOCK

Cyril Ramaphosa had been discussing more than the immediate obstacles to a summit on violence.

Meyer said President F W de Klerk had not announced this part of the plan for the parliamentary session because it had not yet been finalised. He was hopeful agreement would be reached soon.

Meyer also disclosed that government was negotiating with the TBVC and the non-independent states on rationalising their functions to allow central government to have joint control over them.

Independent homelands would have two choices — reverting back to self-governing

□ To Page 2

Control

status or having certain functions, such as police, defence and education reintegrated with SA, Meyer said.

He said that since April government had been having talks with the TBVC states to rationalise their defence and security forces into the SA forces.

Government was trying to reach bilateral agreements with homeland leaders before legislative action was taken.

Agreement with the ANC on legislation for the transitional executive councils would provide a carrot for homeland leaders to give up control of some functions as they would still have a say through membership on the executive councils.

Meyer also disclosed that solutions to ANC demands for hostels to be fenced and the carrying of dangerous weapons to be banned could soon be found.

The Goldstone commission recommendations and UN envoy Cyrus Vance's report had not fully considered the practical implications of a blanket ban on weapons.

He and Ramaphosa were involved in trying to isolate and identify the real problem area — which was not a single person on a hunting trip with a weapon but rather a group of people in a volatile situation provoking fear and violence. He believed the formula being worked on was reasonable and that the ANC could accept it.

ANC tries to get its regional leadership to stick to the party line

ANC's 14 regions have been told to stick to the party line in line with the movement's national policies and not to make statements unilaterally or mount campaigns with damaging national and international repercussions. The development is a direct result of the 1976 massacre and the blame attached to the ANC for actions that led to the killings, regional sources said yesterday.

Concern stems from a concern that utterances at local level could reflect negatively on the ANC's national profile, hindering its eventual return to the negotiable and the prospects of successful

negotiations. The issue was discussed at the ANC's national working committee this week where regional officials were told that the ANC wanted tighter co-ordination of its public statements.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said earlier this week the ANC would soon reach an agreement whereby all branches respect a national decision. He was referring to a statement from the Natal Midlands region in which a spokesman said a march would proceed on the KwaZulu capital Ulundi.

Spokesman Gill Marcus said the development was not an attempt to shackle

ANC regions, even though the ANC was not a federal organisation.

"There are issues — like the march on Ulundi — that not only affect Natal but have national and international repercussions. If there is a decision to march, it's not something a region can do on its own. There is a need for co-ordination on the approach. We need consultation because things are very tense at the moment."

Some regions — in particular Border and the Natal Midlands — were regarded

as more militant than the national leadership which came under intense criticism from ANC regional officials at the ANC's policy conference in May.

Regional officials complained that the negotiations process at Codesa proceeded without their involvement. Observers attributed the ANC's post-conference militancy largely to the radicalising influence of the regions.

The issue is complicated by the fact that ANC members are members of regions and it is the regions that forward delegates — in proportion to the region's strength —

to national conferences where policy decisions are made and office bearers elected.

One regional official said former United Democratic Front structures, now under the ANC's national leadership, had tended to operate in an independent manner.

"We have to learn to work in a more unitary fashion. This does not mean that any one region has overstepped the mark but conditions in the regions — especially Natal, Border and Bophuthatswana — are such that the regional leadership is constantly under pressure to do something about the plight of its people."

(11A)
PATRICK BULGER

BIDAM 18/9/92

THE ANC FM 18/9/92

Left and right hands

(11A)

On the day the ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance unveiled details of its stepped-up mass action campaign — including plans for a PAYE strike (see *Economy*) — it, paradoxically, called off its planned march on Bophuthatswana. ANC president Nelson Mandela also appeared to soften the demands.

Meanwhile, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa duly met Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer on Monday to discuss the removal of “obstacles” in the way of the summit meeting proposed by President F W de Klerk between himself and Mandela, which Mandela believes is important. Both Ramaphosa and Meyer had earlier stated their optimism about clearing the way. They were due to meet again on Tuesday evening and possibly on Wednesday.

Mandela, evidently departing from the ANC National Working Committee’s firm insistence on tangible government action on the demands before talks could resume, said in an interview with *The Star*: “If Mr De Klerk can just say to me: ‘You have expressed your three concerns. I give you my undertaking that I will address them’ . . . That the (remaining political prisoners of the 180 already identified) will be released in the next two months. Give me a date on which hostels will be fenced and secure them. Give me an undertaking that within a month or two we will be able to ban dangerous weapons.

“I will be able to go back to my people and say: ‘Look, he has met us. Let us meet him. We would then be able to ask ourselves the question whether, in that particular atmosphere, we should continue with mass action.’”

ANC spokesmen, however, were sticking to the letter of the demands as presented in the working committee statement — adding that it was logical that mass action would be lowered in intensity once negotiations started again. Alliance lieutenants like Cosatu deputy general secretary Sam Shilowa had reiterated that there was nothing contradictory in the simultaneous use of mass action and negotiations; muscle-flexing is, after all, part and parcel of negotiating. Meanwhile, the post-Boipatong 14 demands seem to have been boiled down to three equally insistent ones.

FM 18/9/92 (11A)

None of this confirms that there are splits in the organisation. However, it is becoming increasingly apparent there is tension between the “negotiationists” — pushed along by the dynamics of negotiation — and the “mass actionists” in the trenches.

This division does not appear necessarily to follow ideological lines, with communists automatically in the insurrectionist camp — though a good many, as good Leninists, naturally are. There is no great antipathy between, for example, Ramaphosa and leading activist Ronnie Kasrils. There are also strains, for instance, between some former exiles, the Robben Islanders and those who formed the UDF.

Rather, it would seem to be a battle between (for want of a better label) the Codesa-type insiders and those on the outside who may be apprehensive at being left on the sidelines when it comes to cutting a deal with the “regime” and dividing the spoils of high office. Indeed, some inside observers feel that for nearly all the ANC top brass, barring Mandela, this jockeying for power and influence is uppermost, rather than a selfless, statesmanlike search for a way out of the abyss. This may explain the apparent confusion in the ANC’s political strategy.

On the other hand, it could be argued that government must accept that until there are representative structures in place, the ANC will continue to use its muscle and extra-parliamentary channels of protest and mobilisation; whether this is wise or efficient is not the point. Yet it remains disingenuous of the ANC to set up events such as the Ciskei march, and then retreat into a sulk when the predictable occurs.

Those like Kasrils will tell you that “the peasantry and the townspeople of that region are determined to do everything, including sacrifice, to see that this tyranny is brought to an end,” and that “a struggle can’t be conducted on the basis of risk-free strategies. It necessitates sacrifice, and it’s sacrifice over decades that has brought the liberation of this country to the stage it has reached.” ■

Lekota quits intelligence for ANC elections post

Political Reporter

11A

In a shake-up in the ANC's intelligence department, director Patrick "Terror" Lekota has been replaced by national executive member Alfred Nzo.

Mr Lekota, a prominent lead-

er in the United Democratic Front, has moved to the organisation's elections commission.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said Mr Lekota's appointment was "an administrative move that has been in the pipeline for some time".

His appointment reflected the importance the organisation attached to upcoming nonracial elections, said Mr Niehaus.

Mr Nzo was the secretary-general of the ANC until July last year when he was replaced by Cyril Ramaphosa.

SM 18/9/92

Red for danger

FM 18/9/92

It has never been easy to work out where the ANC ends and the SA Communist Party begins. In theory they are two separate organisations in alliance; in practice, for historical reasons, there are several key leaders who occupy senior posts in both organisations. To complicate matters further, there is also an overlap with Cosatu, the third group in the alliance.

Which leader is wearing which hat when? The answer, may not matter when everyone in the tripartite alliance is emotional and angry with government. But when negotiations resume — whether on the subject of violence, the transition or a constitution — no real progress will be made if the ANC is continually hamstrung by divided loyalties.

ANC president Nelson Mandela's image of being at one with the communists may well strengthen the hand of President F W de Klerk among moderate blacks when elections are held — yet the ANC remains in thrall to romantic revolutionaries.

Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert argued forcefully last week in *Vryeweekblad* that the ANC is "strategically the prisoner of its most coherent and questionable (*aanvegbare*) alliance partner, the SACP. The time has now come for the alliance to decide what profile it will offer voters in an election."

If there are differences between the ANC and the SACP on vital issues such as mass mobilisation, democracy and the economy, says Slabbert, "it is only fair that the voters must know . . . and if there is no difference, it is high time that we stopped the laughable pretence that there is one. The times are too serious for us to be misled by this kind of Mickey Mouse revolutionary politics."

Slabbert continues: "It does not help if individual members of the ANC say that militant communism is not the official standpoint of the ANC. What is happening in practice indicates that, for the present, the SACP and the communist-controlled unions are the most coherent and organised faction . . . the rest of the alliance is basically powerless against them."

Chris Hani is both secretary-general of the SACP and a member of the ANC's National Executive Committee. In which capacity did he, with the most intemperate language, exhort the mob near Bisho to march and overthrow the Ciskei leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo? And dismiss negotiations as unnecessary and petty?

It is on the clarification of such issues that Mandela may soon have to stake his political career — and, along with it, the future of the country. ■

THE Bisho massacre has brought moderates of the African National Congress-led alliance to the forefront, while the hardliners are again taking the back bench.

Tension between the two factions remain pronounced. However, in the wake of ANC president Nelson Mandela's sudden shift towards conciliation — and what appears to be a rapping over the knuckles of regional and national leaders involved in the attempted march on Bisho — the militants have been put on the defensive as energies are geared towards a return to negotiations.

Those with the technocratic, diplomatic and constitutional skills, like Cyril Ramaphosa, Thabo Mbeki, Jacob Zuma and Mohammed Valli Moosa, will occupy centre stage, while key mass-mobilisation strategists like Chris Hani, Ronnie Kasrils and Raymond Suttner, more comfortable tapping into grassroots support and leading marches than winning and dining with government officials, will be less prominent.

The government has shrewdly and relentlessly lambasted the ANC for its alliance with the South African Communist Party, implying that the "reds" are in the driving seat.

It is an accusation that continues to raise hackles in the ANC. Says ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus: "The concept of a little group of people who happen to be communists gauging together to push decisions through the ANC is fallacious. It's a propagandist notion that a few white communists manipulate the ANC, a misconception that plays into old, racist ideas."

Perceptions of a split between moderates and radicals, or communists and anti-communists, is undoubtedly an over-simplification. Alliances, cabals and pressure groups are as much a product of historical conditions, personality clashes and the diverse skills of politicians as they are the outcome of ideological differences. Nevertheless, tensions with strong historical roots do exist and are increasingly coming to the fore as South Africa moves towards interim government.

Like most political formations, the SACP accommodates a range of views. Key ideologues of the SACP like Jeremy Cronin and Suttner believe insurrection is strategically naive at this point — unlike others on the extreme left, like Harry Gwala and Moses Mayekiso, the former a Stalinist, the latter having Trotskyist leanings.

The SACP also accommodates a spattering of social democrats, though not on the central committee. Most have left the SACP, but a handful occupy executive positions at regional level.

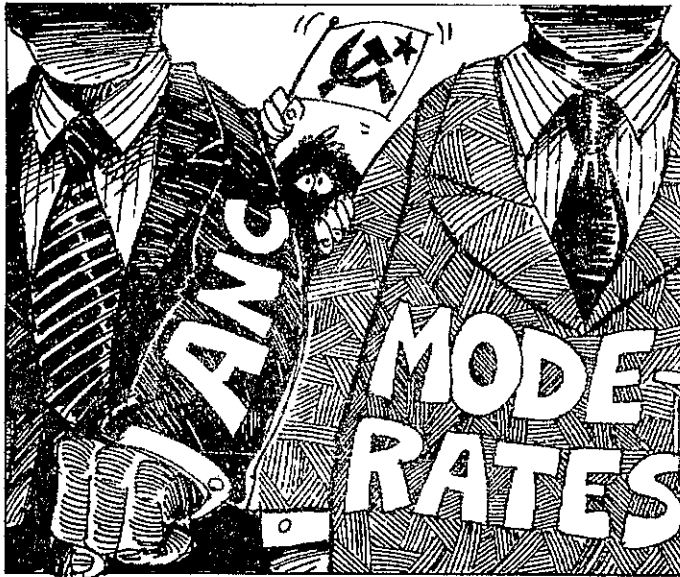
Moreover, militants in the alliance are not always SACP members — for example, Pallo Jordan, Jay Naidoo, Peter Mokaba and Winnie Mandela (though they have little else in common). Also, militant rhetoric may more closely reflect a politician's shrewd understanding of his followers' mood than a real position.

Some SACP members are beginning to believe there is a growing desire among "bourgeois" ele-

No, the reds aren't steering; they're gearing down

W/Mart 18/9 - 24/9/92

Government charges that communists are manipulating the African National Congress are way off mark. **PHILIPPA GARSON** discusses the SACP's diminishing influence and its crucial future role



ments in the alliance to sideline them, if not shake them off altogether.

The period between the Boipatong and Bisho massacres saw an emphasis on mass action, during which the communist influence was on the rise. However, any notion of a communist cabal running the show was, and is, way off. It understates the tremendous influence of Mandela and Ramaphosa, neither of whom are SACP members.

Furthermore, pressure for mass action comes to a great extent from grassroots and regional levels, the labour movement, civics and other organisations on the ground well-versed in the mass-

mobilisation tactics of the 1980s.

The SACP leaders, with their fervent belief in the virtues of mass action to safeguard a future democracy, are far more in touch with this groundswell than the moderates — not that the latter oppose mass action which forces the government's hand and rejuvenates the ANC's support base.

Hardliners talk of a cabal of moderates caucusing for deals with the government behind closed doors. Wits University political scientist Tom Lodge comments: "The term cabal is generally used by people who are middle or senior level, or displaced leaders, to describe insiders. As caucus groups for wheeling and dealing, cabals tend to involve people in technocratic, pragmatic positions."

Lodge sees the rising prominence of skilled negotiators, policy-makers and planners as inevitable. "It's almost iron law that parties gravitate to the centre; that as people become more involved in government, they become less accountable to the people. The process is very difficult to resist; some would argue it's a necessary one."

Others argue, however, that the legacy of (a measure of) democratic accountability is in dangerous jeopardy.

Ironically, today's accusers were yesterday's accused. Talk in leftwing circles in the mid-1980s revolved around the Natal-based cabal of mainly Natal Indian Congress members who later emerged as key SACP activists.

It is certainly true that activists linked to the NIC ran a tight ship in the United Democratic Front in Natal, effectively serving as a self-appointed leadership. But this soon became used as a convenient scapegoat label by activists accused of corruption or mismanagement, or by those who felt their positions threatened. Among them was Winnie Mandela, Aubrey Mokoena and ANC Youth League leader Mokaba, who even went to absurd lengths of portraying the cabal as a national underground structure operating as a covert parallel leadership within the UDF.

Some of those accused of being part of the cabal, like Murphy Morobe, Azhar Cachalia and Mohammed Valli Moosa, were activists whose own relationship with the NIC leadership was strained.

Once a marriage, the ANC/SACP relationship is now largely an alliance of strategy. The ANC is well aware that to break ties with the

SACP at this stage would mean losing Hani, one of the alliance's most popular leaders, plus possibly the loyalty of a large chunk of unionised and grassroots support. For the SACP, the alliance remains a lifeline — because of the ANC's huge popular support and the SACP's loss of financial backing from former communist regimes.

Some ANC moderates would privately prefer an election fought with separate election lists and a subsequent coalition arrangement, as this would increase ANC support among African and non-African moderates and others who view the SACP with suspicion.

Since the unbanning of the ANC and SACP, there has been intense backbiting between the different strands in the alliance. Perhaps because of their lack of sway with the mainstream press, the militants appear to have been more energetic in this endeavour.

In the past, the overlap between the SACP and ANC was so great that it was impossible to distinguish between the two. Until the late 1980s, the SACP had virtually no independent role to play.

However, there were differences in emphasis, which to some extent explain today's tensions. While the SACP concentrated its energies and leadership in the military underground, it was — and is — less well-represented in the policy-making bodies that emerged in the late 1980s.

Says Lodge: "The SACP is not well-represented in the diplomatic corps. It's not surprising that people with diplomatic or policy-making skills have come to the fore... The skills and temperaments of many in the SACP are better suited to the more populist dimensions of the alliance than to wheeling and dealing."

Some in the SACP harbour a bitterness against members who abandoned the communist ship as it fell out of vogue, in pursuit of political ambition. Zuma, Mbeki, Aziz Pahad and Mac Maharaj have distanced themselves from the SACP in recent years, despite playing pivotal roles in the party's past central committees. And, while the SACP pushed strongly for Ramaphosa at the ANC's congress elections last July, he is now being perceived as more moderate by the day: a statesman who stands above faction, a man being groomed to take the reins from Mandela one day.

The present tensions also have clear roots in the ANC's past as an exile-based movement. Behind the appearance of unity lay several significant conflicts. One of these was between the movement's competing intelligence and military intelligence departments, both of which were headed by SACP central committee members.

Zuma, who headed ANC intelligence, is blamed by his former rivals in military intelligence (whose then-chief was Kasrils) for the death in ANC detention of senior Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) commander Thami Zulu. His popularity was further diminished among SACP and MK stalwarts when he shed his SACP mantle soon after the ANC was unbanned.

Other tensions which persist stem from divisions of labour within the movement in its exile years — between, for example, diplomats and underground leaders. Differences between Mbeki and Hani are not new.

Another cause of friction within the movement has been the continued presence in key administrative positions of "old guard" members from the exile days. Some of these, like Alfred Nzo and Thomas Nkobi, are at least elected officials. Others, like James Stuart, who heads the electoral commission, Joe Jele and Mzwai Piliso, are no longer on the national executive committee (NEC), yet remain on the movement's payroll.

There is some resentment among former UDF/Mass Democratic Movement activists that many of their best people have not risen to the top — the classic case being former UDF publicity secretary Patrick "Terror" Lekota who, after coming fourth in the NEC election, was given the graveyard position of deputy head of ANC intelligence.

What of the future of the SACP? Though it has trashed some of its outmoded ideology, it has largely failed to come up with a coherent vision of how socialism in a future South Africa would work — beyond stressing the participation of the masses.

But this gives it an increasingly vital watchdog role to play. Says Lodge: "The SACP is determined — whatever constitutional deal is cobbled together — to ensure openings for popular participation. They see the high level of popular mobilisation will make it more difficult for leaders in the ANC to craft an elitist version of democracy."

He argues that while the alliance is unlikely to split, the SACP's identity will become more distinct. In the future, the SACP could well have an important role to play as an opposition party with particular strength at regional and local levels.

RESEARCH MANAGER

SCIENCE EDUCATION PROJECT

The Science Education Project (SEP) is an independent non-profit organisation providing in-service support to secondary school science teachers. SEP operates nationally in 11 regions through full time field implementers who provide short course and classroom support to Junior Secondary science teachers. Due to the restructuring of the management of SEP, we have created a new post for a **Research Manager** whose principal function will be the management of our Research and Development activities: a Curriculum Development group based in Cape Town as well as our Research and Development group based in Johannesburg.

Responsibilities of the post will include:

- to initiate and give support to research into children's learning in science
- to initiate and co-ordinate research which describes the SEP process
- supervision of all research activities of the project
- management of trialling of materials in schools

This challenging post will attract a highly motivated self starter with a proven record in educational research. The individual we seek will have a strong science/education background and be the principal researcher of relevant publications in refereed journals. In addition, management and administrative skills with reference to Research and Development are required. A good understanding of the state of education in South Africa is essential.

We offer a competitive salary package commensurate with qualifications and experience. This post is available from 1 January 1993, and will be subject to a three year renewable contract.

Applicants should submit a letter of application, C.V. and arrange for two referees to submit confidential references direct to the Human Resources Officer at SEP, P O Box 46, WITS, 2050. Tel: (011) 403-3720, Fax: (011) 339-7429

Closing date for applications 30 September 1992

PRESIDENT F.W. de Klerk was asked recently whether he could see light at the end of the tunnel. Taking another puff on his cigarette (he is a chain-smoker), he replied, smiling: "Light at the end of the tunnel? I can't even see the tunnel."

The story might not be as apocryphal as it sounds. De Klerk's entire reform programme, although underpinned by basic guidelines, has been played by ear. The trial of the past two-and-a-half years is littered with ingenious ideas that flowered briefly, and then died, unremembered even by de Klerk himself. He has no principled attachments to the options put on his desk — they are mechanisms that either work or don't.

Yet he exudes an underlying self-confidence: he believes whites and blacks in South Africa need each other — that without the one, there is no economic survival for the other unless you call sitting on top of a heap of rubble survival. So even if de Klerk does not know where the tunnel is, he knows it exists. It's just a question of finding the route.

This has been Afrikaner nationalism's extraordinary gift: the capacity to regenerate itself. One moment it shows all the signs of being down and out, and the next it is back in business. Maybe it is because Afrikaners do not have ideological hangups (except for Dr Hendrik Verwoerd, who was Holland-born anyway). Self-interest is their lodestar, and it steers them where they please to go. An Afrikaner intellectual once said to me: "We had to try apartheid, just to show our people that it could not work." It's a breathtaking thought. Forty bloody years later, the architects of apartheid shrug their shoulders, and say: Well, that's over. What's next?

For a people who pride themselves on being tradition-bound, the Afrikaners' capacity to break with the past is remarkable. It is necessary to understand this capacity if de Klerk's measure is to be taken. Life can be easier for those unencumbered by tradition. De Klerk's own explanation for this Afrikaner gift is interesting. In an interview in 1987, he said: "The Afrikaner finds the typical European division of people into classes an alien phenomenon. This has been our strength over the years. Class has never been a stumbling block in unifying our people." Absence of a sense of class not only unified the Afrikaners, but also, De Klerk implies, helped them to abandon apartheid. What he is suggesting here is that racism is a more flexible condition than class.

Certainly, with his ability to ignore the past and cut Gordian knots, de Klerk has been able to wrong-foot the ANC time and again. All the things the ANC thought it had in its gift — lifting sanctions, allowing Pretoria out of its international isolation, opening up doors in Africa — all this he has achieved on his own, with the ANC protesting helplessly that the pace is too fast.

Yet de Klerk has been, and is to some extent still is, a political enigma. A mythology has been created around him that, like Batman, he arrived from nowhere to rescue a wounded and bleeding country. It is not that his family and career background were unknown; it was just that the watchers could find no political footprints.

When he succeeded P. W. Botha in 1989, first as National Party leader and then as State President, most friends and colleagues were complimentary about his personality and political skills. He was bright, he had a lawyer's sinewy mind, he was rational in argument, persuasive, a good debater and, according to his brother, "fair, friendly, and humble, even gentle". Helen Suzman, for 13 years the sole liberal thorn in the NP's parliamentary flesh, confessed she liked him; he was always courteous and approachable and kept his promises.

But most commentators who assessed his qualities as a statesman rather than politician got it wrong. One said that if de Klerk had a vision of a workable South African future, "he has managed to hide it behind his amiable mask... it is hard to say what, if anything, he believes in." A foreign correspondent wrote "there is now something of a consensus developing among political commentators in South Africa that [de Klerk] is inherently more conservative than Botha."

Even Dr Wimpie de Klerk, NP newspaper editor-turned reformist, misjudged his brother. He expected no "leap of faith" from him, only "clever footwork, small compromises, drawn-out studies, and planning



processes, effect-diplomacy, and growing authority through balanced leadership and control."

Yet, within a year, de Klerk had legalised more than 60 restricted organisations, released Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and detainees, placed a moratorium on hangings, repealed the Separate Amenities Act, lifted most emergency regulations, limited detention without trial to six months, and gone on to topple even more apartheid pillars. De Klerk's "leap of faith" is that fundamentally and forever he changed the balance of force between the white regime and the black liberation movement. This is a genie that will never be put back into the bottle.

When one looks at de Klerk's life story, step by step, the man becomes less of an enigma. The key to understanding him is that he is a mainstream politician. There is nothing romantic about his reformism: he pursues it only because he thinks it can work. He thinks reform can become main-

The fixer who let out the genie

As government and ANC agree to talk again in South Africa the policies and pragmatism of F.W. de Klerk come under scrutiny once more

Guardian/W (in W/Mon)

By Stanley Uys

18/9 - 24/9/92.

Drawing by Peter Clarke

scorn as simple duplicity. It was de Klerk who, sooner than most Afrikaners, read the writing on the wall. It can be said he was born to rule.

This is what South African editor Ken Owen argued when de Klerk took over from Botha as leader in 1989: "De Klerk, a man bred into privilege, educated for leadership, and trained for power, is a different breed of cat. Where President Botha is rough, he is smooth; where President Botha smashes, he bends; where President Botha confronts and rages, he yields and mollifies. His career is a tale of compromises, of making the best of bad situations, of smoothing over difficulties."

Now 56, de Klerk came from a political family. His great grandfather was a Transvaal Senator, his grandfather stood twice (unsuccessfully) for parliament, his father became first a Senator, then a cabinet minister and finally president of the Senate, while his aunt married Hans Strydom, prime minister from 1983-88. De Klerk him-

ANC backs off from confrontation

RELIEF has greeted the ANC's decision to back off from a confrontation with the government over the Ciskei massacre, the death toll from which has risen to 29. Last week's decision represents a volte face by the ANC, which had adopted a hitherto resolute policy of no talks with the government following the June 17 Boipatong massacre.

The move followed a rumbustious two-day meeting of the organisation's national working committee — effectively the country's shadow cabinet — to decide its response to the killings in the nominally independent homeland. The ANC secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, and the Minister of Constitutional Development, Roelf Meyer, are expected to meet this week to discuss an agenda.

Meanwhile Winnie Mandela has finally bowed out of the South African political arena, resigning all her leadership positions in the ANC with a characteristically emotional outburst at her "enemies". A rambling statement gave no clear indication why she had decided to go, other than saying it was "primarily in the interest of my dear husband and my beloved family".

stream politics among white and black South Africans alike. He is not interested in liberal gestures. For all his high-flown rhetoric, de Klerk, one suspects, knows that "nation-building" and "shared democratic values" at this stage are so much pie in the sky. Shared economics will hold the country together, or nothing will. This means, of course, that time is not on his side — a settlement must be reached soon with the ANC, so that economic recovery can begin before the political infighting reaches a point of no return.

Given the underlying common economic interest between all race groups, the exercise, as de Klerk sees it, is to strike the right balance between the groups. Quotations from his speeches since 1985, when he first began making serious reformist noises, show each reformist view nicely balancing a conservative one — in his long political career he has made remarkably few enemies. And since becoming state president, he has gathered around him a think-tank of high calibre advisers who make P. W. Botha's advisers look like knuckle-scraping primates.

This pursuit of mainstream politics explains most of de Klerk's tactics: the weaving, the contortions, the seeming contradictions — what too many critics

self joined the Jeugbond (National Party Youth), he was on the executive of the Afrikaner Studentebond (Afrikaner Student Union), vice-chairman of his university's Students' Representative Council and editor of the campus newspaper. And he married a professor's daughter.

De Klerk's university was Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education. There he took a barrister degree, winning a travel scholarship that took him to Britain. On his return, he practised both law and politics, becoming chairman of the National Party's local divisional council and chairman of the Transvaal Law Society in the Vaal triangle. He served also on the local educational council and became chairman of the Federasie van Junior Rapportryers (the junior wing of the secret Afrikaner society, the Broederbond).

On the same day that he was due to take the chair of Administrative Law at Potchefstroom University, he was asked to stand as a National Party candidate for parliament, so he became an MP in 1973, information officer of the National Party in the Transvaal in 1975, a cabinet minister in 1978 (holding various portfolios), Transvaal leader of the NP in 1982 (when right-wingers broke away to form the Conservative Party), chairman in 1985 of

the Ministers' Council of the House of Assembly (where he consolidated his power base), NP leader in February 1989 (when Botha suffered a stroke) and state president in September.

Five months later, on February 2, 1990, he hit the world between the eyes with his speech in which he announced the new South Africa. Dr Johan Heyns, then Moderator of the NG church, called that speech de Klerk's "personal Rubicon," saying he thought a "miracle" had touched de Klerk's heart. But de Klerk denies any conversion on the road to Damascus: he had just read the writing on the wall correctly.

Botha had bequeathed him a government within a government waging what was little short of a reign of covert state terror — for which South Africa is paying the price today in murderous violence. De Klerk cut the State Security Council and the National Management System down to size and even before releasing Nelson Mandela from prison told senior police officers to stay out of politics. He would make this easier for them by not deploying them as "an instrument to attain political goals."

But just as Mandela's appeal to Natal's blacks to end the murderous Inkatha-ANC war by throwing their pangas (machetes) into the sea fell on deaf ears, so de Klerk's appeal to the police went unheeded, even though he tried to reassure them that "It is a question of methods. So, when in future we act in a more subtle way in matters which have, in the past, been handled in a heavyhanded way, it does not mean that we have changed our goal of creating a peaceful and civilised community where the rights of the minorities are safeguarded."

The rot had set in so deep that today, almost three years later, de Klerk is still not able to eliminate the orchestrated violence that has become the biggest single obstacle to government-ANC negotiations. He is closing in on the police and army generals, but very cautiously. He sacked 13 police generals this month (another six have reached retirement age), but there are a staggering 55 generals in a force of 114,000 men. Three blacks are to be promoted shortly as generals. Then there is the SA Defence Force, and cleaning out that Augean stable will need the skills of a bomb defusal squad.

When de Klerk talks about "minority rights" he is at the heart of his political beliefs. He has no intention of transferring total power to the black majority. His formula is shared power and he has never budged from this determination. He refuses to accept black majority rule: he wants guaranteed representation in the government for whites, coloureds, and Asians.

Mandela accepts this principle. It was the thread of his famous Memorandum from Prison. Other ANC leaders accept it too, even the tough secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa. But whereas de Klerk wants minority representation entrenched in the constitution, many in the ANC are prepared to offer only voluntary representation. However, here again de Klerk is not dismayed. If whites and blacks need each other as much as he believes they do, he is sure a compromise will be found. He will tackle that hurdle when it comes.

The ups and downs in the government-ANC relationship will continue. Mandela once described de Klerk as "a man of integrity," then withdrew the compliment, and has now reinstated it — de Klerk once more is "a man with a vision." But de Klerk's nerve-wracking balancing act still has a long way to go. Even if the "moderate" ANC leadership are prepared to cut whites, coloureds, and Asians into a power deal, can they take their restive followers with them?

The fact that after Boipatong and Bisho the government and the ANC are still even talking to each other about resuming negotiations shows de Klerk got it right: the nine million-plus whites, coloureds, and Asians and the 29 million Africans need each other — they swim or sink together. This is the solid foundation on which de Klerk's strategy is based.

But it must be repeated that time is not on his side. With every Boipatong and Bisho, militancy in the black townships is ratcheted up another notch. The "moderate" ANC leadership is coming perilously close to the point where it may not be able to deliver the black constituency to the negotiations process, and if that point is reached, South Africa may just as well switch off the lights.

Can SA look forward to some after-mass-action satisfaction?

STAN 19/19/92

THE week has ended optimistically, just like it began. That's quite something to be able to say about South Africa in these times, and it is well worth repeating: A whole week in which hope outweighed dread. It is an indication of how low we had sunk that we are, correctly, feeling buoyant simply because the politicians are putting out signals of reason and responsibility. They've not acted upon them yet, of course, but the national psyche is being soothed.

There is now a chance that the De Klerk-Mandela summit on violence could take place within a matter of days. If it does not, we should all insist on knowing why not. Things are now somehow different in the aftermath of Bisho; that shame might be encouraging us to demand higher standards from those who presume to speak in our names.

But Bisho has created one unrealistic expectation among those outside the ANC, and it should be clarified before it leads to inevitable disappointment and another fit of depression. The fateful march did not mark the end of mass action, despite the calling off of the Mmabatho protest.

The ANC was fiercely attacked, and quite rightly so, for going beyond the bounds of peaceful demonstration and entering the realms of outright insurrection in Ciskei. The comparisons with the students of Tiananmen Square or the crowds which toppled the Romanian regime simply do not apply: neither group had entered into an agreed process of negotiations with its enemies, as the ANC has done.

In his interview with The Star this week Nelson Mandela indicated that this message had penetrated. We should expect him to make sure that the fatal line is never crossed again; the ANC has now seen in close-up the consequences of such recklessness, and it knows that tin-pot tyrants will react with deadly fusillades.

But this does not, and cannot, mean that the democratic right to peaceful protest has now

UNDERCURRENT AFFAIRS

SHAUN Johnson



IF the De Klerk-Mandela summit on violence does not take place within a matter of days, we should all insist on knowing why not.

been surrendered. It is a pity that protest is still a part of our lives, but that is because we are still far from being a democratic society, and those who haven't full democratic rights think that's a greater pity. Therefore they will insist on using the only means available to them, in the absence of the vote, to apply pressure on recalcitrants who refuse to allow free political activity.

Those of us who have no need to resort to demonstrations now would be foolish indeed to withdraw that right from others — it would justify similarly illiberal attitudes in some future society where power-balances had shifted. The establishment of free political activity in every area of the country is a *sine qua non* for democracy. There can be no free and fair elections if political "no-go" areas such as Brigadier Gqozo's Ciskei continue to exist.

From the ANC's point of view, this means that when someone like Chief Buthelezi threatens "civil war" if his opponents so much as dare to protest in his fiefdom, that is total confirmation of the need to protest. As a matter of principle, the ANC must have the right to orga-

nise its supporters in a peaceful, orderly and non-provocative demonstration anywhere it likes, and against whoever it likes.

But in exercising this right, the ANC assumes some important obligations as well. First and foremost, it has a solemn, principled duty to extend such freedom, in daily practice, to everyone else. This means that a peaceful march on ANC headquarters in Johannesburg, by whoever feels like it, is acceptable. It means that if the IFP or National Party want to set up a branch in Transkei, or Sebokeng, or wherever, the ANC must make sure that its members do not interfere with their opponents' rights.

I have said that the nature of protest must be carefully controlled: if you go to someone's stronghold with the stated purpose of "overthrowing" him, you have perverted the principle. The ANC has to draw the line and stay behind it.

There are other obligations, dictated by the peculiarities of our situation in this country rather than overarching principle. Mandela has accepted that the economy is in a parlous state, and has undertaken to protect it, as far as possible from further damage. This view must impact on all decisions regarding mass action: organisers must at every turn ask themselves whether it is absolutely necessary, and how the desired ends can be achieved while causing the least damage to the economy, and avoiding potential outbreaks of violence.

All negotiating avenues must of course be utilised before taking to the streets.

Mandela said this week that all mass action could fall away when agreement is achieved on interim government. That is a bright prospect. He also criticised De Klerk for having agreed at Codesa to ensure political freedom throughout South Africa, and not delivering. This is manifestly true. We cannot expect a sudden end to mass action until these obstacles have been overcome, and we must look to a political summit, soon, to do precisely that.

Mood lifts as central issues are tackled

AFTER a week of intense horse-trading, South Africa is poised for agreements that will usher in the first stage of interim rule.

The depressed political mood of the past three months began to lift this week with a series of optimistic signals that resumption of negotiations was imminent.

The Bisho massacre last week jolted the Government and the ANC into action. ANC leader Nelson Mandela set a positive tone at the start of the week with an overture to President F.W. de Klerk for renewed talks.

Top negotiators from both parties met every day this week and cleared their weekend diaries in a determined bid to lay the foundations for a Government-ANC summit on violence.

Both sides hoped they would be able to hold the summit — the key to a return to formal constitutional negotiations — as early as this week.

Apart from wrestling with the three issues the ANC says are pre-conditions for returning to negotiations — releasing political prisoners, controlling dangerous weapons and securing hostels — Government and ANC negotiators also seem to have tackled the central issue of transitional measures.

As a result, the Government is increasingly optimistic that at next month's special session of Parliament it will be able to pass legislation to begin the process of establishing interim rule.

This legislation would



REST IN PEACE: A guard of honour at the funeral for some of the 28 victims of last week's massacre at Bisho. Government and the African National Congress back into action.

enable the appointment of a multiparty transitional executive council made up of representatives of the ANC, Inkatha, the Government and other negotiating parties once agreement was negotiated.

The new mood of optimism was evident at the NP's Transvaal congress yesterday, when De Klerk hinted at an imminent breakthrough in ne-

gotiations to set up the summit on violence.

He also suggested that legislation to set up a transitional executive council was under negotiation.

Less than a week ago it seemed unlikely that agreement would be

reached in time to pass this legislation at the special parliamentary session in October.

A meeting between De Klerk and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Thursday contributed to the optimism. The two leaders discussed the

three obstacles to the summit on violence. Indications were that the problem of dangerous weapons was close to resolution.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer told the congress good progress had been made in negotiations on the other two problem areas.

A Transvaal NP leader Pik

STAN 19/1/92
PETER FABRICIUS
Political Correspondent

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POLITICAL STANCES: *Our politicians have suffered from an attitude problem since Codesa 2 and it has taken Bisho to shake them*

Hunt the chameleon

STAR 19/9/92.

(1109) (SOLER)

THERE is a joke doing the rounds in white suburbia, and it reflects a general state of mind. It goes: "Did you hear that the ANC has released a new calendar? January, February, March, March, March, March..."

Attitudes towards the onset of mass action are revealing of the still-racial nature of our political divide, and point to some of the problems yet to be overcome if that gap is to continue to narrow, as it began to do so encouragingly this week.

That the gap has narrowed is undeniable: both the Government and the ANC have recognised, as this newspaper argued in the immediate aftermath of the Bisho massacre, the gravity of the situation and the chilling potential for a slide into anarchy if leaders did not get back together and produce some results. So we have had an extraordinarily conciliatory intervention from Nelson Mandela, and a calm and thoughtful Government response.

This has made possible a speedy move towards the crucial summit on violence, which is in effect a structural tool for restarting the essential process of installing an interim government. At this stage of South Africa's transition, attitudes are all: if the leaders are genuinely looking for solutions, they will find at least some. South Africa's politicians have suffered from a terrible attitude problem since Codesa 2 in May, and it has taken Bisho to shake them out of it.

Of course the question to be

BOTH the Government and the ANC have been painting harsh caricatures of each other since Codesa 2. Now that they are edging back to the negotiating table, the badmouthing is likely to be toned down, and the politicians will be ready to adapt their views when they sit down at their summit. But will ordinary people be able to forget what they've been told to believe? **SHAUN JOHNSON** and **ESTHER WAUGH** look at the process of demonisation.



To illustrate the point further: Dr Jordan, the ANC's information chief, is regarded as a "hardliner" in the sense that he endorses tough action against a Government he does not trust. But at the same time he is one of the most convinced and articulate opponents of the SACP. It is more complicated than it seems.

The truth is that it is unwise to attach permanent labels to anyone in the ANC or SACP. They, like other politicians, adapt to changing circumstances. The ANC's "Mr Fixit", Steve Tshwete — regarded along with Thabo Mbeki as a leading dove — spoke in 1986 of taking the armed struggle into white areas. Mbeki was a longstanding member of the SACP politburo, and apparently the author of the slogan "Make the country ungovernable, make apartheid unworkable". Jacob Zuma was a prominent SACP member. SACP chief Chris Hani recently argued against the calling off of the Wallabies rugby test. And so it goes on and on.

Within the Government, there is a similarly labyrinthine set of conflicting views, not all of which are constant in terms of the individuals promoting them.

De Klerk, like Mandela, can be a hawk and a dove on consecutive days. This does not mean he has changed his mind on negotiating a new South Africa.

Pik Botha is the Government's finest political stormtrooper — but this does not

...ence, which is in effect a structural tool for restarting the essential process of installing an interim government. At this stage of South Africa's transition, attitudes are all: if the leaders are genuinely looking for solutions, they will find at least some. South Africa's politicians have suffered from a terrible attitude problem since Codesa 2 in May, and it has taken Bisho to shake them out of it.

Of course the question to be answered now is whether the improvement in mood can be sustained, and utilised to achieve firm agreements. This brings us back to mass action.

Put simply, there are today in South Africa two incompatible views of what the ANC is doing and why, and what the Government is doing and why. Unless these views can be softened and amended, conciliatory gestures will soon give way to war talk once again, and the impasse will be back with us.

The Government is promoting the view that communists within the ANC alliance have taken control, that hawks have defeated doves, and that the hawks do not want a negotiated settlement.

For its part the ANC is promoting the view that, while the Government presents a dovish image to the country and the world, its intentions are hawkish: Pretoria says it can't wait to move to democracy, but does everything possible to stop that from happening.

White South Africans, in general, believe the former to be true; blacks the latter. Something has to give.

Take the SACP-tail-wagging-the-ANC-dog argument. Mass action is seen as the revolutionary tool of the (communist) militants, and its continuation is taken as confirmation that the (non-communist) moderates have been defeated. According to this scenario, the ANC's opponents say the organisation is not fit to be negotiated with until the position is reversed.

In fact, these hard-and-fast labels, free of nuance, are not useful, and even a distortion. It is interesting to note that a wily negotiator like Roelf Meyer appears aware of this, even as his



MAJOR PLAYERS: F W de Klerk, Nelson Mandela, Pik Botha, Chris Hani, Roelf Meyer and Steve Tshwete. But who are the real hardliners and who are the doves . . . and are some of them a combination of both?

colleague Pik Botha expends his energy in convincing his followers that all the country's ills can be laid at the communists' door.

That there are differences in approach among individuals within the ANC alliance is undeniable. It would be implausibly unusual if this were not the case. Of course there are "hardliners" and "soft-liners". But, and this is an important qualification for all who wish to understand the actions of the ANC, this does not mean the "hardliners" are against a negotiated settlement as such, and it does not mean they are "hard-line" on every issue.

As far as mass action is concerned, Nelson Mandela has repeatedly made it clear that this is a tactic which all ANC leaders believe in: it has, after all, been listed as one of the ANC's "four pillars of struggle" for several years, and will be relinquished only when apartheid's power structure gives way to an interim government.

Interestingly, ANC leaders are being labelled as "hardliners" according to their views on the role of mass action.

But Jeremy Cronin and Raymond Suttner — both members of the ANC national executive committee and SACP central committee — have argued against insurrection but in favour of mass action.

As Bisho showed, there are differences over how far mass action should be taken, and the style in which it is applied.

BUT some observers, including the London-based journal *Africa Confidential*, have interpreted the Bisho massacre as confirmation of the "ascendancy of militants within the ANC".

It is possible to argue that precisely the opposite is the case, and that many so-called "hardliners" are having second

thoughts as a result of the bloodshed.

If one is stuck with immutable characterisations of individuals (he is a communist, therefore he is a hard-liner, therefore he is in conflict with so-and-so) it becomes very difficult to make sense of ANC moves and impossible to predict trends accurately.

In an interview this week, Mandela pleaded for a more sophisticated understanding of the internal dynamics of the ANC. "It is not correct to say that there is a conflict between 'radicals' and 'moderates' in the ANC," he said. "I'll give you an example. I started discussing the question of violence with Mr de Klerk before I was released from jail. I continued going to see him when I was released.

"By September 1990 I had given up hope. I was convinced that Mr de Klerk either had lost control over the security forces, or they were doing what he wanted them to do. I called a

special meeting of the ANC executive and I said we should pull out of negotiations.

"Do you know who opposed me? Joe Slovo, Chris Hani, Pallo Jordan, Ronnie Kasrils and others. They were the leading figures in persuading me not to pull out. They said 'let us give peace a chance' — this was Ronnie Kasrils's phrase! I was eventually convinced the majority were against pulling out, and I withdrew.

"In April 1991 I raised the matter again, and this time everybody was convinced that we had done everything in our power to persuade Mr de Klerk to stop the violence. So we agreed to suspend talks." Is Mandela a militant or a moderate — or both?

Mandela, like every politician, is of course concerned to keep internal conflicts out of the public domain. But the essence of his argument is that simple membership of the SACP is not positive proof that an individual is a "hardliner".

...), there is a similarly labyrinthine set of conflicting views, not all of which are constant in terms of the individuals promoting them.

De Klerk, like Mandela, can be a hawk and a dove on consecutive days. This does not mean he has changed his mind on negotiating a new South Africa.

Pik Botha is the Government's finest political storm-trooper — but this does not mean he is now reverting to the P W Botha camp.

Ironically, the Government was asked in the referendum campaign how it was possible to negotiate with the ANC which equalled the SACP.

It suited the Government then to say the SACP was a "dying force", yet five months later it seemed to view the SACP as a viable force capable of leading the ANC.

What we South Africans are beginning to come to terms with, and being baffled by, is prototype parliamentary democracy. We are not experienced in this matter, and we tend to assume that the politicians mean exactly what they say. This is a fatal mistake.

In order to survive and prosper, politicians must to an extent be opportunists. In South Africa they have spent the past months convincing their respective constituencies that their political opponents are a bunch of untrustworthy no-goods. In order to get the messages across they have simplified them ("De Klerk is a murderer", "Mandela is a commie stooge"), knowing full well that this is far from being the whole story. It is a dangerous tactic, but not an unusual one. The trick for the politicians is to know when to stop — bad-mouthing in Yugoslavia got out of hand, for example.

A negotiated settlement is still the most likely outcome in the South African saga, and we must not be surprised to find that on that happy day, both sides rapidly amend their stated views of one another. We must then also be prepared to forget what we were made to believe. You can imagine the conversations: "Ja, of course we had to say that. No hard feelings, hey?"

On Saturday, women from all walks of life will meet to begin writing a Women's Charter.

AMY WALDMAN

looks at why this is such a crucial time for South African women:

ONE IN every two South African women will be raped in her lifetime; a rape occurs every 83 seconds.

- Of 328 Members of Parliament, eight are women.
- There is one female cabinet minister.
- There are eight women on the ANC executive committee.
- There are 200 000 illegal abortions annually.

● There are no laws that specifically address sexual harassment.

But amid these gloomy facts there are, for women, two points of light. Fifty-one percent of the population is female, so in the face of democratic elections women's votes are an increasingly hot commodity. And South Africa's immediate future will see a new constitution.

The prospect of elections and a new constitution make the next year potentially historic for South African women.

The Department of Justice, for example, will announce soon that it has begun scouring the nation's lawbooks for evidence of discriminatory laws. An honest attempt to combat sexism? Maybe. But also an attractive campaign issue.

The question is how best to capitalise on these opportunities. The

Women plan how to capitalise on their voting power in future SA



UNITED: Coalitions of women's groupings across the political spectrum should be formed

National Women's Coalition, initiated by the ANC Women's League last September, brings together women from over 40 national women's organisations, drawn from a diverse range of political, social, and religious orientations: ANC, IFP, the Rural Women's Organisation, Women for Peace, the South African Council of Churches, and many others.

The coalition aims to influence the writing of the constitution and ensure that a charter will guarantee the delivery of the rights articulated in the constitution.

At a recent Women's Bureau seminar on the "Role of Women in the New South Africa" academics and activists warned that constitution writing, coalition building and campaigning are not easy tasks.

"A parliament without women is

as unacceptable as a parliament without black people," Democratic Party MP Dene Smuts said. "Women must begin organising within political parties" — to make sure their issues are addressed and their voices heard.

"Women need to ask political parties, 'What can you do for us? Why should we get on your bandwagon?'" said Sarah Christie of the University of Cape Town Law Faculty.

In the US, some are labelling 1992 the Year of the Woman, due to the unprecedented number of women running for office.

But it took national ire over the Judge Clarence Thomas hearings and threats to reproductive freedom to reach this point, and even then, Smuts noted, there may be only five women in a Senate of 100.

Women's equality must be written into a constitution's preamble, Christie said. A bill of rights must be narrowly phrased, or women may wake up and find themselves at the mercy of a loosely worded amendment. The charter in particular must address specific issues — child care, equal pay for equal work, sexual harassment — that cannot be incorporated into a constitution.

The history of South Africa's struggles for women's rights has been a largely divided one: white women fought for the vote, black women against pass laws and for the vote. Though the coalition seems to bridge the divides, several panellists stressed that race, religious and class differences cannot be ignored in a women's movement.

"Wealthy women aren't going to support a revolutionary class strug-

gle that threatens class interests," said Rhoda Kadali of the University of the Western Cape.

"The differences among women are real — we cannot come together in a way that wipes out those differences," agreed Pregs Govender, coordinator of the Worker's College.

The gaps can be difficult to close, observed Beattie Hofmeyr of the ANC Women's League: "There is no easy access to women who live in villages, don't read or write, don't travel."

The charter wants particularly to address black women's issues — but even within that parameter, Hofmeyr said, "there are probably issues we will never agree on."

The example of black workers who went on strike on behalf of a white woman who had been sexually harassed proves, said Govender, that coalitions can and should be formed.

"The only non-racial institution in South Africa is patriarchy," Albie Sachs once said. Carla Sutherland of UCT's Equal Opportunity Research Project observed: "Men have been rewarded by patriarchy in unbelievable ways, and they are going to fight, kick and scream not to have to give it up."

Discrimination may be informal and covert, Sutherland said — from height requirements for policemen to age limits for adults applying for bur-saries. Women have been channeled into low-status, low-paying jobs, she said, arguing that "affirmative action is not reverse apartheid or reverse sexism — it's a strategy by which employment equity is achieved".

21/11/92
Minority fears unfounded, says ANC

MEN and women in SA were more concerned with power than peace, ANC president Nelson Mandela said in Johannesburg this week. *(11)*

He was addressing a memorial service for the victims of the September 7 shooting in Bisho.

"There is a feeling within the minority in power that once democracy is installed, they would lose everything and be thrown into the streets."

Also addressing the service, ANC Women's League deputy president Albertina Sisulu blamed the government for the violence.

"The government has been using Gatsha Buthelezi in Natal and has now resorted to using Oupa Gqozo of the Ciskei in the same manner."

Pow-wow is on the cards

CP Correspondent

(L/A) (S)
ANC president Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk are likely to meet this week in an effort to defuse the crisis of violence in the country.

It was learnt on Friday that talks between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa had reached a "very sensitive" stage and would resume tomorrow. Should they come to an agreement, Mandela and De Klerk could meet within 10 days. *C (P/NER)*

De Klerk told the Transvaal congress of the National Party this week that there were positive signs for such a meeting.

Meanwhile, Meyer and Ramaphosa are trying to remove obstacles in the way of a summit between the ANC and the government. *20/9/72*

For the ANC these include the fencing off of the hostels where violence occurs; a ban on carrying

dangerous weapons and the release of certain prisoners.

Meyer told the congress this week that their talks were not limited to obstacles, but embraced progress with constitutional talks.

He said the government was holding back a final announcement on legislation which would make the introduction of an executive transitional council possible. A final decision depended upon what happened in talks with other parties.

The transitional council will be the first phase of a government of national unity for SA in which all parties will be represented.

Earlier statements by the ANC and the government indicated that they had agreed on aspects of the second phase of transitional government.

This entails the election of a constituent assembly which will simultaneously serve as a legislative body.

Property law opens up

By SOPHIE TEMA

SEVERAL black lawyers have broken through the barriers of what was once considered the enclave of the white legal profession – Property Law.

Recently a number of black lawyers entered into a nine-month conveyancing course – which in the past was impossible for them to pass and qualify.

Because of the growing interest among black lawyers in this area, eight would-be conveyancers were taken on by the biggest firm of lawyers in SA.

“They were all in private practice working a full day, and the course, which is ex-

CIP news 20/9/92
tremely difficult, required a monumental effort,” says Gaby Norton, whose firm single-handedly almost doubled the number of black conveyancers in one year. Of the eight who signed up for the course, three passed.

They are Nozipho Sithole, an articled clerk with the firm, City Serobe and Philemon Tsoka, both in private practice.

“Until recently there were only four black conveyancers in SA and now there are seven,” said Norton.

He said in May 1992, director of the Black Lawyers Association Legal Education Centre Justice Moloto launched an attack on the legal profession at a confer-

ence held by the Johannesburg Attorney’s Association on the future of the legal profession.

Moloto said: “Property law (conveyancing) was an enclave of the white legal profession and it was impossible for black lawyers to qualify as property lawyers.

“There was a growing interest among black lawyers in the area of law, and with the repeal of the Land Act and Group Areas Act individual land tenure is open to blacks and this represents a substantial source of income.”

Says Norton: “Plans are afoot to continue not only with property but also with commercial law.”

(CIP) *(JIA)*
(20/9/92)

Mandela to get Miami honour

By ZB MOLEFE

(11A)

ANC president Nelson Mandela will have another feather added to his cap when he is honoured by a 22-person US Council on Foundations delegation this month.

Mandela will receive a special Miami Beach Medallion of Honour at a function hosted by the Kagiso Trust in Johannesburg on September 29.

Council on Foundations president James Joseph will lead the delegation.

In a statement this week Kagiso Trust general secretary Eric Molobi, said in arranging the Americans' itinerary his organisation "had made sure the delegation will be exposed to the real actors in the South African development arena".

The Council on Foundations has a long history of involvement in the US anti-apartheid movement.

Strategic industries under ANC review

B(DAM) 21/9/92 (11A)

CAPE TOWN — A future ANC government would reconsider the multi-billion rand strategic industries created during the sanctions era by "a paranoid regime".

ANC economic advisor Patrick Ncube told the Cape Assurance Industry Liaison Committee conference at the weekend that SA was in dire need of domestic savings for domestically generated investment, and one way to create this would be to deal with strategic industries which were not economically viable.

The parastatals had been operating at a deficit for some time, and in 1982 the deficit amounted to \$5bn.

Money had been squandered on public enterprises which consumed most of the nation's savings.

Ncube said the ANC did not believe that foreign investment would be the engine of economic growth, but that it would rather supplement domestic investment. Most of the savings would have to come from individuals and the private sector.

He also said he personally believed corporate tax rates were too high and should be revised downwards as they acted as a disincentive to investment.

Companies should be given tax

LINDA ENSOR

incentives to create jobs. Ncube said price signals would dictate the choice of capital or labour intensive methods of production and the only way to influence the choices made would be through tax incentives or subsidies. Job creation would be one way to redistribute wealth.

The ANC would like to see the formation of a fiscal commission to formulate guidelines on tax and to advise government on realistic tax levels.

It would also "clean up" the budget and generate savings which could be used on public works, the aim of which would be to build infrastructures for future investment and not simply to create jobs.

The ANC regarded price stability as vitally important and believed that the Central Bank should be charged with this responsibility.

Inflation would have to be kept under control to achieve economic growth. The ANC also believed that the state should provide a social net for citizens. Pensions and welfare handouts should be part of the definition of human rights, he said.

ANC march 'declaration of war'

Star 21/9/92
IFP president and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi has labelled as a declaration of war what he terms ANC intentions to march on his capital to topple him.

Facing the media in a pre-recorded interview screened on the SABC's "Agenda" news programme last night, he said: "If they are coming to talk with me, if they are going to do so through illegal means, then they must expect people to resist through illegal means."

He said he would "not raise a finger" to stop the ANC's planned march on KwaZulu, but warned there was much anger

among Zulu people in particular, not just among the IFP.

The chief said it was nonsense to assume that because he had recently issued warnings of a possible civil war, it meant he was going to cause it.

He said there was already a low-intensity civil war in KwaZulu. "And now, if the ANC-SACP-Congress of SA Trade Unions alliance say they are coming to Ulundi to topple me and the government when so many of our people have died at their hands, this will only make this low-intensity war escalate into a bigger war."

Chief Buthelezi denied there

(117)
was political repression in KwaZulu, claiming the Zulu people were "quite free to exercise their options" because the homeland was part of SA.

He alleged that attempts at setting up other parties besides the IFP had failed because of lack of support, and put forward the possibility of a referendum to let people decide on the homeland's political future.

On ANC demands for the banning of cultural weapons, he questioned the "fuss" made about them when, according to Institute of Race Relations statistics, most people were being killed with firearms. — Sapa.

Govt and ANC reach deadlock over key demands

Summit threatened

By Peter Fabricius and Helen Grange

11/17
 21/9/92

A police investigation of 17 ANC members for past crimes is threatening negotiations between the ANC and the Government aimed at setting up a violence summit.

The ANC has slammed the investigations as an attempt to pressure it into accepting a general amnesty.

The ANC's staunch opposition to a general amnesty at this stage, and the Government's view that political prisoners across the spectrum should be released at the same time, is bogging down the pre-summit talks.

The police, confirming the investigations yesterday, staunchly denied that their agenda was to push through a blanket amnesty, saying the probes were routine and applied to everyone who had committed a crime.

But ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said it was "totally unacceptable and contrary" to talk about negotiations while investigating past political acts.

Among those who police are probing are SA Communist Party general-secretary Chris Ham, SACP chairman Joe Slovo, ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo, SACP member Ronnie Kasrils and Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise.

Others are Harry Gwala, Thabo Mbeki, Steve Tshwete, Mac Maharaj, Jacob Zuma, Zola Skweyiya, Alfred Nzo, Mmabatho Nthianha, Siplive Nyanda, Gertrude

Spanner in the Works - Page 11

Shope of the ANC Women's League is also being investigated, along with Ismael Abobaker, an Umkhonto we Sizwe commander.

Meetings between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa continued throughout last week to try to find a solution to the political prisoners issue.

The Government view is that all those who qualify under guidelines agreed to by the Government and the ANC have already been released, and that those remaining are guilty of very serious common crimes, such as the murder of civilians. It would be unjust to release them without also freeing similar offenders of other organisations - including people such as the policeman sentenced to death in the Trust Feed massacre.

Meanwhile, both Justice Minister Kobi Coetsee and Mr Meyer have denied a Sunday Times report saying Mr Coetsee had wrecked a provisional agreement on political prisoners and general amnesty struck by Mr Meyer with the ANC on Friday. They said the information was apparently propaganda, which was damaging the summit prospects.

In a joint statement they said there had been no conflict within the Government over its position.

"It is the ANC which is intransigent... The ANC wants only its own people in custody to benefit," they said.

The summit on violence - which President de Klerk called for two weeks ago and the ANC would attend the summit if the Government dealt satisfactorily with the release of political prisoners, curbing of dangerous weapons and securing of hostels.

The Ministers' statement said no agreement had been reached on weapons and hostels.

● The Inkatha Freedom Party has warned that any agreement between the Government and the ANC prohibiting the carrying of cultural weapons was a "sure way to court defiance and civil disobedience".

While leaders talk, people

die

STAR 21/9/92

(S)

(S) 11A

THE Boipatong massacre left 40 people dead and shocked South Africa, even though the country had become numbed by endemic violence. Memorial services were held, strong commitments were made, international assistance was sought, in order to start negotiations afresh and in the hope that this would end the violence. Despite all the pious commitment, the strong declarations, the new initiatives, South Africa continues to bleed. Now another slaughter has taken place, this time in Ciskei. Since Boipatong, almost 1 000 people have died and at least 1 200 have been injured. Most victims of violence are women and children. The figures are chilling: 58 people died and 54 were injured in the PWV, Natal and the Western Cape between August 26 and Septem-

ber 1 alone. We are supposed to be encouraged when we read that the weekly death toll in the PWV area has dropped from an average of 54 from March to July to 25 in mid-August. In Natal, the weekly death rate has risen from 23 on average from March to July to 45 in mid-August. Against this background, what are the political leaders in Natal saying? Chief Mangosutho Buthelezi is on record that "the ANC must be bugged up", and when Dr Mdloseni is challenged on television, he concedes that the statement was made but that it really meant that the ANC must be "buggered up" peacefully! Harry Gwala, a prominent ANC leader in Natal, is given a standing ovation by a large number of students at the University of Cape Town when he declares that "violence is not taking place in Natal.

What is happening is a liberation war". In addition to that, he warns that the ANC may be forced to return to the "armed struggle". Elsewhere, despite the fact that the PAC in recent weeks has been meeting with the Government to seek common ground for negotiation, their spokesmen continue to emphasise that "the armed struggle" is part of the strategy to end apartheid. As preparations were made for the march on Ciskei despite the volatile climate which exists there, ANC leaders were quoted as saying, "we are prepared to die in the attempt to secure freedom for our people". The question is, was the death count in Ciskei on September 7 really necessary? Is this the price the people must pay for freedom? Meanwhile, despite all the prot-

estations by the Minister of Law and Order, the overwhelming perception of blacks who are subject to violence almost every day of their lives, is that some elements in the police and security forces are playing a sinister role in the continuing violence. It hardly inspires confidence when deaths in custody continue at an ever-increasing rate. What is being done to stop the violence? The National Peace Accord under the indefatigable leadership of John Hall continues to hold meetings, to discuss strategies, to strengthen their forces. And whilst they deliberate, people are dying. Monitoring agencies seek co-ordination, more teeth and whilst they monitor, people continue to die. On the negotiation front, South Africans are told that it is impossible to restart formal negotia-

tions because the Government and the ANC cannot agree on the release of political prisoners and the ending of the violence! So while they talk about ending the violence and about the release of political prisoners, people die. Is it asking too much from the Government and the ANC to appoint an independent arbitrator to resolve a matter such as the release of political prisoners which has been on the agenda for years? Is it well known that the causes of violence are legion and that the socio-economic situation of the majority of South Africans is a major cause. Nevertheless, it is clear that more and more lives are being lost in the ideological battle being fought between the ANC and Inkatha. The carnage taking place cries out for political and community

leaders who are prepared to condemn violence in word and deed. Must South Africa bleed to death for the want of political statesmen and women who can lead the country away from confrontation to the new possibilities of genuine negotiations and above all, peace. There is no certainty that any initiative is going to end the violence. All we can hope is for initiatives and men and women who will mount these initiatives so that violence is at least curtailed and controlled. Must we fold our arms and count our dead whilst we wait for negotiations to resume so that elections can be held and an interim government put in place? Alex Boraine is Executive Director of Idasa. This article appears in the current edition of "Democracy in Action".

ANC's R13m for voter trust

THE Washington-based Free Mandela Fund has released almost R13m raised during the ANC president's 1990 US visit to a trust to educate voters for SA's first nonracial election.

The money — subject to several delays since it was collected during Mandela's tour — has been forwarded to the Matla Trust, which is to be officially launched next week. The trust's board of directors includes well-known public figures sympathetic to the ANC, among them attorney Ismail Ayob, Nobel laureate Nadime Gordimer, businessman Richard Maponya and cleric Smangalis Mkhathshwa.

It is understood the money has been handed to the Matla Trust because the fund's donors did not want it channelled to

~~SECRET~~ PATRICK BULGER (11A)

a particular political party.

Matla Trust executive director Billy Modise said the trust was being funded by the Free Mandela Fund.

"We are using the money collected publicly in the US during the visit of Nelson Mandela," he said. Modise said the directors had been selected because of their record in the field of development and opposition to apartheid.

The trust aimed to teach instructors who in turn would popularise the idea of voting and elections among people who had not taken part in an election. The trust would also mount advertising campaigns popu-

To Page 2

R13m trust ^{B10m} ₂₁₁₉₁₉₂

larising elections and conduct voter education workshops.

Modise said the fund intended embarking on an aggressive fund-raising drive locally and internationally.

ANC treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi confirmed that the Mandela money was now in SA. He said the ANC collected money on behalf of all South Africans when it raised funds and that was why it had been given to the trust to disburse. He said the ANC needed millions of rand to run a competitive election campaign.

Meanwhile, some of the R20m set aside by the US Congress for the ANC and In-

(11A) ~~SECRET~~ From Page 1

katha to build organisational capacity is also being channelled to the organisations. Disbursements to other political movements are also being made.

In March this year, an ANC spokesman described the US Congress allocation as an "albatross" around the ANC's neck and despaired that the organisation would ever get the money. This money, which is intended also to increase the negotiating capacity of political organisations, is now being made available, Nkobi confirmed.

The official launch of the Matla Trust takes place next Monday and will be attended by former Commonwealth secretary-general Sir Sridath Ramphal.

Mandela, De Klerk summit in balance

11A

Sowetan 21/9/92

By Themba Molefe
Political Reporter

TRICKY RIDER Amendment by Justice Minister

scuppers agreement on political prisoners:

THE proposed summit between State President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela hung in the balance yesterday following disclosures of disagreement among Government negotiators on political prisoners.

And the African National Congress yesterday refused to speculate on future talks between its secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development and Planning Minister Mr Roelf Meyer.

A Sunday newspaper reported yesterday that an ANC team led by Ramaphosa returned empty-handed from a meeting on Saturday at which an agreement with Government negotiators led by Meyer was to have been signed on the crucial issue of political prisoners.

The discord emerged on Friday with the linking of the release of political prisoners to a general amnesty by the Minister of Justice, Mr Kobie Coetsee.

He reportedly proposed an amendment to the agreement stipulating that amnesty should apply to any person not in prison but who might be convicted of politically motivated offences in future.

Behind closed doors

The original agreement defined a political prisoner as any person in jail for a politically motivated crime, irrespective of the offence concerned. It provided for a phased release of prisoners beginning this week.

The ANC delegation was reportedly told Government negotiators could not agree and the meeting to document the verbal agreements was aborted.

Until then, Ramaphosa and Meyer had been meeting behind closed doors to remove obstacles to the Mandela-De Klerk summit on vio-

lence proposed by President De Klerk and which would pave the way for the resumption of constitutional negotiations.

The ANC had stated these obstacles as political prisoners, carrying of dangerous weapons and the Government's failure to implement the Goldstone Commission's recommendations on stepping up security at hostels.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Nichaus yesterday said he would not, at this stage, speculate on the future of the talks between Ramaphosa and Meyer and that he would not say whether there was optimism about the proposed summit getting off the ground.

President de Klerk told a leading Afrikaans Sunday newspaper that he was hopeful about the country's future and that the huge presence of international observers did not pose a threat to the country's sovereignty.

CITY

ANC spells out health policy

Sad day for 'Truck Lady'

LENORE OLIVER, Staff Reporter

ALTHOUGH she is 79 years old, Mrs Grace Bolton still has a lot of vroom in her.

To be precise, she has a collection of 27 miniature trucks.

The only spanner in the works is the fact that she will have to sell them before moving to Johannesburg later this year.

"They are my proudest possessions and I feel very sad that I will have to part with them soon," said Mrs Bolton, who calls herself a "truck" person.

The trucks, all manufacturer's models, date back to the time when she was editor of the South African Transport magazine and cannot be bought at any shop.

"I was the only woman in the business at that time and I asked everyone to give me trucks instead of the usual gifts of perfume," she said.

Mrs Bolton says she will not be selling the trucks individually because they "belong together".

The collection includes Mercedes Benz, Volvos, Mitsubishi's, Scania's, Isuzus and Fiats.



Picture: WILLIE de KLERK, The Argus.

PROUD COLLECTOR: Mrs Grace Bolton poses with some of the valued trucks in her collection.

ANDREA WEISS
Health Reporter

ARC 2/19/92
11A

THE African National Congress envisions a national health service and is looking into the feasibility of a national health insurance.

Speaking at a policy forum on health, Ms Cheryl Carolus told a packed audience in Sea Point that the idea of a national health service was not the same as a "nationalised health service".

The ANC believed, however, that there needed to be central responsibility by government to co-ordinate resources within a mixed economy.

She said the public and private sector would have to be rationalised, harnessed and unified to allow for accessible and affordable basic health care.

A priority would be the vulnerable, who should have access to free health care.

"Health care is a basic right which should be written into a Bill of Rights," she said.

Ms Carolus added that the ANC was committed to maintaining decent standards of health care, but there was also a need to set new standards.

Primary health care did not exclude other levels of health care.

A national health system also would have to evolve through a proper process of consultation and it would have to give priority to education and the promotion of healthy lifestyles.

The ANC also realised that health care would have to be dealt with on a central, regional and local basis, but rejected the notion of federalism.

It believed the public sector needed to be strengthened by improving working conditions.

ANC fails to attend Dali

Mpofu case

Sawetkin 21/9/92

11A

■ **Pallo Jordan says hearing does not enjoy priority over action campaign:**

THE ANC last month failed to attend the conciliation board set up to resolve a labour dispute it has with a former employee because it did not regard the matter as serious.

Head of the organisation's publicity Dr Pallo Jordan was responding to Mr Dali Mpofu's complaint that the ANC had failed to attend the conciliation board's hearing set for August.

Mpofu, fired in May, is former ANC deputy head of the welfare department.

He said the case would now go to the industrial court at a date still to be determined. He is claiming unfair dismissal.

Mpofu also discounted claims that the ANC wanted to have the matter settled out of court.

"I have not been informed the ANC wanted to settle out of court."

Asked whether it was true that the ANC had failed to attend the conciliation hearing, Jordan said: "The conciliation board hearing was not our priority, at least in the context of our programmes which included mass action and Bisho."

He said he was not aware the ANC wanted to settle out of court.



Choice between negotiations and turmoil, UK warns

STAN 2119192
Chaos was the alternative to negotiations on nonracial democracy, and the Boipatong and Ciskei massacres were a taste of what awaited the country unless talks resumed, Britain told South Africa on Saturday.

"Time is running out," Britain's Minister for Overseas Development Lynda Chalker said in a speech prepared for delivery in Durban to the British-South Africa Conference, a forum designed to encourage bilateral ties.

She said she was encouraged at recent signs that leading political players were turning back to negotiations, and urged all parties to show the flexibility needed to resume talks before it was too late.

The killings at Boipatong, Ciskei and elsewhere had persuaded some that there was an alternative to talks, she said.

"If the talks are not resumed, we will have seen in Boipatong and Ciskei a foretaste of the fate that awaits the whole of South Africa."

Mrs Chalker said bitterness over apartheid had undoubtedly played a part, but it was irresponsible to blame the violence simply on legacies of the past.

The Government had to maintain law and order impartially, and be seen to do so, she said.

She added that police units throughout the country, including the homelands, must be properly controlled.

Commenting on the Ciskei massacre, Mrs Chalker said: "Whatever the provocation, the response at Bisho was out of all proportion to the threat posed by the demonstrators."

South Africans, Mrs Chalker said, had to tackle the issues of carrying dangerous weapons

and the security of migrant-worker hostels, said by the ANC to be launching pads for violence.

These issues, and the release of political prisoners, are ANC conditions for the proposed summit on violence.

Mrs Chalker's party made her speech available to reporters in Durban in advance of her speaking on Saturday.

Hours before she spoke, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told Commonwealth peace monitors visiting KwaZulu: "There are no prospects of establishing a sound transitional government in the climate created by the upward spiraling of violence we see around us."

He said the ANC, by retaining its armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, made political violence seem respectable to black people. — Sapa-Reuter.

Government team to meet PAC for talks about talks

31 DAY 2219 92
GOVERNMENT and PAC delegations are due to meet again on Thursday for talks aimed at securing PAC participation in future constitutional negotiations.

3091 (117)
PATRICK BULGER

forum inside SA on the modalities of elections to a constituent assembly.

Government has not ruled out such a meeting but it wants solid agreements with the PAC first.

The two delegations, which will be led by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim, will continue discussions on a possible meeting at a neutral venue outside the country, probably in Botswana.

Meanwhile, Azapo has begun setting up a summit of the liberation movements and has written to the ANC and PAC.

Details have not been finalised, but the PAC wants to discuss the setting up of a

Azapo is proposing a two-sided negotiating table with government on the one side and the liberation movements on the other.

ANC leader to defy ruling

BIDAY 22/9/92
ANC national working committee efforts to pull militant regions into line suffered two more blows yesterday as its western Transvaal region announced new plans for a protest march in Bophuthatswana and a Natal Midlands leader vowed to defy a peace accord judgment.

ANC western Transvaal spokesman Ike Moroe said yesterday that October 9 had been set for a march on the Bophuthatswana capital of Mmabatho.

A march planned on Garankuwa earlier this month was cancelled after Judge Richard Goldstone intervened.

In another development, ANC Natal Midlands deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe described a ruling that the ANC had breached the national peace accord as "a gross miscarriage of justice".

A national peace committee panel found that a mock trial organised by the ANC in which 11 Inkatha leaders were sentenced to death had breached the peace accord.

Sapa reports Hadebe said he was unable to defend the action at a panel hearing on the issue because he was recovering in hospital from an assassination attempt.

11A
RAY HARTLEY

The NP yesterday called on the ANC to remove ANC Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala "from his leadership position immediately" because of the findings.

An NP statement said ANC statements that it wanted to conduct its own investigation before reacting to the findings were "an undeserved slap in the face of the national peace committee".

In the western Transvaal, Moroe said the detention at the weekend of 15 ANC supporters and members by Bophuthatswana security police had aggravated tensions in the homeland.

A planned meeting between the ANC, Bophuthatswana's government and the region's peace accord structures to create a climate for a peaceful march could be called off following the detentions, he said.

Meanwhile, Inkatha spokesman Themba Khoza said an ANC march on Ulundi would be regarded as an invasion which could lead to "a major event of violence".

"We call on responsible South Africans

To Page 2

BIDAY 22/9/92 ANC

11A
and also the international community to bring the ANC to its senses. We can only settle our problems through negotiations and talking," he said.

Khoza told a news conference Inkatha believed the ANC would not hold a peaceful march, but would attempt to topple the KwaZulu government.

Commenting on Khoza's statement, ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said threats

directed at free political activity were unacceptable.

"There is no invasion. The people of SA can't invade their own country," he said.

ANC southern Natal publicity head Dumisani Makhaye said yesterday the organisation was "not married" to a march and was considering other forms of protest, our Political Staff reports.

From Page 1

Bid to save vital summit

By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

STAVL 22/9/92
Government and ANC negotiators were locked in intense bargaining last night to try to rescue the crucial summit on violence, threatened by disagreements over the release of ANC political prisoners and a general amnesty.

New urgency has been injected into their discussions by hints that an early cut-off point for removing obstacles may be introduced. If the deadline is missed, the summit between President

de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela will not take place before the ANC leader leaves for Pakistan and China next Wednesday.

Observers fear that further delay will squander the momentum that has gathered over the past week for a resumption of negotiations.

After a serious hitch in the Government-ANC talks on Friday, it is understood that progress was made on Sunday.

And Mr de Klerk sounded an optimistic note yesterday.

A breakthrough back to negotiations was

“hopefully just beyond the horizon”, he said at the Presidensie in Pretoria while receiving credentials from new ambassadors.

Mr de Klerk's positive remarks suggest that there is still hope of an early resolution, despite bellicose signals sent out by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel yesterday.

Addressing the Johannesburg Press Club, he attacked ANC claims that the SAP's investigations of 17 top ANC members could prove to be a stumbling block for negotiations.

Govt, ANC meet to overcome political prisoner obstacle to summit

GOVERNMENT and ANC delegations met yesterday in Pretoria in a bid to reach agreement on the release of political prisoners in time for a summit between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela within 10 days.

Sources in both camps refused to discuss details of the discussions.

However, one government source said the prisoner issue was the most important hurdle still to be cleared before the summit could take place.

The one-on-one discussions between Constitutional Development Minister

Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa were broadened to allow delegations from each side to take part.

The senior government source said that the weekend events, when it appeared a tentative deal fell through, were just a hiccup that could be resolved.

If both sides were committed the problem could be resolved, he believed.

It was reported that agreement had almost been reached when Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee scuppered the deal by insisting on linking the release of prisoners to a general amnesty. However, Meyer and

BILLY PADDOCK

Coetsee denied on Sunday night that Coetsee had derailed the process.

The ANC is sticking firmly to its demands that prisoners be freed, hostels be secured and that the public carrying of weapons be banned before the organisation's national executive committee will approve the the summit on violence.

Government wants the summit to take place before Mandela leaves for a two-week overseas trip next Wednesday.

A senior ANC negotiator said yesterday

negotiation was a process that did not see dramatic results from day to day. The apparent difference of opinion between Coetsee and Meyer would have to be sorted out, he said.

"This is the only way in which to pave the way for the summit and I am confident they will find a way to do this," he said.

Meanwhile, TIM COHEN reports from Pretoria that De Klerk said yesterday a resolution of the political impasse was "just over the horizon".

During a marathon diplomatic session in which six new ambassadors presented

their credentials, he said the key to the resumption of negotiations was a resolution to the question of violence, and he repeated his belief that stumbling blocks to the violence summit with Mandela would be overcome soon.

First to present his credentials was US ambassador Princeton Lyman, formally ambassador to Nigeria.

Lyman said every day that passed without political agreement added to the burden of economic decline.

Romanian ambassador Sorin Mircea

□ To Page 2

Summit

Bottez, who was jailed for 15 years by the communist government, said his country and SA were both going through difficult periods of transition.

Almost immediately after De Klerk's election as State President "our heroic revolution succeeded in overthrowing the abhorrent communist regime that had been for 45 years the most pernicious, the most painful and disastrous scourge in our history", he said.

Australian ambassador Ross Burns, previously based in Paris, expressed his appreciation for the progress made so far but stressed the need for a resolution to the question of violence.

From Page 1

In response to Malawian ambassador Willie Khoza, De Klerk said two planned meetings with life president Hastings Banda had not taken place.

He expressed the hope that a meeting could be arranged soon.

German ambassador Hans-Christian Ueberschaer expressed the hope that the summit with Mandela would prove to be a catalyst that would encourage an end to violence and break the deadlock in constitutional negotiations.

De Klerk agreed with Dutch ambassador Eduard Röell that the resumption of negotiations was imminent.

● Picture: Page 3

Summit

Sowetan 22/9/92

'An act of protest'

THE ANC's proposed march on Ulundi was not a declaration of war but rather an act of protest against the lack of political freedom in KwaZulu, ANC Southern Natal chairman Mr. Jeff Radebe said yesterday.

He was responding to statements made by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on the TV programme *Agenda* on Sunday night.

"This march is to highlight the point that political tolerance is unavailable in KwaZulu. It's not a declaration of war," Radebe said.

Ulundi was not "sacrosanct", he said, adding that people had the right to protest against the denial of civil rights.

KwaMadala Hostel closure delayed

11A

11A

Boipatong
22/9/92

■ Talks stalemate symptomatic of political intolerance:

THE KwaMadala Hostel in Boipatong, scheduled for closure on Monday, will continue to exist because residents of KwaMasiza Hostel are refusing to allow the remaining 400 inmates to move into their domain.

Iscor, whose workers occupy the two hostels, announced yesterday that efforts to bring the relevant parties to the negotiating table had failed and that the closure of the KwaMadala Hostel could not be finalised.

This new development follows an agreement reached in July between Iscor and the National Union of Metalworkers of South

Africa (Numsa), acting on behalf of the Vaal communities, in which September 21 was set for a negotiated integration of KwaMadala Hostel residents into KwaMasiza.

Most of the inmates of the KwaMasiza Hostel, which houses over 4 000 workers, are reportedly supporters of the African National Congress while KwaMadala Hostel is dominated by supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party.

KwaMadala earned its notoriety after the Boipatong massacre. - *Sapa*.

Wide rift hits talks

Sowetan 22/9/92 .

(VIA)

■ **SERIOUS RIFT** Differences on important issues are left hanging as Mandela leaves for China:

HOPES for an urgent summit between Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr FW de Klerk were dashed yesterday when the ANC announced that its president would be leaving on a visit to the People's Republic of China next week.

Mandela leaves as serious differences on the carrying of cultural weapons, police

investigations into ANC and PAC activities before unbanning and the Government intransigence on political prisoners persist between his organisation and the Government. The PAC also entered the fray yesterday when it said it would retaliate if the Government took action against any of its leaders.

See story page 2

NEWS PAC warns it will also hit back

Hopes for talks take a nose-dive

GULF WIDENS Prospect of early talks fade with news that Mandela is leaving on overseas trip:

(11A) [scribble]
By Ismail Lagardien and Themba Molefe *Sowetan 22/9/92*

HOPES for the emergency summit between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk received another blow yesterday.

It was announced that the ANC leader was leaving on an overseas trip as the gulf between the two widened.

Mandela leaves for China next week.

According to informed sources, the following issues are now keeping the two apart:

- The police investigation of 17 ANC and Pan Africanist Congress leaders for offences allegedly committed before the organisations were unbanned;
- The Government's insistence on linking the release of political prisoners to a general amnesty for State operatives; and
- The Inkatha Freedom Party's statement that it would withdraw from negotiations if the Gov-

ernment banned traditional weapons.

The PAC entered the fray yesterday when its publicity director, Mr Waters Toboti, said: "It is a perfectly hatched ploy by the enemy to have all leaders in the same kraal and then hit in one swoop.

"But I must warn that we will hit back if this plan is carried out."

After a weekend of increased tension and acrimony between the Government and the ANC, negotiators from the two parties met yesterday to try and restore the severely eroded links.

The ANC hopes the summit can still be held before the October session of Parliament.

At the weekend IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned that he would withdraw from all negotiations if the Government unilaterally banned the public display of dangerous weapons.

The IFP also said in a statement that if the ANC proceeded with its march on Ulundi, the result would "make the Bisho massacre look like a Sundayschool picnic".

B1000249/92

Boesak for UN inquiry

ANC NEC member Allan Boesak has been asked to serve on a commission to examine the future direction of the UN. The commission will review the system and institutions of international cooperation created for the post-war era. (11A) (58)

Summit on violence in the balance as govt, ANC battle to strike deal

11A
BILLY PADDOCK

8/1/84 23/9/92
THE planned summit on violence between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela hung in the balance late yesterday as government and ANC teams battled to reach agreement on conditions for the meeting.

An announcement on whether the summit will go ahead will probably be made later today and the weekend has been suggested as the best time for it to be held. While Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and their respective teams were locked in hard bargaining,

Mandela increased the pressure by saying government was "dragging its feet". Speaking at ANC headquarters after meeting new foreign ambassadors, he expressed optimism at progress so far but warned that if Meyer and Ramaphosa did not strike the deal by last night, it was not likely the organisation would discuss the issue with government again before Mandela left for a two week trip abroad next Wednesday.

Mandela said yesterday's talks were "decisive and crucial... but I am sorry the government is dragging its feet".

He said that any further delays or deadlocks would result in more deaths and destruction.

Mandela reiterated that government had to meet the organisation's three demands before the summit could take place.

An ANC source close to the talks said during a report-back to the principals earlier yesterday that it appeared further problems had cropped up during discussion of the three primary issues.

He said that by late yesterday there was still no clarity on the resolution of the issues of releasing political prisoners, securing hostels and controlling weapons carried in public.

While the release of prisoners remained the major obstacle, a government source said other problems had arisen with regard to the hostels and weapons questions. He would not comment further.

Failing a conclusive agreement being reached by Meyer and Ramaphosa within the mandate given to Ramaphosa by the

national executive committee, the ANC national working committee would have to decide on the issue today. Cabinet would also have to look at what the bilateral talks had achieved and ratify any arrangements.

Should the summit get the go-ahead today, the weekend is regarded as the most likely time for it as De Klerk and Meyer are essential participants at the NP Natal congress tomorrow and on Friday.

The weekend will also allow a couple of days before Mandela leaves to accommodate any necessary follow-up actions.

Sacob meets PAC group

By Michael Sparks

The South African Chamber of Business (Sacob) met a delegation of five Pan Africanist Congress members yesterday as part of its efforts to get negotiations on a new constitution back on track.

The meeting was one of a number arranged by Sacob with political organisations — including

the ANC, the Congress of SA Trade Unions and the Inkatha Freedom Party — to discuss political and economic issues.

At a press conference after the meeting, Sacob president Hennie Viljoen reiterated his group's view that it was the obligation of politicians to put any new political structure in place, and that a strong economy was necessary to under-

pin any new dispensation.

Since it appeared that no end was in sight to negotiations, the economic downward spiral would continue, he said.

PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim said the political problem had to be solved first, since the economy could prosper only in a climate of tranquillity and peace.

Manuel outlines ANC position on sanctions and investment code

STAR 23/9/92

11A

By David Canning

NEW YORK — Business and political leaders here are worried substantial US state and local sanctions will be maintained after democratic elections in South Africa.

The concern was raised repeatedly at a National Foreign Trade Council Foundation seminar on South African investment yesterday after Herman Cohen, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, urged that remaining sanctions should be quickly removed following installation of an interim government.

Mr Cohen called on South Africans, including the ANC, to send "a clear signal" to state and local authorities in the US to remove remaining sanctions legislation after elections in SA.

In view of its parlous state, the South African economy could ill-afford the continuing effects of these impediments, he said.

Harry Schwarz, the South African Ambassador, Dr Conrad



Trevor Manuel . . . wants financial pressure maintained.

Strauss, chairman of Standard Bank Investment Corp, and several business chiefs echoed his concern that legislation could be retained in an effort to achieve "social engineering" in South Africa.

Dr Strauss said maintenance of such codes would hinder growth. "I am nervous about elements of social engineering which could creep into the process."

Another fear expressed by speakers by South Africa and American company executives

was the shape of the "investment code" being proposed by the ANC. They wanted to know whether they would get an opportunity to participate in its formulation.

Answering questions on behalf of the ANC, Mr Trevor Manuel, director of its department of economic planning, said consultation with US companies would take place in the drafting of the investment code.

Such a code was important to create a sense of "transparency" for overseas investors.

Fielding questions about the ANC's threat to renounce debt being incurred by the present authorities, he noted that "very little" of this money was finding its way to disenfranchised groups.

He personally felt a future government would meet its foreign commitments, but would retain the right to reschedule in terms of the many priorities which it would face.

In his main address to the conference, Mr Manuel appealed to the international community to maintain financial pressure on

the SA authorities until an interim government was established.

There was growing consensus about the need to fundamentally restructure the economy on the basis of a sustainable growth path. From the ANC viewpoint, this restructuring should be aimed at reducing economic inequalities and improving the quality of life of the majority.

The ANC remained deeply concerned about the deleterious stranglehold that a few conglomerates held in the SA economy. It also believed trade policy should be geared to raising levels of productivity.

While SA manufacturers were quite highly protected, trade barriers would have to be adjusted in a way that did not permit rapid destruction of jobs and domestic producers.

SA had the capacity and will to establish a deep-rooted democracy. "Never do we want to see South Africa balkanised or going the route to the wasteland that the former Yugoslavia has become."

Winnie to face disciplinary inquiry

WINNIE Mandela — ^{510AM} now an ordinary ANC member after she stepped down from three key posts — will soon face a disciplinary inquiry, along with some of her supporters who held a protest rally at the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters in May.

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC), of which Mandela was an office-holder until recently, said the date of the inquiry would be announced soon.

^{23/9/92}
PATRICK BULGER

The inquiry follows an investigation by two independent attorneys into the protest.

The findings of that inquiry were laid before the NEC recently and were understood to have recommended a disciplinary inquiry.

The NEC said it had appointed a task force to oversee the ANC Women's League PWV region's political and administrative office.

'Occult' crimes rise

^{610AM} STEPHANE BOTHMA

POLICE have confirmed an increase in the number of occult-related crimes under investigation. ^{23/9/92}

However, Satanism was not illegal in SA and so was not investigated as a criminal offence, a police spokesman said in Pretoria yesterday.

Offences which might result from Satanism — such as the slaughter of cats, grave desecration and sexual and drug abuse — were investigated.

Policeman jailed for murder of detainee

^{610AM} 23/9/92
PRETORIA — A policeman who kicked and beat a detainee to death was sentenced to nine years' imprisonment in the Pretoria Supreme Court yesterday.

Andries Jacobus Strydom, a 26-year-old constable, was convicted of murdering Michael Nkabinde, 28, at the Pretoria Central Prison in November 1990.

A colleague, Andries Jacobus Greyling, 25, was convicted of attempted murder and sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

Judge Strydom described the beating of Nkabinde by Strydom as callous and senseless.

Nkabinde had been detained in connection with the possession of a firearm.

□ Meanwhile, the SAP's Visible Policing Unit said yesterday policemen based at Pretoria Central had prevented three detainees from committing suicide in police cells over the weekend.

The unit's divisional chief, Lt-Gen Louwtjie Malan, said the SAP was aware that the arrest of a person was a traumatic experience and that the police "were doing everything in their power to prevent suicides and to safeguard persons in custody".

Meanwhile, relatives of a detainee, Jan Motsoeneng, who died in hospital in the Free State town of Reitz on Friday, have been invited to appoint a private doctor to attend his post-mortem, according to police. The post-mortem is to be conducted in

^{23/9/92}
Bloemfontein by a state pathologist. An inquest dossier has been opened by Bethlehem detectives.

And the PAC yesterday announced a programme of protest action in response to continuing deaths in police cells.

PAC national campaigns committee chairman Ntsundeni Madzunya told a news conference in Johannesburg that the situation was no longer tolerable and could not go unchallenged.

He said 19 people had died since forensic pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman's public disclosure of allegedly unlawful deaths of prisoners in police custody on July 26.

The programme of action would include:

- An address by the PAC general secretary Benny Alexander to the UN Special Committee against Apartheid on October 12, the "international day of solidarity with Azanian prisoners";
- A march to Parliament on October 12;
- Demonstrations at police stations on October 11;
- Letters to church, sporting, cultural and other bodies calling for a moment of silence on October 11.

Madzunya said his organisation would also consider a national strike for October 12 if government had not addressed the issue adequately, closer to the time. He did not say what steps government should take. — Sapa.



Interim results for the half-year ended 31 August 1992

Income statement

Figures in R000's

	Six months to 31/8/92 (unaudited)	Six months to 31/8/91 (unaudited)	Year ended 29/2/92 (audited)
Notes			
Turnover	285 334	275 641	561 603
Operating income	10 068	11 357	30 749
Interest received/(paid)	287	357	(1 231)

Rid to quash fraud Minister loses appeal

The PAC meets business leaders

■ After meeting the Government over a new dispensation, PAC caucuses with Sacob:

A HIGH-powered delegation of the Pan Africanist Congress met business leaders in Johannesburg yesterday to discuss the state of the economy and negotiations for a new dispensation.

Addressing a Press conference after the two-hour meeting, both parties pledged themselves to ending violence and to ensure that the downward trend of the economy "bottomed-out".

The PAC delegation was led by Mr

Johnson Mlambo (first deputy president); secretary for foreign affairs Mr Gora Ebrahim, secretary for legal affairs Mr Willie Seriti, executive member Mr Carter Seleka, chief of protocol Mr Count Pieterse and director of economic affairs Mr Mos Malatsi.

The South African Chamber of Commerce was represented by president Mr Hennie Viljoen, deputy president Mr Spencer Sterling, director-general Mr

Raymond Parsons, chief economist Dr Ben van Rensburg and manager of labour affairs Mr Gerrie Bezuidenhout.

Ebrahim said the PAC had noted the downward trend of the economy and other problems that had been caused by apartheid. (11A) (11A)

It was also concerned about the escalating violence and pledged itself to ending the senseless carnage that was gripping the country.

NEWS Bisho plan hatched in Pretoria, says Hani

Violence part of a political plan

~~11A~~
11A

Sowetan 23/9/92

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

■ **BLOODY CARNAGE** State using

US methods to 'wipe out ANC':

THE SACP has produced an interesting argument to substantiate the tripartite alliance's allegation that the Government was busy with a low-intensity war against the ANC and its allies.

By way of example, based on American military strategies, the SACP explains that the bloody carnage in the country was a direct result of "a strategic use of violence for political ends" by the Government.

Reflecting on the Bisho massacre, the SACP secretary general Mr Chris Hani says it is becoming increasingly clear the slaughter was not an accident.

"The triggers were pulled in Bisho but the plan was hatched in Pretoria.

"Why did the heavy SAP escort that accompanied us from King William's Town suddenly melt away minutes before the massacre, only to return after the firing had stopped.

He points out that the Government did not once voice critical opposition to the actions of the CDF.

"From about August 1990, until

some time this year, De Klerk was successfully projected, at home and abroad, as the man of peace, the negotiator, while the ANC (and Inkatha Freedom Party) were seen by many as culprits in a spiralling and mindless 'inter-ethnic', 'black on black' war.

"If it was 'inter-ethnic' violence, then what were the original killing fields in Natal in which thousands of Zulu-speakers murdered other Zulu speakers?

"If it was just political rivalry, then who was behind the train massacres? These are random killings in which party affiliation or ethnic background are absolutely irrelevant.

"And who was benefiting from the violence, strategically? Certainly not the ANC-led alliance," the SACP secretary-general says.

Sketching recurring patterns in the violence, Hani explained that the violence ostensibly came in two forms - "general mass destabilising violence (such as) train massacres (and) attacks on vigils (which are) designed

to disrupt and terrorise, and the more professional surgical assassinations of key second and third-layer leadership in the township".

"The brand of violence that we have been seeing in our country is known in US military parlance as 'low-intensity war'... it involves the extensive deployment of proxy rather than US (or in our case SADF) forces.

"Its objective is political victory. It aims to destabilise and then impose a political settlement on a war-weary people.

But violence has permeated South African society and is not inherently political. More than 11 000 people died violently in South Africa, he says, and more than 8 000 were not politically related.

"We have the highest known per capita rate in the world for other violent crimes as well, notably rape.

"These are the symptoms of a radically sick society. This is the legacy of apartheid and decades more of segregation," Hani says.

50 we fan 23/9/92

ANC archives arrive

THE African National Congress archives promised to the University of Fort Hare by ANC president Nelson Mandela in October last year arrived on Monday and were received by the principal, Professor Sibusiso Bengu.

The archives are from the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania and were delivered by a truck from Port Elizabeth (11A)

Prof Bengu said the arrival of the documents marked an important day for the university and the material was of an educational nature.

He told students that the university's "freedom" square, where the material was received, was a place where meetings of the liberation struggle took place in the past. - Sapa.

Sweten 23/9/92

ANC, PAC train diplomats (1A)

CAIRO - Twenty representatives of the ANC and the PAC have arrived in Egypt for a month-long course in diplomacy that is intended to help them qualify as diplomats representing a democratic South Africa.

Dr Abdullah Al-Ashal, director of Egypt's Diplomatic Institute, said the course was part of growing ties with South Africa. However, Foreign Ministry officials were reluctant to talk about the visit or other ties with South Africa, apparently because the Organisation of African Unity has not yet approved of member states opening diplomatic relations with the Republic.

Egyptian officials say formal relations will not be opened with Pretoria until apartheid is fully dismantled. However, they say Cairo is willing to work with all political groups in South Africa.

...was trans-
ferred from a trust," he said.

Winnie to face ANC inquiry

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela faces a disciplinary inquiry with some of her supporters who held a protest at the ANC's headquarters in May.

The ANC's national executive committee said the date of the inquiry would be announced soon. The protest was investigated by two attorneys.

ANC, Govt 'narrowing economic differences'

Star 24/9/92 (1/A) 3/2A

WASHINGTON — A top South African finance official says the Government and the ANC are narrowing their differences over the country's economic future, in spite of continuing political problems.

"It is essential to do something about the economy and I think the ANC is beginning to realise that," Gerhard Croeser, director-general of the Finance Department, said in an interview during this week's International Monetary Fund meetings in Washington.

"We cannot wait until everything is in place to start ensuring growth. It will be necessary

to take those decisions now, even in an interim government," he said.

His remarks follow praise by Finance Minister Derek Keys for the ANC's evolving economic policy, which he said was emerging out of a period of "virtual civil war".

Mr Croeser said the Finance Ministry would publish a tough economic blueprint for the country's transition to majority rule at the end of October. The study would map out a comprehensive economic strategy, addressing capital flows, investment, government spending and taxation. — Sapa-Reuter.

Another 11A US honour *Star, 24/9/92* for Mandela

ANC president Nelson Mandela is to be presented with the Miami Beach Medallion of Honour by the Washington-based Council on Foundations in recognition of his contribution to the struggle against apartheid.

In a statement the council said its president, James Joseph, accompanied by a delegation of 20 Americans, would travel to South Africa on September 29 to present the award to Mr Mandela.

"The presentation of the Miami Beach Medallion of Honour to Mr Mandela is a significance recognition of the council's commitment to racial justice, not only in South Africa, but worldwide," the council statement said.

The US delegation would meet leaders of non-governmental development sectors to discuss the "interchangeability of the South African and American development experience, and the role of the US independent sector and internationally in addressing deep-seated socioeconomic problems", the statement said. — Sapa.

ANC, PAC members learn about diplomacy in Egypt

STAR 24/9/92 (11A)

Star Africa Service

CAIRO — Twenty representatives of the ANC and the PAC have arrived in Egypt for a month-long course in diplomacy intended to help them qualify as diplomats representing a democratic South Africa.

Dr Abdullah Al-Ashal, director of Egypt's Diplomatic Institute, said the course was part of growing ties with South Africa.

Foreign ministry officials were reluctant to talk about the visit or other ties with South

Africa, apparently because the Organisation of African Unity has not approved members opening diplomatic relations.

Egyptian officials say formal relations will not be opened with Pretoria until apartheid is fully dismantled, but Cairo is willing to work with all political groups in South Africa.

The government is known to have been conducting a dialogue with several political groups in South Africa since the beginning of the year. Nelson Mandela was to have visited Cairo a few

weeks ago but the visit was cancelled.

Despite its reservations about diplomatic ties, Egypt is keen to promote trade with South Africa. It has recently begun to look south to African countries for new business as it grows more disillusioned with Arab markets.

A group of South African businessmen has been in Cairo and an Egyptian group will visit South Africa soon. Some South Africans have established themselves in Cairo and are learning Arabic.



Following upon The Star's recent interview with the ANC leader,
Dr Frederik Van Zyl Slabbert poses the crucial question . . .

Will Mandela's writ run?

STAR 24/9/92

11A



THE LONELIEST time for a political leader is to lead when there is no obvious path forward. When there are competing, contradictory options that generate powerful feelings and his leadership is appropriated by partisan factions to strengthen their respective causes.

At such times, history begins to shape its judgment of political leaders. That judgment has little to do with whether the leader was kind, charismatic, revered, admired, how much he suffered for his cause, or battled to keep all his followers together.

The brutally simple question that history seeks to answer is: Did he lead when it mattered? When few knew what to do or where to go, and no one was sure what would turn out to be the right course of action?

Nelson Mandela finds himself in the loneliest political spot in the world at the moment. He is not only the leader of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance, but events have also made him the leader of liberation from racism and domination on the African continent.

Without detracting from any other political leader, Mr Mandela is the main political leader in South Africa. His life and suffering encapsulates the trauma, tension and conflict that is called South Africa in the 20th century.

And yet, it is as leader of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance, at this critical juncture in South Africa's transition, that history will begin to shape its judgment of him as a leader.

Can he lead his alliance and the country out of a debilitating political deadlock?

At the moment of his release he inherited a liberation movement whose leadership was deeply committed to the revolutionary overthrow of the South African Government and the seizure of power on behalf of the ANC.

There is comprehensive documentary, and other evidence, that as the quality and scale of racial oppression deepened, the ANC alliance shifted its tactics

and strategies of opposition until, in the mid-80s, it reluctantly accepted the inevitability of a people's war underpinned by a four-pronged strategy of armed struggle, mass mobilisation, international isolation and underground operations.

There is equally convincing evidence that the most articulate/prominent spokesmen of the revolutionary strategy of the ANC alliance were, and are,

“The brutally simple question that history seeks to answer is: Did he lead when it mattered?”

members of the SACP who currently occupy leadership positions within both the ANC and the SACP.

The deployment of this strategy and the “total strategy” of the Botha Government polarised South Africa into a deadlock between repression and liberation. It was this deadlock that Mr de Klerk inherited and sought to break. The only person who could help him break it was, and is, Nelson Mandela.

On his release, after 27 years in prison, Mr Mandela put his movement's revolutionary strategy on hold. He staked his whole political reputation on negotiations as the mode of transition out of South Africa's deadlock and he personalised it by saying: “Mr de Klerk is a man of integrity. I trust him.”

This declaration caused deep consternation within ANC ranks, and that was reflected at the first national congress where it was decided to combine the strategy of negotiations with the strategy of mass mobilisation and protest as the alliance's approach to transition.

Those who felt strongly about mobilisation and protest were



deeply suspicious of the Government's ability to deliver through negotiations, as well as what such negotiations could do to the solidarity of the alliance. These suspicions have proved to be not totally unfounded.

Whether through incompetence, collusion, arrogance, ignorance or deliberation, the Government has underestimated the dynamics of transition. It thought it could control the agenda for negotiations, but the agenda refused to stay pinned down or be subject to the will of

any particular party. Very soon, tension, suspicion and anger emerged. Posturing, bad faith and double agendas became the order of the day.

But the worst was the violence. Like malevolent slime it oozed into every fabric and texture of our society. Instead of addressing it, politicians cursed each other for it.

In despair, Mr Justice Goldstone said politicians were not serious about peace. Under such circumstances, negotiations could not even deliver a funny



joke, never mind durable compromises.

Within the ANC alliance, differences about the priorities and relationships between the strategies of mass mobilisation and negotiations began to emerge. The “mobilisers” were not the same group as the “negotiators”, although all had to pledge loyalty to both strategies.

In principle, mobilisation and negotiations need not be incompatible: in practice they more often than not are very difficult

to synchronise effectively and in South Africa at the present moment, virtually impossible.

After Boipatong the strategic initiative within the ANC alliance shifted to the “mobilisers” and the most articulate spokesmen once again turned out to be members of the SACP.

Revolutionary rhetoric, so familiar during the people's-war period, began to emerge more clearly and stridently. The “negotiators” were taking a beating. It is not so much a question of the SACP “hijacking” the

ANC, as that it represented the only coherent strategy as an alternative to the current failure of negotiations.

Against the dogmatic ideological certainty of a people's revolutionary strategy, the open-ended, fragile and personalised nature of negotiations stood very little chance, particularly if negotiations have not delivered.

Mr Mandela's own credibility

“But failure for Mr Mandela means that negotiation is dead for him and all of us.”

within the alliance as well as his trust in his negotiating partners began to wane.

But, it seems, he went to Bisho and saw a future based on revolutionary mobilisation, and it did not work.

Once again he called “Halt”, once again he urged all South Africans to walk away “from the precipice”, once again he chose for the priority of negotiations as “the only way forward”.

But this time not fresh out of prison with a smile on his face and trust in his eyes as he shook hands with Mr de Klerk and we all felt two steps away from Camelot; not with more political capital and goodwill, here and abroad, than a politician or his party can use up in a lifetime.

Now he says “let us negotiate” at a time when there is growing scepticism about South Africa's ability to make it, when he personally and politically has taken more beatings than even the toughest of us can handle; when he has to seek trust rather than assume it when engaging his opponents.

But most important of all, can his writ hold within his own movement? Can he hold off the

demands of the “mobilisers” in order to negotiate for as long as it takes?

Can he in effect say: “I have been chosen to lead and I choose negotiations. I seek your confidence to explore it fully to the exclusion of all other strategies for the time being.”

Can his leadership generate the discipline necessary within his own ranks so that he can bring clarity and direction amid the general confusion and ambiguity in the country?

Nelson Mandela finds himself in a lonely spot. Over the next few weeks, history will begin to shape its judgment of him as a leader. Failure of negotiations for Mr de Klerk will be easier to carry.

He leads a small party of a privileged minority used to the trappings of power and the manipulation of patronage. The structure of his political organisation gives him maximum flexibility and manoeuvrability.

Damage control can be spread through careful use of the resources of the State and the co-operation of the private sector and other powerful interest groups, here and abroad. For the time being Mr de Klerk can go on governing, preserving the illusion of being in control of the destiny of our country.

But failure for Mr Mandela means that negotiations are dead for him and all of us. Negotiations are what he staked his whole political career and reputation on, and why he walked out of prison. If he succeeds, no hyperbole would adequately express history's judgment of his leadership. He would have “saved his country”.

If Mr de Klerk shares an ounce of genuine concern for the success of negotiations and the future of the country, he will meet Mr Mandela in his loneliness and walk the road with him.

Because at that first meeting, the success of our transition depends on the personal chemistry that emerges between these two politicians.

For Mr Mandela's sake, and for the sake of us all, may his writ hold this time. □

Govt promises concern ANC

BIDAM 25/9/92
PROMISES broken by government in the past on the release of Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride had prompted the ANC to insist on his immediate release rather than trust new assurances on the issue, a senior ANC negotiator said yesterday.

This had led directly to the impasse in negotiations for a summit on violence between President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Constitutional Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa are still trying to find a way around the problem.

According to the ANC negotiator, government, through Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee, told Mandela in July last year that McBride and two other Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres — Mzondeleli Nondula and Mthetheleli Mncube — would be released soon. On the basis of this, Mandela per-

OSD
suaded the three to call off a planned hunger strike, he said.

Since the promise was never fulfilled, there was deep suspicion of current government assurances that the three men would be released after legislation was passed in Parliament next month, he said.

The ANC argued that if Coetsee promised the release a year ago, there was no reason to believe it was now impossible, in terms of powers vested in the President.

Coetsee had not responded to inquiries on the ANC allegations by the time of going to press.

Mandela yesterday expressed cautious optimism that the summit could still be held before he left for a trip abroad next week. It is understood Mandela may con-

To Page 2

ANC

BIDAM 25/9/92
sider postponing his trip should Meyer and Ramaphosa not reach agreement in time for the summit to take place before his departure.

Speaking to journalists after meeting ambassadors yesterday, Mandela said "a lot of loose ends" still remained and he was only prepared to meet De Klerk if they were tied up.

"The summit is important because I want it to lay the basis for a resumption of (constitutional) talks, and the whole of SA is looking forward to it. It would be tragic if it failed," he said.

A senior government source said yesterday it was likely that Mandela and De Klerk would have more than one meeting.

Meyer and Ramaphosa met yesterday and the national working committee of the ANC also met again to deliberate on the

11A From Page 1

discussions between the two negotiators. TIM COHEN reports that McBride's wife Paula yesterday accused government of hypocrisy for not releasing her husband.

In a case almost identical to that of her husband's, two other ANC members had been freed, she said.

Two MK members, Ronnie Maoba and Steve Vilikazi, were given 18-year prison sentences after being found to have been responsible for a car bomb in Witbank. Three people were killed in the explosion, which also injured 69 people. The prisoners served about 18 months of their sentences.

McBride said the only distinction between this case and that of her husband was that those killed in Witbank were black.

McBride was given the death sentence for planting a bomb near Magoo's Bar in Durban.

Women unite to secure future

Sweeten 25/9/92

11/9
11/9

■ **FEMALE DYNAMICS** Time is ripe for 'weaker'

sex to stand and be counted as SA is at crossroads:

By **Lulama Luti**

25/9/92

POLITICAL differences among women will be put aside this weekend when they come together during a high profile conference on women and the constitution.

The conference, organised by the Community Development Foundation, will be held at the Escom Conference Centre in Midrand today until Sunday.

Panelists include advocate Ms Mojanku Gumbi (Azapo), Miss Jill Noero (DP), lawyer Ms Bridgette Mabandla (ANC), Ms Xoli Gasa (IFP), Ms Sheila Camerer (NP) and Ms Nomthetho Mlonzi (PAC).

Further input will be from psychologist Ms Thandeka Mgoduso and ANC lawyer Ms Linda Zama.

Conference co-convenor Ms Nomlutha Mazibuko said conference objectives include:

- The need to highlight the women's participation in the new constitutional dispensation;

- The generation of discussion on issues affecting women;

- The mapping out of the way forward with regard to women's involvement in meaningful economic participation, affirmative action, family life together with education and development.

- The examination of obstacles encountered by women in a society undergoing change; and

- Finding a mechanism through which the potential and ability of women can materialise.

Dr Renosi Mokate of the Development Bank of South Africa will speak on women and economic activities; Ms Bongiwe Njobe of the Foundation for Research and Development will speak on education and development.

ANC media official is slandered

■ It has been suggested Carl Niehaus, expelled from RAU, is a spy: (11A)

By Lulama Luti *Sowetan 25/9/92*

THE ANC has backed its outspoken official, Mr Carl Niehaus, following a claim that he was a spy and a man of dubious character.

During the *Sowetan*/Radio Metro Talkback Show about a week ago, a caller from Cape Town suggested Niehaus was planted in the ANC as a spy.

ANC chief of information Dr Pallo Jordan said the remarks were slanderous and hurtful to a person such as Niehaus, who had suffered as a political

prisoner and whose wife suffers from mental scars.

After joining the ANC in 1980, he was expelled from Rand Afrikaans University for putting up posters on the campus for equal education and calling for the release of Nelson Mandela. In 1983 he and his wife, Jansie, were convicted of high treason and sentenced to 15 and four years respectively. They were not allowed to see each other for two-and-a-half years.

He is presently a senior ANC media spokesman and an executive member of the organisation's Johannesburg northwest branch.

Self-confessed killer Gabriel Mahakoe arrives at the Supreme Court, Bloemfontein, yesterday with his lawyer, Mr Moss Mavundia. He has been convicted of the killing of a Free State farmer, his wife and daughter. Mahakoe faces a possible tripple-death sentence today. See story page 3. PIC: PAT SEBOKO



■ SUPER WOMAN

A black woman gets a top position in the Government - as chief of national housing **PAGE 4**

Talks breakthrough

Sowetan 25/9/92
■ SUMMIT RESCUED Top-level meeting between De Klerk, Mandela on after deal:

A LAST-MINUTE deal worked out last night between the African National Congress and the Government has rescued a summit on peace due to take place this weekend. The summit, seen as a crucial bid to end the violence in South Africa, will signal the resumption of negotiations between the Government and the ANC. The two top-level delegations are to be led by State President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela. An earlier deal, hammered out by the two sides' key negotiators, Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, came unstuck on the issue of the release of remaining political

prisoners. *(IA)* *(S)*
 The ANC's demand centred on three key Umkhonto weSizwe cadres - Magoo Bar bomber Robert McBride and Messina landmine operatives Mzondeleli Nondula and Mthetheleli Mncube. They, and several other prisoners, are expected to be released on Monday. Government and ANC sources remained tightlipped last night on the full details of the deal. It is believed, however, that the intervention of Mandela and De Klerk sealed it. The Government has apparently agreed to fence off certain hostels and act on the carrying of traditional weapons.

See story page 2

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FM 25/9/92

11A

The ship of fools sails tonight

Have you noticed how — despite all our leaders piling on the rhetoric for democracy — we are becoming seriously undemocratic? On a range of issues, from the call for a general amnesty to the abolition of by-elections, the Nationalists propose major legal changes remote from any mandate they received in the referendum. The ANC speaks the language of power, not conciliation.

Between the two, they are impeding a settlement, and scare foreign investors stiff. The press clutches at straws, such as a possible summit between ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk on violence, but both seem intent on entrenching inflexible positions which predate the sweet talk of the Codesa exercise.

Law & Order Minister Hernus Kriel's announcement of a police investigation into crimes committed by ANC and SACP leaders radically contradicts the entire spirit of the indemnity process which allowed these leaders to return home to talk about a new constitution.

The investigation can only proceed now, he disingenuously argues, because the ANC men have returned to SA. In fact, their misdeeds have all already been considered in terms of the indemnities they have been granted; so the timing of the latest probe is extremely suspect.

We may not like what the ANC men stand for — or what they have done — but the matter hardly deserves to be whipped up by Kriel right now. Anyway, his *kragdadigheid* will not result in prosecutions. It amounts to the kind of red-baiting that John Vorster and P W Botha capitalised on to defend increasingly indefensible positions.

As for the elimination of by-elections, the precedent would be bad. It obviously makes little sense to hold more all-white elections if a tricameral MP becomes tired or dies. But a statutory block on all by-elections foreshadows a parliament of perpetual members who have been elected once, and whose ranks can be puffed out by co-optation. Until we have a new constitution, this parliament would consist of those who benefit from De Klerk's patronage; after that, one that would thrive on alliances of elites.

The argument that a by-appointment-only Cabinet would enable men like Derek Keys to stay above politics is bizarre. The Governor of the Reserve Bank should have more independence — but the Minister of Finance is a profoundly political figure since he gives taxpayers' money to various departments depending on the strength of their political pitch. Actually, Keys *should* fight an election for a party.

This unrepresentativeness is typical of the new order. NP and ANC alike make great play of being guided

by their constituencies — but as the last election recedes in time and the next one stays on ice, "the people" are less and less consulted. Look at SACP chief Chris Hani ranting against capitalism in Bisho, his inflammatory message immediately given reality in a looting spree.

This is pure Leninism whereby the vanguard elite knows best — even if, like Harry Gwala in Natal, it entails laying plans for more martyrs, which is all that a march on Ulundi would provide. Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi — feeling marginalised — utters intensely ferocious warnings.

Meanwhile, again between them, the ANC and the Nats have destroyed the meaning of negotiation. It means talking without preconditions. The proposed meeting between De Klerk and Mandela — which may be delayed by yet another foreign fund-raising trip by the ANC president — is meant to concern ways of combating violence. But the ANC set certain conditions relating to violence which had to be met before the meeting could even take place.

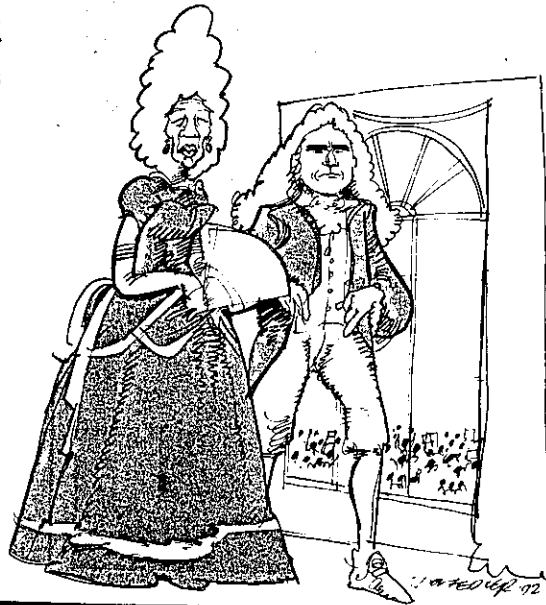
In return, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee appears to have reinforced the Kriel line by insisting that political prisoner releases be balanced by a general amnesty.

Now, all these various *rolvertolk*ers doubtless see themselves as principled men, safeguarding the interests of those who once voted for them in constituencies or smoke-filled rooms. But the killing goes on (35 unrest deaths over the weekend) and economic renewal becomes a matter of faith rather than fact.

Much of the acrimony and posturing arises from the murky climate which rolled in at the Codesa breakdown. It was as if the parties had been gritting their teeth, storing up resentments, while superficially wafting from one compromise to the next. Surely this is too simple an explanation? The agreements reached in Codesa will stand at the next round of full-scale talks — whenever that may be — or will have to be arrived at again through negotiation.

The idea that a settlement will be reached by either a patched-up, co-opted government of national unity, or by the NP handing over all power to the ANC, cannot be seriously revived. Yet the antagonists behave as if this may be so — a sentimental, ruthless and undemocratic view.

A further danger lies in the potential loss of international goodwill. As this generation of world statesmen has rediscovered in attempting to bring peace to ex-Yugoslavia, the problem is that nobody — Serbs, Croats, whatever — keeps his word. In the end, the democracies maintain a token, humanitarian presence but otherwise leave the place alone. You don't set sail on a ship of fools. ■



NEGOTIATIONS FM 25/9/92

Finding the right formula

The deadlock-breaking summit on violence between President FW de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela — which could clear the way for a return to Codesa-style negotiation — looks set to take place soon. It could occur as early as the weekend, or at least before Mandela flies out next Wednesday on yet another foreign visit.

The exact date appeared to be a question of "practicality" only — assuming the whole thing wasn't called off altogether.

Guarded optimism was based on indications that an agreement on the critical hurdle of the release of political prisoners was imminent. According to a government spokesman, prospects for the summit hinged on the outcome of Tuesday's "very crucial" preparatory meeting between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

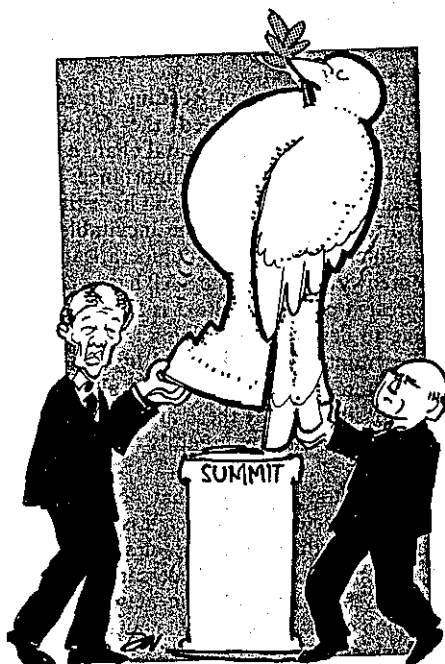
Mandela, who reiterated that the ANC's "minimum demands" would have to be met first, said the Ramaphosa/Meyer meeting would be "decisive" if his summit with De Klerk was to take place at all. Other sources, however, indicated that the ANC appeared almost impatient for the summit to take place at the weekend, suggesting an agreement on the minimum demands was all but clinched.

This was despite last week's apparent disagreement between Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee and Meyer. A Sunday press report had suggested that Coetsee had "wrecked" the planned summit by opposing a tentative agreement struck between Meyer and Ramaphosa in their bilateral meetings the week before. Coetsee, said the report, wanted the release of political prisoners linked to a "general amnesty" for political crimes in which security force personnel (and members of other organisations) are or might be implicated.

However, in a joint statement, Coetsee and Meyer flatly denied any disagreement. Instead, they accused the ANC of being "intransigent over the (government's) reasonable demand that all parties be treated on equal terms regarding the release of prisoners and the handling of relevant offenders." The ANC "only wants its own people in custody to benefit."

The Ministers said there was no conflict in the government's stance and pointed out that no agreement had yet been reached on the ANC's other central demands — to ban the carrying of dangerous weapons in public and the securing of hostels. The report, allegedly based on a one-sided leak, "jeopardises the search for an agreement which would serve as a firm foundation for the summit" between the State President and Mandela.

At the same time, the SA police confirmed



they were investigating 17 top ANC members — among them Oliver Tambo, Chris Hani, Thabo Mbeki, Steve Tshwete, Joe Slovo, Ronnie Kasrils and Joe Modise — for various alleged crimes on which the book has not yet been closed, technically speaking. It was not a special investigation aimed at the ANC only, the police said, and it included the rightwing, security force members, Azapo and Inkatha as well.

The ANC, not surprisingly, finds this totally unacceptable and sees it as a ploy by government to force the ANC "to agree to its general blanket amnesty which benefits its security forces." The ANC sees a contradiction in government saying, in one breath, that it wishes to create the right climate for talks to resume while, at the same time, it wants to prosecute "the very people it wants to talk with." It was "folly" for De Klerk to pursue these investigations, since ANC members were effectively indemnified when the organisation was unbanned — precisely because government needed to talk to them.

The deal on political prisoners could take the form of a phased release programme so that about a quarter of the prisoners on the ANC's list of 400 are freed soon, leaving the difficult cases (in terms of definition) to be sorted out later. If so, it would mean that government has accepted the olive branch proffered by Mandela last week when he appealed for some sign of movement from De Klerk to report back to his followers.

The ANC's demands concerning weapons and hostels would appear to have been more

tractable matters — though Inkatha has warned that any deal between government and the ANC on the carrying of weapons would provoke Zulu defiance.

Of the summit, a National Party spokesman points out that the main item on the agenda will be the whole question of violence, which is what De Klerk called the summit for in the first place.

The Democratic Party's spokesman on constitutional affairs, Tony Leon, says government's linkage of political prisoner releases to a general amnesty presented a problem in indemnifying members of the police and SA Defence Force. If an amnesty is seen as an overall sweeping under the carpet, or a substitute for full disclosure, then it would be "misconceived," says Leon. The problem would linger and the families of the victims of violence would not be satisfied. The lack of punishment and the lack of accountability should not be collapsed into one and the same thing.

DP law and order spokesman Peter Gastrow this week proposed that an amnesty law should be passed by an interim government (which is also the ANC's stance), as this would help promote reconciliation and a smooth transition. "Such a law should clearly define the offences in respect of which amnesty is to be granted, whether the culprits were security force members or opponents of apartheid."

Gastrow said that while indemnities removed obstacles to longer-term stability, they were *ad hoc*, detrimentally affected the legal system and provided fertile ground for political manipulation. ■

DURBAN

Friendly persuasion

Durban city's beachfront task force — established in the wake of crowd problems on the Golden Mile during the last festive season — has revealed strategies aimed at preventing a recurrence.

Two things stand out. One is that there will be no attempt to limit the number of people using the beaches; the other is that most of the proposed remedies were drawn from suggestions from the public, rather than imposed by officials.

The group also puts the record straight about Durban's beaches last Christmas. City communications director Peter Denheim says the figure of 100 000 people on the beaches is a myth: "Using aerial photographs, taken at peak times, we counted them individually and established that there were only about 41 000 people. This means

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By Peter Fabricius
and Esther Waugh

Violence summit breakthrough a step closer

STAR 2579192

Last-minute intervention by ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk has brightened prospects for a summit on violence to take place tomorrow.

It is understood the Government has undertaken to fence certain hostels and to ban the carrying of dangerous weapons in public.

It has also put up new proposals for the release of ANC political prisoners, including

Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride and two other Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres, Mzondelei Nondula and Mthetheleli Mncube.

The leaders have been in telephonic contact several times since Wednesday night.

Mr Mandela earlier said his organisation would attend the summit if the Government gave an undertaking committing itself to "practical"

steps on these three issues.

An announcement on the summit is expected today.

The Government's undertakings were discussed yesterday at an ANC national working committee (NWC) meeting, but no statement was issued afterwards.

It is understood Government and ANC negotiators remained in contact last

night.

In a day of hard bargaining, proposals were exchanged between the Government's negotiations policy group and the NWC.

Earlier, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa had set the ball rolling.

At 6.30 pm the Government was waiting for a re-

sponse from the NWC to its latest proposal.

It is understood the core issue was still the ANC's demand that the Government unconditionally release McBride and the two MK cadres, held for their part in landmine explosions in the northern Transvaal, in accordance with an earlier undertaking to release them.

The Government's position

had been that it would only release them in terms of proposed legislation that would enable it also to pardon offenders of other parties — effectively a general amnesty.

Tight-lipped negotiators would not divulge whether and how either party had shifted from these positions.

If no agreement was reached last night, it was unlikely the violence summit

could be held tomorrow as planned.

It would then have to be postponed for more than two weeks, until Mr Mandela's return from a visit to China and Pakistan.

This would mean that the summit would take place after the October 12 start of the short session of Parliament. This in turn would create new complications for negotiations. It might close one option which the Government has offered as a solution — releasing McBride in terms of new legislation.

ANC leaders battle to hold back militants

With talks between the ANC and government hanging in the balance, the ANC leadership is struggling to control militants intent on forging ahead with mass action in the homelands.

By **PHILIPPA GARSON**

said ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus. "Clearly the issue is complicated and this is exactly the reason why we aren't rushing into it. We are not giving dates and we are continuing with further discussion. Marches are not the only way to press for free political activity."

Niehaus said the ANC could not be pushed into a corner where "some despots" could dictate its actions by threats of violence. He said a decision to march would ultimately depend on "interaction and discussion" between national and regional levels.

Large-scale marches are not likely to go ahead until the outcome of the Goldstone commission's report on Bisho is made public, along with its recommendations on preventing a repetition of the tragedy. Judge Goldstone is to send his report to President FW de Klerk at the end of the month.

Though the judge made a specific appeal regarding the proposed march on Mmabatho two weeks ago, the ANC is taking cognisance of a call for restraint.

"We can't say that there is a definite undertaking that marches will be put on hold until this, but (Goldstone's point of view) is being taken into consideration," said Niehaus.

Meanwhile, fiery Natal Midlands

THE national leadership of the African National Congress is battling to keep a rein on grassroots militants intent on stepping up mass action campaigns in the homelands.

Despite a desire at national level for free political activity in the homelands, particularly as elections loom, a leadership locked in sensitive discussion with the government is more than aware that the faintly beating heart of negotiations could not survive another Bisho.

But it may be too late to put the brakes on, as campaigns intensify in Bophuthatswana and kwaZulu.

The three ANC Natal regions issued a statement yesterday saying the march to the kwaZulu capital of Ulundi would go ahead, though no dates have been set.

And an ANC member in Bophuthatswana said there was tremendous anger on the ground over the decision to suspend the planned march on Mmabatho in the wake of Judge Richard Goldstone's call for postponement. "The first time we heard of this was through the press," he said.

He revealed that the three ANC regions affected still planned to march on Mmabatho and would stage a rally in Ga-Rankuwa at the weekend in defiance of a ban.

Already the mere announcement of an intention to march on Ulundi has pushed the political temperature in Natal to volcanic heights. Inkatha Youth Brigade members were reportedly chanting in the streets of Ulundi on Wednesday night, threatening to "do the ANC in" before the movement gets its chance. Statements by Inkatha Freedom Party chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi that a march on Ulundi would be tantamount to a declaration of civil war have stoked this fever.

Confusion reigns over the national leadership's stance on the Ulundi march. The three Natal regions are also divided on the issue. While the ANC has publicly supported the regional decision to forge ahead with the march, several senior ANC sources admitted it was highly unlikely that the event would happen and attributed the regions' declarations to face-saving rhetoric.

"Planning of the Ulundi march is under discussion. Our position has never changed. We have never said the leadership is against the march,"

that the ANC was effectively banned in parts of the homeland.

Hadebe said there would be a variety of mass activities leading up to the march.

He referred to logistical problems such as financial constraints and security measures, which would determine the nature of the march. "It may be done Gandhi-style where we march for a number of days."

Marchers, said Hadebe, would be unarmed and peaceful. Any violence would be "Buthelezi's fault". He added that threats of violence would not deter "the fight for freedom".

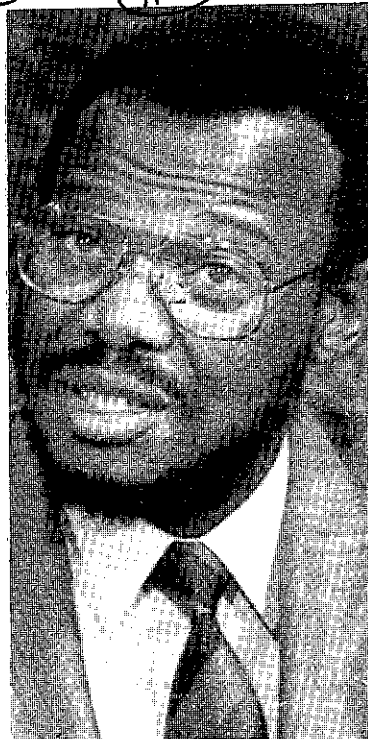
There is a growing lack of clarity over whether head office intends taking policy decisions to rein in its regions. The fact that the regions are capable of causing a stir shows that the ANC functions to some extent as a democratic entity.

Also, in the ANC's perpetual war-dance with the government, the more militant regions' genuine desire for mass action is a way of maintaining pressure on the government's allies. The growing participation of regions in an era of stepped-up mass action has created a stronger ANC.

However, these activities are not always compatible with negotiations. ANC president Nelson Mandela implied last week that regions would be expected to fall in with national decisions and not take unilateral action. And the PWV region said while no change of policy had been received from the national leadership, the issue would be hotly debated at its regional executive committee meeting next week.

Confirming that no policy changes had been made, Niehaus said: "Issues that are clearly regional will be dealt with by regions. They will issue their own press statements, but head office will get them too. Concerning actions that will have a national impact (like the Ulundi march), consultation takes place."

A Border region ANC official said that communication problems between regional and national levels were slowly being ironed out. "The ANC's campaigns department doesn't always get through to everyone it should. Before we launch a big campaign we now have consultation and keep everyone informed at every step."



Mangosuthu Buthelezi

deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe said he was "not aware of any attempts by the leadership to put a brake on the march". He said differences centred on when rather than whether it should go ahead. But he added that the march would not happen without consultation with the national leadership.

Despite signs of tension between the regions over the march — with the southern Natal region showing a far greater eagerness than northern Natal and the Midlands regions — Hadebe articulated a joint approach: "Our regions feel quite strongly that the march should go ahead."

The Midlands leader said key issues were the attempt by the government to give kwaZulu more land and the fact

W/Mand 25/9 - 1/10/92 (11A)

ANC may concede blanket amnesty

W/Mar 25/9-1/10/92

11A



A GENERAL amnesty once an interim government is in power — that's the concession the African National Congress is likely to make to facilitate the summit with the government.

Disagreement over the release of three Umkhonto weSizwe officials is the major stumbling block in the way of the summit on violence. The guerrilla activities of Robert McBride, Mzondelele Nandula and Mthetheli Mncube all resulted in the deaths of whites, which is probably the primary reason for the government's recalcitrance on releasing them.

For the government to release these three means risking the wrath of its

constituency. The National Party is reluctant to release the prisoners before passing legislation at the special sitting of parliament next month. This would apply to those across the political spectrum found guilty of serious crimes, paving the way for a general amnesty.

The ANC is under great pressure to drop its demand for the release of the three. According to a well-placed source within the ANC, the organisation was prepared to accept the release of rightwingers like Barend Strydom as a trade-off in exchange for the three MK cadres.

Agreement on the other two key demands central to the bilateral dis-

The issue of political prisoners remains the major stumbling block to the summit on violence — but indications are that the ANC is willing to concede a general amnesty.

By PHILIPPA GARSON

cussions paving the way for the summit on violence — the banning of dangerous weapons and the policing of hostels — is reportedly close. There is some consensus that the actual details on practical implementation could be hammered out at the summit, which

set to take place either tomorrow or when ANC president Nelson Mandela returns from his visit to China.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is demanding that cultural weapons be allowed at certain meetings, including those where the Zulu king is in attendance. For the ANC, however, this would amount to another loophole in the legislation on dangerous weapons, which is now at the forefront of demands on the government to take action to curb the violence.

The summit, likely to look at other violence-related issues like the role of international and local monitors, is not, however, a substitute for the one-

on-one talks between ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer.

The ANC source said these would continue regardless. He added that before full-scale bilateral talks could resume in earnest, the ANC was looking for a formal announcement from the government on the constitutional issues it has provisionally conceded to, such as no veto powers over the constitution-making body and a fixed time frame for the interim government.

For the moment, the amnesty affair may have receded slightly to the background. But the issue remains an important one, likely to dominate the political scene in the coming months — whether or not the Goldstone commission expands its parameters, or some sort of "truth commission" granting indemnity to those who come forward to confess to dirty tricks, is set up.

The ANC has repeatedly stated that a government in power cannot pardon itself and that amnesty without full disclosure of crimes committed by the state is meaningless.

Since the political prisoner issue emerged as the key stumbling block in the resumption of fuller talks with the government, the latter has attempted to extract a blanket amnesty for all those guilty of past crimes — including security officials.

Said a senior ANC source: "The government is keen to have at least some indication from us that we don't in principle reject the idea of an amnesty. We remain adamant that we reject amnesty in this period and the concept of a blanket amnesty without confessions of crimes is ludicrous."

Attempts by Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee to scupper near-agreements between Ramaphosa and Meyer over the release of at least some of the 400 remaining political prisoners were not those of a renegade hardliner acting on his own.

Coetsee undoubtedly has a strong backing from top bureaucrats, even cabinet ministers, who fear the consequences of full disclosure and who are applying heavy pressure for a wide-spread amnesty.

Last week the South African Police made the well-timed announcement that a special police team had launched a full-scale investigation into past crimes committed by senior ANC leaders. These include acts of terrorism, atrocities in ANC camps and "the collective responsibility of the ANC hierarchy for all civilian deaths arising out of acts of terror from 1985."

Speaking at the Johannesburg Press Club on Monday, Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel accused the ANC of adopting "selective morality": "In other words, prosecute policemen for murder but don't touch ANC members — especially not NEC members," he said sarcastically.

In ANC circles the threat to prosecute senior leaders was described as "ridiculous." Said an ANC source: "They are trying to put pressure on us to accept a general amnesty. I doubt very much they have serious intent. If they start arresting leaders, negotiations will be plunged into jeopardy."

Boesak bounces back

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■ He's been written off before, but Allan Boesak is a stubborn survivor, a politician who has taken many knocks only to bounce back again. Now he has been asked by the UN to help it work out its role in a world freed from the Cold War.

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN Political Staff

IT was like the old days, those heady days of 1985 when he was a high priest, as some would have it, of the anti-apartheid struggle.

Dr Allan Boesak was back in demand. His phone rang incessantly, a reporter was waiting to interview him and his mind was in gear preparing to leave for Europe.

His destination was Geneva where he was to attend a meeting of the New Independent Commission on International Co-operation and its Institutions.

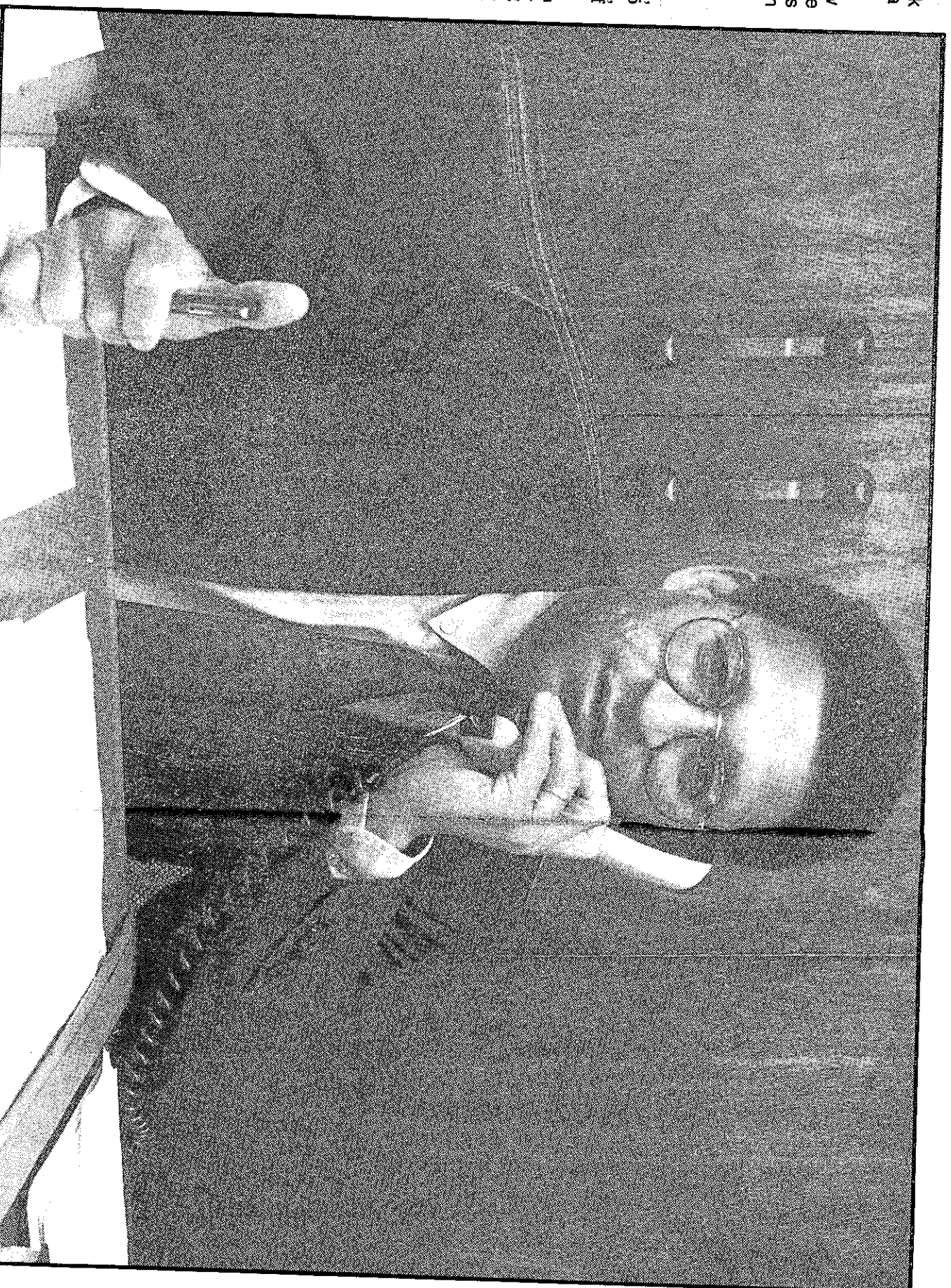
Probably one of the most important commissions in the history of the United Nations, it has been charged with the responsibility of charting the route for the UN in a world freed from the Cold War.

Dr Boesak, chairman of the ANC in the Western Cape, is the only South African and one of just three Africans on the committee which is due to complete its report in time for the UN's 50th anniversary in 1995.

Said Dr Boesak: "I am excited about being asked to help the UN define its role in a changing world. The role which the UN had when it was founded in 1945 has changed and it has to be ready to meet the demands of the new times."

He said the many countries acknowledged that the UN was an organisation essential for world peace.

"One of our most important tasks will be to redefine security, a security based in peace and democracy and not in the production of weapons of destruction."



□ **POLITICAL SURVIVOR:** Allan Boesak in his study before leaving for Europe to join a committee which is to chart a route for the UN.

He was on a high. But it wasn't always so.

The political sun appeared to be going down on him on February 2 1990 when President De Klerk unbanned the ANC and other organisations in a move which brought the ANC's exiled leadership home.

As the United Democratic Front departed from the political scene, and the ANC began to assert and rebuild itself as a legal organisation, it was clear that time was running out for the former president of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches.

Even in the Western Cape,

his heartland, it seemed that the knives were out. Last July, Western Cape delegates to the ANC's first legal congress in South Africa since its unbanning objected to his being nominated for a position on the movement's executive because he had not officially joined the ANC.

A born survivor, he began his comeback, joining the ANC and being elected Western Cape president last year.

But that was only the beginning. Now he's really hit the comeback trail with a vengeance, ready to serve the UN.

He said the invitation had

come out of the blue.

"The last time I was involved with the UN at this level was before the unbanning of the ANC. When the organisation was legalised its leaders began working at this level.

"When I was previously involved with this sort of thing, it was more as a consultant, now

Of his own political future, he said he was taking things one day at a time.

He said he would stand for re-election as Western Cape ANC leader at the end of October.

"I've enjoyed the challenge of being ANC chairman. But the people will have to decide if they want me to stay on."

Asked if he was a political survivor, he said: "The people know that I have always been honest with them. Whatever I did, I did for South Africa's oppressed masses."

"And their support has been wonderful. They have helped through many a crisis."

Which part of politics gets him high?

"I enjoy going to places like Britstown, which I've never visited before, and seeing 800 people turning up for a meeting on a Saturday afternoon. I find it exciting to give people hope for the future and inspiring them."

"It just shows how much things have changed. If black South Africans had the opportunities which we've created for ourselves then someone other than General Smuts might have had a hand in founding the UN."

He added: "It will mean a lot for South Africa to be involved with reforming the UN. If we solve our problems we'll have the honour of taking part in other UN activities."

Dr Boesak said he had always believed South Africa's problems were enormous.

"But they are not the world's only problems. I believe one should not be blind to global problems. It's true that we have a crisis at home, but my new involvement with the UN does not mean I have to leave South African politics."

The first was General Jan Smuts who was one of the UN's main founding fathers after World War 2.

He will be the second South African to be intimately involved with the UN.

I'm a member of a UN commission. This is a tremendous opportunity to serve the UN. I've always believed one should serve mankind."

It's not who you must vote for but how

STAR 26/9/92

ALL parties are gearing for elections, perhaps as early as next year or in 1994, and they have the task of teaching first-time voters the mechanics of casting their ballot, writes Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN.

A GROUP of township youths hear that the election result has gone against the party they back and they get ready to take to the streets again. Then one stops and says: "Wait. We must take the blame for losing the election. We lost because our people didn't know how to vote."

This is the opening scene in a play which will hit the streets next month, just one of many voter education initiatives that are getting under way in South Africa. With talks deadlocked all these months and violence worse than ever, it's a little strange to hear people talk about preparing for elections. But preparing they are, with growing urgency, all over the country.

The National Party has already embarked on "an education campaign for first-time voters". A session last weekend on the East Rand, for instance, drew 200 people, three-quarters of them black. The African National Congress has also done some work and has ambitious plans, for which it is currently raising funds.

The play is a project of the Matla Trust, an organisation with a wide-ranging voter education campaign which this week was boosted by a grant of R13 million from the United States.

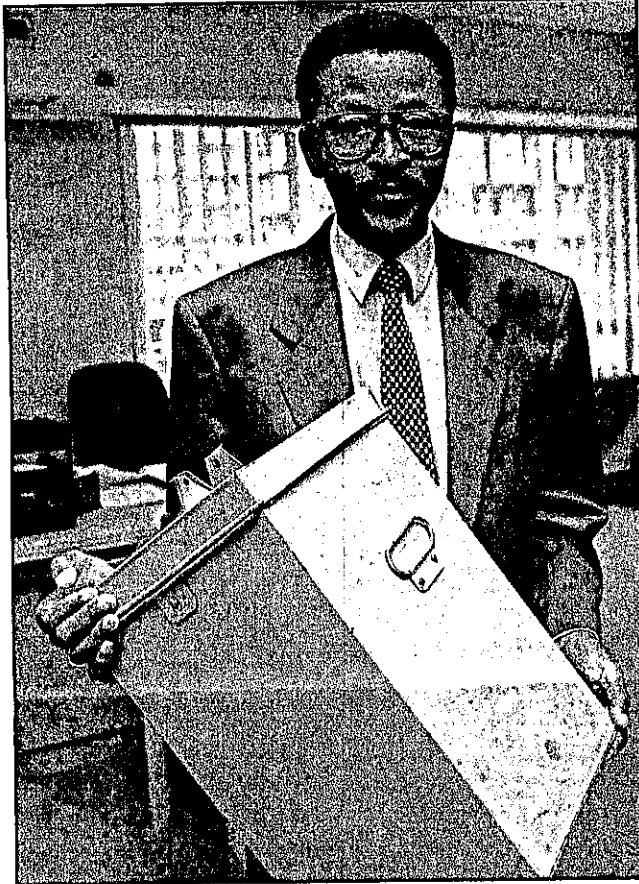
Expectations

Matla, in the words of executive director Billy Modise, is "a brainchild of Nelson Mandela's. When he came out of prison and the organisations were unbanned, the expectations of the people were overwhelming. He knew the ANC would be tied up discussing the politics of the country and felt that there should be a trust to attend to social and development issues."

Matla's US money was raised at dinners and street collections during Mandela's first visit to the States. But Modise says this does not mean it will be used to campaign for an ANC election victory.

Workshops already held to train election educators have attracted 53 different groups, including the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation.

"Our aim is to assist as many South Africans as possible to reach the ballot box," says Modise, who was in exile for many years and has himself only ever voted in Sweden where he was a university lecturer and development con-



PUT IT HERE: Billy Modise, executive director of Matla Trust with a ballot box. The trust was boosted this week with R13 million raised in the US by dinners and street collections.

● Photograph: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

sultant. "We want to get across to people how voting works, how they can qualify to vote, why they vote. Don't forget that most people have never seen a ballot box. But we are not telling people who they should vote for."

"If your opponents start doing voter education it should not make you suspicious or afraid, because our people

need to be educated. A new government, no matter who they are, will be in trouble if South Africans don't know how democracy works."

"At the moment we have no political tolerance in South Africa, where you accept that someone can be your opponent without being your enemy."

One of Matla's plans is to broadcast

Helping you find best air deal

DURING the past year more than 14 international airlines have begun services to South Africa and three new domestic airlines inaugurated local services.

Today's traveller has many options to consider when flying: airline, fares, frequency and value-added packages.

As a service to our readers, the Saturday Star will publish a regu-

MANDY JEAN WOODS

lar feature, starting next week, listing all international and domestic air fares as well as value-added packages (such as discounted car hire or hotel accommodation) offered by airlines.

The information will be updated every week and the highlights will be featured in brief edi-

torial commentary with the listings.

Airlines wishing to take part should send details of flight times and frequencies, cost of first class, business class, economy class and other special fares (and restrictions) as well as any value-added packages available to Mandy Jean Woods, Saturday Star, fax 834-7520.

voter education programmes on three African-language radio stations. But the full weight of State media and other national resources cannot be harnessed to this vital task — not while talks on the larger national political questions are tangled up.

The Department of Home Affairs says "no specific arrangements (for voter education) can be made as the format of a future election has not yet been decided upon. Once this has been decided and the date of an election determined, it is intended to launch a comprehensive programme of education of voters".

Home Affairs is, however, busy with other aspects of election preparation, according to a ministry representative. "It would be clearly unacceptable for the implementation of an agreement to be unduly delayed because of the department's not being prepared for an election," he said.

Home Affairs has manufactured 5 500 ballot boxes and 11 000 additional polling booths at a cost of around R1,1 million. And R2,73 million has been allocated to promote the issuing of ID documents. Part of this involves assistance to governments in six homelands — KaNgwane, Lebowa, Gazankulu, KwaNdebele, KwaZulu and Qwa-Qwa — following recent talks with Home Affairs Minister Louis Plenaar.

"It is expected that the possession of a South African identity document will be essential to vote in the next general election," the Home Affairs representative said.

No steps have been taken regarding the more than 3 million voters Home Affairs estimates to live in the "independent" homelands. This, too, must await progress in larger political negotiations. But once political parties do get down to hammering out electoral procedure, some gaps may have to be bridged.

"We do not necessarily accept that the present ID document should be the only basis for voter identification," believes Popo Molefe, who heads the ANC's election commission.

Advantage

"We think there should be a flexible attitude in that regard, and that birth certificates, affidavits and a range of documents could be used for identifying voters," he says.

But at least political opponents do seem to agree, if only in public, that mass voter education will ultimately be to their advantage.

"The National Party is going to undertake voter education because we believe it will boost support for us," says Sheila Camerer, MP for Rosettenville and a director of the NP's information service.

"The key point is to show to voters that their vote is secret."

Molefe says: "We do not believe the present Government has the will to run a voter-education campaign because it is not in their interests to have many black people voting. If more black people vote, that is the surest way of getting the ANC into power."

THE SUMMIT

De Klerk gamble brought SA back from the brink

STimes 27/9/92

11A

CHARLENE SMITH reports on the three men whose release from prison paved the way for yesterday's summit meeting

THE decision to bite the bullet was taken on Thursday afternoon.

President FW de Klerk and his senior lieutenants had before them a draft agreement that promised to end months of tedious bickering with the ANC and a golden opportunity to kick-start the stalled negotiation process.

The only snag was that part of the deal was the release from prison of three men — Magoos Bar bomber Robert McBride, 30, and Mzondelele Nondula, 29, and Mthethelele Mncube, 32, who had been found guilty of the Messina landmine murders in 1987.

President De Klerk was acutely aware that should he accede, as the ANC insisted, to the release of these three — most of whose victims had been white — it could cost him dearly among his own supporters.

On the other hand, should he refuse to release them and the summit did not take place, the cost to the country in terms of dashed expectations at yet another failure of negotiations could prove even more devastating.

Compromise

Reluctantly, Mr De Klerk and his ministers accepted that the three would go free. But, unlike other political prisoners who would be freed without conditions, they would be let out on parole.

It was a compromise suggested, according to diplomats, by British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, who had spoken to both ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Foreign Minister Pik Botha earlier that morning.

Of the three prisoners around whose release the fate of the nation turned this week, Robert McBride is the best known.

A tall Allan Boesak look-alike, he is the least experienced of the three



ROBERT MCBRIDE

ANC Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres. A teacher, he became a member of the ANC almost by default, recruited by childhood friend Gordon Webster.

He received no formal military training by Umkhonto we Sizwe, but proved an enthusiastic recruit, conducting a bombing campaign around Durban in 1986, culminating in the Magoos Bar bombing, which led to the deaths of three people and left more than 20 injured.

McBride was sentenced to death, but on review last year his sentence was commuted to life imprisonment, as were the sentences of Nondula and Mncube.

Mncube and Nondula were what was known at the time as the Messina trialists.

Both are highly trained MK officers. They were part of a unit that crossed into South Africa on more than one occasion.

However, in 1987, after laying a number of landmines in the Messina district which cost the lives of 10 people, including seven whites, and

injured 20 others, they were arrested.

They refused to testify in their own defence, claiming that they were soldiers and should be treated as prisoners of war in terms of the Geneva convention.

Mncube was initially arrested by two policemen who placed him in the back of a bakkie next to an AK-47. Mncube managed to free himself and killed his captors.

During his trial his defence claimed he was tortured after his arrest, including being forced to eat his own excrement.

Raised in Soweto, Mr Mncube also married while in prison late last year.

Schooling

Mr Nondula, who is being released a few days after his birthday, is a gifted writer and poet. He was transferred to prison in East Lojdon early this year. An orphan, he grew up in extreme poverty in Mdantsane near Ciskei and left South Africa to join the ANC while in his teens.

His first schooling took place at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania along with Mr Mncube.

Mr Mncube was instructed in fire-arms and politics in Angola before infiltrating South Africa in 1986 through Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Mr Nondula received training in Mozambique — where key ANC prisoner-release negotiator Matthew Phosa was in charge of military operations — before getting further training in Angola and East Germany. He was for a time an instructor at an Angolan training camp and infiltrated South Africa a number of times on various missions.

What was decided

BY MIDDAY yesterday President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela had rubber-stamped a broad range of agreements reached by key negotiators Roelf Meyer and Cyril Ramaphosa over the past few weeks of intensive negotiations.

On a **CONSTITUTION MAKING BODY** it was agreed that:

- There will be a democratically elected constituent assembly which will serve as an interim parliament;
- It will draft and adopt a new constitution. It will sit as a single chamber and take decisions by special majorities;
- It will be bound only by those principles agreed to beforehand;
- It will operate for a fixed time and will be elected within an agreed time frame;
- It will have deadlock-breaking mechanisms.

On an **INTERIM GOVERNMENT** it was agreed that there will be an interim government of national unity, operating in terms of an interim constitution.

On **POLITICAL PRISONERS** it was agreed that:

- One hundred and fifty will be released before Monday — 148 have already been released;
- Only prisoners who committed offences prior to October 8 1990 will be released;
- Robert McBride and the two Messina bombers will be released on Monday in terms of a parole application approved by prison authorities on Friday;
- The remaining political prisoners — about 250 — will be released by November 15. After the summit, they will be categorised — not in terms of their crime, but rather its political motivation;
- Legislation will be introduced in October concerning prisoners serving life sentences. Once passed, McBride and the others' parole conditions will fall away;
- The question of a general amnesty will not be linked to the release of political prisoners. The ANC gave a verbal undertaking that it would be dealt with by an interim government of national unity.

On the control of **DANGEROUS WEAPONS** it was agreed that:

- The public display of dangerous weapons, which includes traditional weapons, will be banned;
- A proclamation to this effect will be drafted with the assistance of the Goldstone commission. It will set out guidelines under which exemptions will be granted by magistrates. These could include gatherings such as Shaka day.

By lunch time, the question of **SECURING HOSTELS** was still being discussed. However, the draft detailed agreement between Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer identifies more than 24 hostels, primarily in the PWV region, that need to be dealt with urgently. They agreed that:

- Security will be implemented in terms of recommendations contained in the latest report of the Goldstone commission;
- There will be security patrols and a police presence outside the hostels involved;
- Hostels will be adequately fenced.

By MONWABISI NOMADLO

THE PAC has declined to comment on a claim that it funded the legal defence of multiple-killer Gabriel Diphapang Mahakoe.

Grey-haired Mahakoe, 43, was sentenced to death four times for the murder of a Free State farmer Willem Christoffel Engelbrecht, 71, his wife Bettie, 68, of Verkeerdelei, their daughter Lena Smit, 39, and her daughter Michelle, 14, of Kimberley.

He was also sentenced to nine years' imprisonment for theft of the Engelbrecht's car and clothing.

A further sentence of 12 years

Mahakoe: PAC paid for my team

was imposed on him for attempting to murder Smit's daughter, Petronella.

The revelation that the PAC paid for his defence comes from Mahakoe.

Throughout the trial Mahakoe enjoyed extensive support from members and supporters of the PAC who came to court in the organisation's colours and chanted "One settler one bullet" and "iA-frika izwe lethu" at various points.

The killer had gone to rob the Engelbrecht homestead but ended

up killing them after he was trapped inside the house.

He is a fully fledged member of the PAC. He showed us his green and black membership card (No 017 835) and said his membership fee was R12.

He only joined up on June 7 while awaiting trial.

Mahakoe told City Press: "I was born with PAC blood in me."

According to a clinical psychologist's report his father was shot by police while in police custody.

Mahakoe, of Bochabelo, said the PAC was paying for his defence.

Mahakoe initially said when asked who was footing the bill: "It is the nation." He added that "the people" were paying through "the organisation".

Pressed further, he said he was referring to the PAC.

Mahakoe was represented by three well-known lawyers who are also senior members of the PAC.

The team was the third to represent Mahakoe who refused to be

represented by a white pro deo advocate.

This led to the appointment of advocate Dennis Mosupye from the Pretoria bar to represent him. Mosupye represented him until Mahakoe was sent for mental observation in April following days of open defiance and confrontations with the judge.

Attorney Molefi Litheko said he had no instructions to disclose who had paid for the defence.

PAC spokesman Waters Toboti

denied funding the defence team, going so far as to say he was uncertain if Mahakoe was a PAC member.

Head of the PAC's legal department, Willie Seriti, said "this is a sensitive matter" when City Press first phoned him to inquire.

He asked to be given "some time to think about it". He later said the PAC had "no comment" to make on the issue.

The Seriti legal firm is also handling the case.

Advocate B Ngoepe said he didn't know where the money had come from. He was paid by the instructing attorney and did not ask about the source.

ANC's archives find ~~the~~ a new *SITimes 27/1/92* home

By BILL KRIGE

FORT Hare University has taken delivery of valuable ANC records and artefacts which will form the nucleus of a huge project to house the archives of all the resistance movements.

Crates of documents were shipped in from Tanzania last week and stacked behind bars on a campus dubbed the "cradle of liberation".

The man in charge of the operation, Professor Themba Sirayi, believes they will yield gems for researchers.

Shrine

"It is evident that Fort Hare is fast becoming a mecca," said Professor Sirayi, director of the centre of cultural studies on the picturesque campus in the small Ciskei town of Alice.

He leaves for Europe today with the university's principal, Professor Sibusiso Bengu, to raise money to help enshrine the long and bitter struggle for liberation.

There are elaborate plans to build a museum of resistance, an archive of resistance and a theatre which will highlight the black performing arts.

The ANC's decision to make Fort Hare the custodian of its past is echoed by similar commitments by the Pan Africanist Congress, the Black Consciousness Movement and the Unity Movement.

"It's a multi, multi-million rand venture — I can put it no higher," said Professor Sirayi.

Cradle

"It will enhance the image of Fort Hare internationally, restoring it to what it was before it was tainted by apartheid and Bantustan education.

"This is not a bush university. Rather, it is the cradle of the liberation movement and of the black intelligentsia.

"The negotiations are over. What we have here (from Tanzania) is a realisation of decisions already taken."

The archival and museum material from East Africa comes from the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Morogoro, home of an ANC exile community.

"There are archives situated all over the world which will come here when we are ready to receive them — documents relating to the ANC's political, military and international relations," said Professor Sirayi.

Professors Bengu and Sirayi will tour Scandinavia, Holland, Britain and Germany.

Paso wants PAC jet-set to give up plane seats for Apla effort

By THEMBA KHUMALO
9/11/89 27/9/89
THE Pan Africanist Students Organisation (Paso) has asked the PAC leadership to allocate 50 per cent of PAC funds to its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

Paso secretary for publicity and information Adam Bosman said the decision was taken by Paso's national executive last weekend.

"We've decided that instead of flying around, the PAC leadership should spend that money on supporting its guerrilla army," he said.

Bosman also took the PAC leaders to task for their tendency to distance the organisation from military operations carried out by Apla inside SA.

He said the PAC could no longer

(11A)
pretend for legal reasons that it was a separate entity from the military wing.

He said Paso believed Apla was implementing the PAC call for the intensification of the struggle against Pretoria on all fronts.

It is standard PAC practice to refer all media questions about Apla military activities to Apla leaders outside the country.

Observers believe this is a tactic to prevent the government taking heavy-handed action against the PAC.

"We won't condone the PAC distancing itself from Apla. If they avoid questions about Apla they are distancing themselves from the armed struggle," charged Bosman.

He pointed out that Apla com-

mander-in-chief Johnson Mlambo was the second vice-president of the PAC.

Bosman also announced that Paso was planning a summit with SA's two progressive student movements in Zimbabwe next month with a view to forming a united student organisation.

The League was prepared to invite Paso, the Azanian Students Congress (Azasco) and the South African Students Congress (Sasco) as these were the only "genuine student representatives in SA", Bosman said.

However, he warned Sasco against sending white delegates to the summit because they did not represent the "true needs and aspirations of the oppressed masses".

THE ANC's Natal region has vowed to go ahead with its march to Ulundi, despite the threat of a bloodbath on the scale of the Bisho massacre.

And Inkatha leadership has not minced its words, saying outright that the Bisho massacre would be like a Sunday school picnic if the ANC went ahead with the march to Ulundi.

Spokesmen for the ANC's three Natal regions have said everything would be done to prevent a repetition of Bisho and that the planned march was about free political activity in KwaZulu.

Any thinking person will tell you this is a recipe for disaster, given the history of bloodshed between the two.

Every political group should have a right to express its point of view and of course, no one, least of all leaders of the discredited homelands, has the right to declare no-go areas for political activity.

We have no vote and it is acceptable that we vote with our feet. Chief

MY WAY
With Khulu Sibiyá

A march into the lion's den



CP Press
2-7/9/92

Mangosuthu Buthelezi is well placed to understand this.

He is a man who carved his niche in the annals of black history by steadfastly rejecting homeland independence on the grounds that Nelson Mandela was imprisoned and black political organisations were banned.

When people like Matanzima, Mphephu, Sebe and Mangope rushed to please Pretoria by accepting "independence" Buthelezi refused to be browbeaten by PW Botha to further oppress his own people.

Buthelezi sells himself all over the world as a man of peace, a Christian, a committed leader of his

people and a man who upholds true democratic values.

If he is such a man, why does he make blood-curdling utterances? Why does he suppress free political activity when it threatens his position? And why has he been unable to stop almost nine years of violence in Natal?

Why does he use ethnicity to deal with a political matter when he himself has claimed that Inkatha is not just a Zulu organisation?

Only Buthelezi knows the answers to these questions. He is a seasoned and astute politician.

But nor can the ANC

and its allies, the SA Communist Party and Cosatu, be exonerated. Their ambition to gain political support in the homelands, whose populations constitute nearly half of the future electorate, seems to know no bounds. But at what cost?

Once they have established a political stronghold in Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu, they can be fairly confident of the support of Holomisa (Transkei), Ramushwane (Venda), Zitha (KaNgwane), Mahlangu (KwaNdebele), Ramodikwe (Lebowa) and Ntsanwisi (Gazankulu).

Frankly, I doubt the ANC will go ahead with its

march to Ulundi.

The ANC has nothing to lose but everything to gain by postponing the march. It is only a matter of time before an interim government is put into place and the ANC looks sure of a strong following in Natal anyway.

More than 100 000 people turned out to hear Mandela's "throw your spears and pangas in the sea" speech - indication enough of ANC support in Natal.

Marching to Ulundi would be venturing into the lion's den and would endanger the lives of ANC and IFP supporters alike. The scale of such a clash is too awful to contemplate.

Buthelezi is not a man to be taken lightly, especially when he thinks his chips are down.

But, of course, the most pathetic thing is that the government and those unaffected by the violence are smiling all the way to the political bank as black people destroy one another on the eve of their political independence.

We warn the ANC to rethink the strategy and direction of mass action.

New hopes pinned on summit

By **THEMBA KHUMALO**

ANC president Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk expressed hopes that their all-important summit at Kempton Park yesterday would bring the political stalemate closer to an interim government and a constituent assembly. *CPren 27/9/92*

In brief speeches before they went to a closed meeting, Mandela and De Klerk indicated that the first batch of 150 political prisoners might start breathing freedom from as early as last night.

They did not divulge details as Prison Correctional Services authorities were busy finalising documentation of the phased releases.

Speculation among ANC and government officials was that the first prisoners to be freed would include Mthetheleli Mncube of Diepkloof, Soweto; his co-accused Euclid Nondula of Mdantsane in East London; and Robert McBride of Durban.

All three are Umkhonto weSizwe commanders

whose continued imprisonment was a major stumbling block to the summit.

Mandela said the ANC had come to the summit to earnestly tackle the problems facing the country rather than to score victories.

He said: "We have come here with the hope that the summit will a firm basis for the resumption of negotiations.

"Difficult as it is, it would be a grave mistake for any organisation to remain blinded by sectarian interests during talks."

De Klerk also expressed hope that the decisions of yesterday's summit would herald a breakthrough in establishing an interim authority that would lead to a new constitutional dispensation.

He emphasised the urgent need for a speedy end to the country's violence.

"We can't talk while our people are fighting. The summit today must be seen as milestone to peace and prosperity for all South Africans," he said.

Political prisoners get their freedom

By **DESMOND BLOW**

ABOUT 150 ANC political prisoners, including the last of the Uppington 25 and one of the last two Sharpeville Six, were released from jails throughout the country between Friday night and yesterday following the agreement between the ANC and the SA government.

The three well-known MK cadres - Robert McBride, Mthetheleli Mncube and Mzondeleli Nondula, who were all sentenced to death for murder - will be released from tomorrow.

It is believed that more

than 500 ANC inmates will be released by November 15 as well as Inkatha warlords and right-wing prisoners.

The Boerestaat Party on Friday appealed to State President FW de Klerk not to think only of ANC prisoners but to release "all boer freedom fighters" as well.

A Department of Correctional Services spokesman said although only ANC prisoners have been released, all prisoners who committed crimes with political motivation would be freed.

This, he said, would include Barend Strydom.

CPren 27/9/92

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FW, Mandela shake hands and get down to tough talk

SITimes 27/9/92

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

Mr Mandela said the simple act of their coming together was bound to send a signal of hope to all South Africans. "We are duty-bound not to disappoint them."
The ANC leader added: "We have come here in the hope that by the time this summit ends, a firm basis will have been laid for the resumption of negotiations."
Echoing these sentiments, President De Klerk said: "I am confident that today we will take the process forward - forward to the goals about which there is really no difference of opinion."
The summit was made possible after the parties' chief negotiators, Constitutional Development

Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, closed a package deal after three weeks of closed-door bartering.
The three elements of the deal were an agreement to release remaining political prisoners, a ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons and the securing of hostels.
Most of the haggling centred around the release of political prisoners.
The government initially insisted that all political prisoners, as defined in an earlier agreement with the ANC, had been released. Later, it backed down, but continued to refuse to free Magoo's bar bomber Robert McBride, and Mzonde-

COMPELLED by unprecedented international pressure, President FW De Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday shook hands and began the long haul towards installing a government of national unity.
The two leaders were locked in talks all day after committing themselves at the outset of their summit on violence to finding the basis on which constitutional negotiations could resume.
The meeting, in the shabby surroundings of the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park, signalled the end to a tedious negotiations stand-off that began with the massacre at Boipatong three

months ago and ended with virtually every Western power and the United Nations acting as mediators.
The leaders and their delegations yesterday ratified a series of measures aimed at curbing violence and removing final obstacles to a resumption of constitutional talks.
Shortly before meeting behind closed doors, the leaders chatted amiably and shook hands. Both expressed hope that the meeting would lead to a resumption of democracy talks.

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Sleepy tourists miss mutiny

Sunday Times Reporter:

man in a statement monitored in the nearby territory of Mayotte, south-east of the Indian can summit from October 5. The coup leaders were

TOURISTS from South Africa slept through an attempted coup in the Comores early yesterday. As loyal government

rebel troops announced in a radio broadcast that they

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PICK

P.T.O



My thug for yours! We are building a nation

~~2/2/92~~
11A

SITimes 27/9/92

THERE was a time, I must confess, when I thought that President De Klerk and Mr Mandela had created for us a rare opportunity to lay down for ourselves the principles of democracy, as America did after 1776 or Germany after the Second World War.

Instead, we have come down to squabbling about which murderous psychopaths in the jails should be released among us. My cold-blooded bomber for your mass murderer; my midnight assassin for your sneaky poisoner.

This sort of evil bargaining is necessary. Nobody wants lingering blood feuds to poison the future. If we are to become one nation we cannot embark on a set of Nuremberg trials in which the victors inflict judicial murder on the vanquished.

But if anybody expects national conciliation to flow from the release of prisoners, or from a general amnesty, the nation itself must be party to the process. It must all occur in the open. The terms of the prisoner release and the amnesty must be disclosed, explained and understood.

Instead, what have we had? There was some talk of using the so-called Norgaard principles, drawn up by a Danish professor of law for Namibia and used with reasonable success there, but they had a weakness: they were principles. They didn't necessarily suit political agendas.

There was some talk of judges deciding, which was a good idea if the judges had operated "in open court", as it were, so that the rest of us could understand what was happening. Instead, the judges have vanished from sight, and a bewildered public saw only that the scum of the jails went free, including vile murderers who could make no claim to having acted from idealism.

Why? The answer seems obvious: the release of prisoners was, in the end, cynically manipulated to serve political appearances. If the ANC's murderers were to be released, a couple of popular white murderers had also to go free. That way, it was thought, our

kragdadige leaders would not be seen to be backing down.

President De Klerk rode to national popularity, and to international esteem, on a wave of popular idealism. That idealism, it turns out, was misplaced: the National Party is not so much trying to create a new democracy as to win an election by all the old tactics of trickery, gerrymandering, rigged majorities and hidden agendas.

The cynics of the Democratic Party warned me almost two years ago that I was being silly to prattle all the time about constitutional principles. Even constitution-making, they said, was politics: venality by other means. And so it has turned out.

There's precious little talk now about constitutional principles. The best offerings on the table come from Albie Sachs, the non-practising communist, who peddles a constitution that looks as good as the old Soviet constitution. It's got all the popular bits like the universal franchise and the bill of rights, but it has been carefully crafted, I believe, to eliminate any chance that the constitution will prevent an ANC government from putting the boot into the rest of us. I don't trust it.

Sachs's ideas would be improved by German-style federalism, a near-perfect system for South Africa (as Colin Eglin told me enthusiastically when we met by chance in Bonn a couple of weeks ago). But the National Party is rapidly discrediting both the word federalism and the system itself by its efforts to sell us a distorted version, a federalism *manque*, which is little more than a disguise for its electoral coalition with the Bantustans.

DEMOCRACY? Who talks of democracy, or of constitutional principles, while the ANC and the National Party bargain in smoke-filled rooms, hidden from the eyes of the people? Who talks of democracy while the power-brokers manoeuvre for power? Or take the fight to the streets?

Educated Europeans, I found in recent weeks, are reduced to giggles by the kind of socialist rhetoric that still sloshes around the ANC, but they

watched with incredulous horror as the Bisho tragedy unfolded. Revolutionary tactics, like Ronnie Kasrils' Boys' Own Paper charge, do not lead to conciliation, and democracy doesn't mean stomping on your opponent until he agrees with you.

The ANC's idea of democracy, it has become increasingly clear, owes more to its Stalinist roots than to its more recent conversion. Like the warlords of Yugoslavia, the ANC leaders sign a peace agreement one day and violate it the next. No wonder peace commissioner John Hall, that decent man, looks so miserable.

MEANWHILE, I am beginning to suspect that the government has just about given up any pretence of trying to govern while it devotes its energies to such urgent tasks as securing the fantastic pension rights of civil servants and MPs. The civil servants, for their part, are running up debts which will put an albatross around our necks into the next century.

Social spending on Bantustans for apartheid is discredited; instead, we have social spending on Bantustans for the noble purpose of buying off the masses, so that the National Party can build an electoral coalition around tinpot elites in Bisho and Mmabatho. The civil servants love it: the same old gang, spending the same vast sums on the same old rackets in the same old, corrupt way. It makes one sick.

Between the ANC's grasping for power and the National Party's cunning manoeuvres, there's no time for prattle about freedom, or the rights of individuals, or the rule of law. There's no occasion for big words like principles or democracy, or public debate, or nation-building. Dogs over carion don't fuss about principles.

It tempts me to adapt an old joke about little men. A desperate nation cries: Will South Africa's leaders please stand up? Mr Mandela and President De Klerk respond indignantly: We are standing! And so they are, so they are.

KEN OWEN

Govt-ANC accord marred by IFP reaction

Buthelezi quits talks

By Peter Fabricius and Esther Waugh

STAR 28/9/72
The optimistic mood for a speedy resumption of negotiations generated by Saturday's Government-ANC summit was badly marred yesterday when Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi vehemently denounced the summit agreements and withdrew from dialogue with the Government.

At the summit President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela signed a "Record of Understanding" for the release of all remaining ANC political prisoners by November 15, for a total ban on the carrying of dangerous weapons — except with a judge's permission — and for the fencing and guarding of 28 hostels, also by November 14.

Mass action

A first batch of 150 ANC prisoners was freed over the weekend.

As a result of the agreements, Mr Mandela said the ANC delegation would recommend to the organisation's national executive committee (NEC) that the ANC return to constitutional negotiations — from which it withdrew in June.

It is expected that the NEC will give the nod after which a round of "intensive" bilaterals — and an in-depth "bosberaad" to iron out differences on transitional arrangements with the Government would follow.

The ANC also agreed to

Buthelezi quits talks, accord marred

STAR 28/9/72

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tear down fences with their bare hands if necessary.

Mr de Klerk said last night that because of the trust he had built up with Mr Buthelezi, he would not respond publicly to the IFP leader's criticism but would write to him.

He said Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers would respond in detail to Mr Buthelezi later last night.

It now seems unlikely that the IFP will attend a Government-organised "indaba" on federalism today and tomorrow for nine Codesa parties sympathetic to the idea of strong regional powers.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer expressed regret at Mr Buthelezi's withdrawal from discussions with the Government, but added that nothing

should be allowed to disrupt the communication between the ANC and the Government.

But the Ciskei government and some right-wing organisations sided with Mr Buthelezi, suggesting that a conservative bloc was forming on the issue.

Foreign soil

Meanwhile, the Government pressed ahead with its plans to include as many parties as possible in negotiations, announcing that it would soon meet the PAC in "a neutral venue" — probably Gaborone in Botswana or Harare in Zimbabwe — to discuss a constituent assembly.

Government sources said they had agreed to the PAC's demand for a meeting on foreign soil to help the PAC out of

the corner it had painted itself into.

The issue of a general amnesty for all political offenders — including State officials — could not be resolved at Saturday's Government-ANC summit. This thorny issue is likely to feature at bilateral meetings.

However, Mr de Klerk announced afterwards that the Government intended going ahead with legislation next month which would allow him to indemnify political offenders of all parties — including those not yet charged and sentenced.

Mr de Klerk promised at a media conference on Saturday night that the Government would only grant such an amnesty on the basis that offenders would have to apply for indemnity — as ANC members had.

review its strategy of mass action.

The agreement has been widely hailed, locally and internationally as a breakthrough for negotiations. Business organisations have especially welcomed the ANC's decision to rethink

mass action which they regard as bad for commerce.

But Mr Buthelezi's dramatic move yesterday has soured hopes and destroyed any illusions that the Government might have persuaded him to accept a ban on the carrying of Zulu cul-

tural weapons and tight security measures for hostels.

Speaking at Shaka Day in Kwamashu, Durban, he warned that he would never ask for permission to carry Zulu cultural weapons and that hostel dwellers would

● To Page 3

the nation in brief

Wit Wolf goes free today

Sowetan 28/9/92
MULTIPLE killer "Wit Wolf" Barend Strydom will be released from the Pretoria Prison today.

This was confirmed by Department of Correctional Services spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Roy Gamble in Pretoria yesterday.

Gamble confirmed that Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride would also be released today from the Westville Prison, outside Durban.

Strydom was sentenced to death eight times for having shot dead seven blacks on Strydom Square in Pretoria, and for having shot dead a black woman in a previous incident.

McBride detonated a car bomb in 1986 which killed three white women outside a crowded beachfront bar. - Sapa

PAC, Govt to meet soon

(11A) (20A) Sowetan 28/9/92
THE Pan Africanist Congress and the Government have agreed to meet soon at senior leadership level in a neighbouring country to discuss a new constitution; the two sides said in a joint statement yesterday.

"The Government will be represented by senior members of the Cabinet and the PAC by senior members of its national executive committee," said the statement released by Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer and the PAC's Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Mr Gora Ebrahim.

"The meeting is to take place soon. Details of the venue, date and agenda of the planned meeting will be released in due course." - Sapa.

Marching to Benoni

(20A)
THOUSANDS of Daveyton and Waitville residents are to march on the Benoni Town Council today to demand a written reply to a memorandum they handed to the municipality a week ago.

They also resolved to pay a R50 flat-rate only and threatened to call a three-month consumer boycott of all businesses in Benoni if their minimum demands in the memorandum were not met. They demand - among other things - a single municipality for Benoni and its satellite townships. *Sowetan 28/9/92*

The ANC, PAC, AZAPO, Inkatha Freedom Party, local taxi associations, churches and business groups endorsed the march. - Sowetan Reporter.

More power to women

(20A)
WOMEN should be in the forefront of efforts to rebuild the family along lines that benefit society.

This was said by Ms Thandeka Mgoduso of the Imbeleko Women's Organisation during a women's conference at the Eskom conference centre in Midrand at the weekend. *(20A)*

The conference, organised by the Community Development Foundation titled "Women and The Constitution," was addressed by women from various organisations including the ANC, PAC, IFP, Azapo and the Democratic Party. *Sowetan 28/9/92*

Some issues tackled were: Women's Rights in a Constitution, Women and Economic Activity and Education and Development. - Sowetan Reporter.

Mandela pays tribute to Gandhi

STAR 28/9/92



The Gandhian philosophy of peace, tolerance and non-violence may be the key to human survival in the 21st century, ANC president Nelson Mandela said in his first public address since the summit with President F W de Klerk on Saturday.

Officially opening the Gandhi Hall in Lenasia yesterday, Mr Mandela was given a standing ovation when he said negotiations between the ANC and the Government had resumed.

He said the Gandhian philosophy began in South Africa as a powerful instrument of social change.

"South Africa has a legacy of racism and violence perpetuated by decades of apartheid rule," he said.

"If the Mahatma was here today he would tell us that the root cause of the violence in our country is apartheid. He would have warned us not to allow the philosophy of divide-and-rule to sow seeds of division in our midst, but to unite and restore human freedom to all South Africans."

Mr Mandela said the ANC had spearheaded "the path to lasting peace" in South Africa.

"Our initiative to negotiate with the Government and the suspension of our armed struggle arose out of our desire to bring about an end to the systematic violence that apartheid created — indeed, to bring an end to the racial division apartheid implanted upon us.

"We have established that we, the ANC, want to have freedom for all in this country but, I has-



Mahatma Gandhi . . . lessons for the present.

ten to add, not at any price.

"Political prisoners have been used as hostages for too long. The question of weapons of death has been addressed in part, and the hostels, which have been the centres of the low-intensity warfare waged against our communities, are to be fenced and phased out," he said.

"We will continue to talk and press forward towards an interim government of national unity and a constituent assembly, which must be elected by all South Africans."

Mr Mandela was given an enthusiastic welcome at the large, newly built hall, which was packed to overflowing. His hosts were the Transvaal Hindu Seva Samaj.

"Gandhi pledged 21 years of his life to the development of nonracialism and democracy in our country," Mr Mandela said before lighting a torch of peace.

"It is our duty to ensure that we not only remember his deeds but that we emulate and uphold them." — Sapa.

ANC to decide on mass action strategy

RAY HARTLEY

ANC national leaders have begun a series of meetings with militant regions about their mass action plans, following a weekend agreement with government to return to talks and review planned protests.

ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu met the ANC's southern Natal and Natal Midlands regions yesterday and was expected to meet officials from the northern Natal branch today to discuss a planned march on Ulundi.

The ANC's western Cape region is scheduled to meet national officials this week to discuss a planned blockade of the October 12 opening of Parliament by President F W de Klerk.

It is believed the regions will argue for the continuation of mass action.

ANC Midlands deputy chairman Reggie Hadebe said mass action and negotiations could not be divorced from one another.

In another development, Hadebe yesterday rejected a national peace committee offer to reopen the inquiry which found him guilty of violating the peace accord during a mock trial which sentenced Inkatha leaders to death.

Hadebe said the panel would have to publicly apologise for its judgment before he would consider testifying.

Meanwhile, Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose asked ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday to answer questions on manipulation of the ANC by radicals, including the SACP's Ronnie Kasrils.

In a strongly worded statement, Mdlalose accused the ANC of "a covert programme to dovetail with its overt one" which included "incitement, intimidation, sabotage and assassination".

McBride reconciled with State witness co-accused

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter



ment".

STAR
29/9/92.

Released Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Robert McBride has been reconciled with his co-accused, Matthew Lagordier, who testified as a State witness against him and was subsequently not charged.

Mr McBride was released from Durban's Westville prison yesterday after an agreement on the release of remaining prisoners was reached between the ANC and the Government at the violence summit. He was sentenced to death in 1986 for the Magoo's bomb blast which killed three people.

He told The Star from his parents' Wentworth home yesterday that he had initiated the contact with Mr Lagordier, who first visited him in the Westville prison two weeks ago and was among the many well-wishers at his parents' home yesterday.

Mr McBride said reconciliation first meant admitting that there had been conflict in the past and people either fought against or in favour of apartheid.

"Our energies were directed at the Government — to get the Government to talk to us — and that was the purpose of the armed struggle."

He said reconciliation involved fostering political tolerance and stopping "rabid incite-

ment". Mr McBride said he would now work towards reconciliation in the country. He had already started after his release by not making inflammatory statements or recalling ill-treatment in prison or the years of oppression, he said.

"We must move from the emphasis on the past to a vision for the future."

He understood that relatives of the three people killed in the bomb blast, for which he was responsible, were bitter.

"I am sorry people were killed. In conflict situations people do get killed. I did not want anyone to die," he said.

He denied that there was no link between his release and that of Barend Strydom.

Mr McBride said: "Strydom was imprisoned in the Government's jail and they could do with him what they wanted to."

"I always expected they would release him," he added.

Mr McBride has not taken any decision on his future but would "fit in where the ANC needs me".

In a message to South Africans, Mr McBride said: "Think of the future. Think of your children and your children's children. Would you like them to grow up in the stubbornness and racism (of the past) or do you want them to join the fellowship of human beings?"

Freed cadres have no regrets

By Brian Sokutu
and Musa Mapisa

Star 29/9/92
11A 28

Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadres Mzonedeli Nondula and Mthetheleli Mncube, who spent years together on Pretoria Central Prison's Death Row, walked to freedom at opposite ends of the country yesterday.

The two men, sentenced to death in 1987 for a spate of fatal landmine bombings in the Messina district, expressed the same sentiment of loyalty to the ANC.

When Mr Mncube (32) walked out of Pretoria Central, he expressed his thanks that ANC president Nelson Mandela had saved his life.

Outside Fort Glamorgan Prison in East London, Mr Nondula (29) said: "Even if we were hanged we wouldn't regret what we did because those were the darkest days in our history.



Free ... Mthetheleli Mncube hugs his wife.

"Our mission was to free South Africa from apartheid."

At the home of Mr Mncube's parents in Diepkloof in Soweto, ululation was heard throughout the day as old friends, relatives and neighbours came to visit the family.

The neighbourhood

was bustling with activity as women, including Mr Mncube's wife and sisters, served visitors with food and drink.

Mr Mncube said he was happy to be back home and he had never really lost hope.

He had not made up his mind on future plans and needed to "readjust to the life outside the prison first".

He expressed the hope that negotiations between the Government and the ANC would succeed.

Speaking to The Star from the ANC's East London offices, Mr Nondula said although he was thrilled about his release, he realised he had to face the reality of poverty at home.

"I'm happy to be home. But the reality is that conditions at home are terrible.

"I'm from a family of seven ... there are school children and most of my family are unem-

ployed."

Mr Nondula, transferred from Pretoria Central to Fort Glamorgan in May after his death sentence was commuted, had planned to complete his matric in jail.

He received his first batch of lectures from a correspondence college only three days before being released, and now plans to continue.

"Hardship won't deter me from continuing my studies," he said.

Asked about his arrest with Mr Mncube at a police roadblock on the border of Bophuthatswana and South Africa on January 2 1987, Mr Nondula said: "To me that part of my personal history will be difficult to erase.

"It was up to me to prove whether I'm committed to what I am ... a member of MK.

"When the judge sentenced us to death, the challenge was more frightening."

Summit accord 'flawed'

110A 3000A
START 29/19/92

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Democratic Party has criticised a "major flaw" in the Government and ANC's agreement at Saturday's summit on the workings of a constitution-making body and an interim/transitional government.

DP national chairman Ken Andrew said last night the agreement that a constitution-making body should also serve as an interim parliament was "most unwise" and was repeating the errors that led to many of the problems at Codesa 2.

The type of person suited to drafting a new constitution for SA was in many ways very different from the person best suited to be part of an interim government. The constitution-making body would do its work best if it concentrated entirely on writing a new constitution.

"It should operate in a cool, calm and collected way to produce a good constitution for our country. Making the same people responsible for interim government means that disputes over interim government administration will inevitably sour the constitution-making process and vice versa."

Combining the two functions in one body would also mean falling into the same trap that precipitated the Codesa 2 deadlock. A constitution-making body working also as an interim legislature under an interim constitution would be working with a constitution drafted by a Codesa-type multi-party conference rather than working from scratch.

The DP believed that there should be a transitional government and free and fair elections as soon as possible. Following the Codesa 2 route of an interim government under an interim constitution would slow the whole process.

"There is always the danger that the constitution-making body/interim parliament will enjoy being in power and be so impressed with its own abilities that it succumbs to the temptation of perpetuating its own existence for a prolonged period."

For these reasons, the DP favoured separating the constitution-making body and interim government bodies.

Fears of anti-ANC front in making

Govt in bid to

STAR 29/9/92.

woo Buthelezi

By Peter Fabricius
Political Correspondent

The Government is trying hard to woo back into dialogue its estranged ally, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, amid fears of a separatist front forming among anti-ANC homeland leaders and the Conservative Party.

Mr Buthelezi angrily broke off talks with the Government at the weekend in protest against President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela's summit agreement on a constituent assembly, banning dangerous weapons, guarding hostels and releasing political prisoners.

The IFP leader was due to meet Mr de Klerk today but cancelled the meeting and will instead meet Bophuthatswana leader Lucas Mangope.

President Mangope met Mr de Klerk and members of his Cabinet yesterday and gave the impression that he was more inclined than before to keep his homeland independent, according to senior Government sources.

They believed he had been encouraged to take this position by his recent talks with the CP, by support from Ciskei leader Oupa Gqozo and now by Mr Buthelezi.

The formation of a separatist bloc had the potential "to move things in the wrong direction and make it harder to get negotiations going again", one source said.

Mr Buthelezi announced at a press conference yesterday he would begin today to meet with Brigadier Oupa Gqozo, President Mangope and T K Mopedi of Qwa-

Qwa to discuss their way forward. Mr Buthelezi said it was important that he should not be seen as a spoiler who just wanted to hurt the negotiation process.

Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht yesterday welcomed the objections by Chief Buthelezi and Brigadier Gqozo against the agreements reached on Saturday and said:

"The time has come for joint action by those who refuse to live under ANC-SACP tyranny or betrayal by the

● To Page 3 ●

Govt in bid to woo Buthelezi, fears of anti-ANC front

From Page 1
Government.
Mr de Klerk would write to Mr Buthelezi over the next few days to "calm" him and coax him back to talks, Government sources said.

The sources said the Government would prefer not to alienate him, but that it would in the end have to enforce the ban on weapons and the hostels security, whether Mr Buthelezi liked it or not.
Some members of the ANC's national executive committee are to lobby for a meeting between Mr Mandela and Mr Buthelezi to win his support for the summit agreements.

However the prevailing view, ANC sources say, is Mr Buthelezi's strategy to magnify the importance of the IFP through violence and that such a meeting would only encourage that.
The ANC's National Executive Committee meets tomorrow to ratify the summit agreements, especially the decision

for the ANC to return to constitutional negotiations.
Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa said yesterday the KwaZulu government was under the jurisdiction of the SA Government and Mr de Klerk should "cause" Mr Buthelezi "to fall in line with his thinking".

ANC to challenge amnesty legislation

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC warned yesterday it would not accept President F W de Klerk's unilateral decision to proceed with amnesty legislation during October's parliamentary session and was assessing how to challenge it.

It was considering retaining the right to review and reassess the situation regarding all prisoners released under De Klerk's amnesty, a senior negotiator said.

He said De Klerk had tried to manipulate the agreement concluded at the summit to include all prisoners, including security forces and state officials.

There was no threat that this would become a stumbling block to talks.

"There is no way that the government can grant amnesty to its own forces. We are happy to consider amnesty as a mechanism to forge reconciliation but this is the

preserve of an interim government of national unity," he insisted.

The ANC cadres had had to sign forms and state openly the crimes for which they were seeking indemnity. The ANC would insist on full disclosure.

On Saturday, De Klerk said the legislation he was proposing would be on the same terms as the indemnity law applied to the ANC and he rejected the ANC view that an interim government should decide.

Meanwhile, the DP has criticised elements of the summit agreement. National chairman Ken Andrew said yesterday that the proposal that a constitution-making body also act as an interim parliament was unwise.

Prisoners

from the visitors' hall at Pretoria Central Prison to be greeted by family members, attorney Azhar Cachalia and ANC officials Mathews Phosa and Carl Niehaus.

Mncube made a short appeal for reconciliation, but said he had no regrets for what he did "in good faith".

"I am very happy. I have no bitterness in my heart because the new SA should not be established on the basis of anger, revenge and bitterness, but on love, forgiveness and reconciliation," he said.

With Mzondeleli Nondula, released in East London yesterday, Mncube landmined Messina farm roads in 1985, killing eight people. After being arrested and tied up with shoelaces in the back of a police truck with four loaded AK-47s, he broke loose and shot dead two security policemen. He and Nondula were sentenced to

death, but the sentences were later commuted to life in prison.

Walking free from East London prison, Nondula said he regretted lives had to be lost as a result of armed struggle, but he had no regrets at taking up arms to restore his people's dignity.

"There is no crime worse than that of depriving a person of his dignity."

Former police captain Brian Mitchell, sentenced to death for the murders of 11 people in the Trust Feed trial in June, could be one of those freed in terms of government's proposed amnesty legislation, a Correctional Services Ministry spokesman said yesterday. The Trust Feed massacre took place in December 1988.

Picture: Page 3
Comment: Page 6

Buthelezi

propose a multiparty conference to review what went wrong at Codesa.

NP secretary-general Stoffel van der Merwe called on Inkatha and the KwaZulu government to approach the latest developments in a positive spirit as their contributions were essential to a speedy movement towards peace.

Buthelezi's reaction was based on misperceptions, because the fencing of the hostels was a Goldstone committee recommendation, which Inkatha had accepted. The banning of weapons was also a Goldstone recommendation as well as that of

UN special envoy Cyrus Vance, which was also accepted by Buthelezi.

"The understanding reached with the ANC with regard to constitutional matters does not go beyond consensus reached at Codesa and to which Inkatha was a party," Van der Merwe said.

Inkatha senior negotiator Walter Felgate said the ANC and government's agreement should be put to the conference of review so that it could be assessed and be subject to scrutiny and multiparty agreement.

Comment: Page 6

Gengold

are the two operating divisions of the Buffelsfontein mining company.

Beatrix also receives royalties from Buffelsfontein equivalent to 15% of that mine's gross yearly income from gold and other metal sales.

Oryx, Gengold's R1,5bn developing mine, is a division of St Helena, and the new mine was developed on the assumption that its capital cost could be largely offset against the St Helena mine's profits.

Those profits have proved inadequate because of low gold prices which led St Helena to announce more retrenchments at the weekend. Oryx has depended on interest-free loans from its major shareholders to fund its development work.

Oryx, 97% owned by Gencor, Genbel, Sanlam and Anglo American, is scheduled

to pay 15% of its distributable profit from its Beisa section to St Helena, plus 2,25% of the profit from the Ventures section.

Maude said Gengold was looking at establishing Beatrix and Oryx as self-standing companies, a move which would involve the compensation of Buffelsfontein and St Helena shareholders for the loss of their rights in the mines.

Genbel MD Anton Botha said the complexity of the structures, particularly the Beatrix/Buffelsfontein arrangement, was confusing those trying to assess the mines' real value.

It was likely that Oryx, tightly held by its major shareholders at the moment, would want to make its stock more marketable once development work was finished.

Matla Trust is launched by Ramphal

B/DAM *29/9/92*
LEAVING voter education and registration to government was not a credible option, former Commonwealth secretary-general Sir Shridath "Sonny" Ramphal said yesterday.

Invited to SA to officially launch the Matla Trust — an educational charity established to empower the disenfranchised — Ramphal said

(11A)
ANDREW KRUMM

foreign intervention in the electoral process was also unnecessary.

"You have an inherent capacity to do it yourselves," he said.

Matla chairman Ismail Ayob said that after talks with Ramphal, it would attempt to "broaden its project base" to reach millions of voters.

NEWS IN BRIEF

3/10/92 29/9/92 (11A)
Mandela heads east

ANC president Nelson Mandela leaves tomorrow on an official visit to Pakistan and China.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday Mandela would meet Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif and President Ghulam Ishaq Khan during his three-day visit to Pakistan.

BY ANY standard, Finance Minister Derek Keys's performance at last week's IMF and World Bank annual meetings was extraordinary. The impression he left, and clearly intended to leave, was that he had come to plead not on behalf of his own government, but of the next one.

The task he had set himself was to persuade the international financial and investment community that notwithstanding the terrifying things it had said in the past — and continued to say, albeit more intermittently — the ANC would manage SA's economy soundly and with respect for market principles.

It was a sell at times made easier, at times undercut, by ANC economic planning department head Trevor Manuel.

He was unable to contain the occasional threat to renegotiate foreign debt entered into by the regime and while it may be true, as Assistant Secretary of State for Africa Herman Cohen put it, that "the Freedom Charter has been abolished", there were moments when he made his listeners wonder whether it had perhaps not simply been temporarily whitewashed.

Yet, by and large, he redeemed still vivid memories of last October's Notre Dame investment conference.

Much the same audience that had left that event in despair, emerged from last week's National Foreign Trade Council gathering at the Plaza in New York, if not enthused, at least relieved that certain home truths had penetrated.

And while there was unhappiness that Manuel did not renounce the concept of a labour code for US companies administered and enforced by sanctions-wielding state and local governments, there was at least a charitable willingness to concede that his hands were tied and that, in all likelihood, when the political dust of transition settled the ANC would reconsider.

Much of that charity must be attributed to Keys.

His case and the existence of what

Keys came not to bury the ANC, but to promote it

B/DAM 29/9/92

SIMON BARBER in Washington

he called "a healthy degree of pragmatism and realism" on the part of the ANC (if not of Cosatu and other parts of the alliance still embarked on "economic civil war") was considerably stronger than Manuel's own.

Keys prefaced his upbeat remarks about the ANC's getting of wisdom with a phrase that spoke volumes: "At the risk of embarrassing Trevor Manuel and any other ANC representatives here . . ." His meaning was clear: Manuel and Co (his colleague, Tito Mboweni, could not make it for want, apparently, of airfare) were really much more au fait with economic realities, and much less ideological, than they dared, for constituency reasons, admit in public.

After all — and this was a point Keys stressed — it was they who carried the grim economic news to ANC president Nelson Mandela which persuaded him to return to the negotiating table.

What Keys did not say was that it was he who had given them the message, though many of his listeners instantly grasped the point.

They understood that the Finance Minister had already moved some distance down the road of bringing the ANC into the running of the economy, as apprentices perhaps, but hands-on ones.

In a very tangible sense, the "next" government Keys had come



□ KEYS

to speak for was already forming under his tutelage.

This goes some way to explaining why certain things did not occur at the IMF/World Bank meeting.

On the face of it, SA had a great opportunity last week to become a

"normal" member of the fund and the Bank.

It could have joined a shareholder constituency to regain the formal voice on the fund's board of directors it lost a decade ago. Indeed, had it gone in with the Swiss, it might even have had an alternate director in fund headquarters right now instead of a lonely observer in the suburbs.

With only a little more difficulty, it could have obtained a commodity financing facility to underwrite its reserves against the drain of drought-necessitated food imports.

Thus might natural disaster have turned to useful account to drive a stake through the heart of the Gramm Amendment and help improve the country's international credit rating.

To some it may seem tragic the moment was not seized.

In his address to the meeting, Keys himself called it "unfortunate". Yet, both he and Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals had clearly concluded that as enticing as the prizes looked, to grab them would have endangered the altogether more important project of ensuring the soundness of the economy's future management.

Perhaps, with a little more finesse and less indecision, the prizes would have been had.

There are indications that some in the ANC were willing to give at least

tacit approval on the understanding that they could harrumph in public.

Yet on the whole, it probably made sense to wait.

"Our present position is tolerable," said Stals. "It is not necessary to force the issue." The process now under way is delicate in the extreme.

The apprentices not only have to be wooed, persuaded and convinced; they have to be protected from those who are only too ready to denounce them as sellouts.

Quite soon, as Manuel himself admits, they are going to have to take some extremely unpopular decisions with regard to reducing government consumption for the sake of long-term growth.

In every sense, they need all the help they can get.

Because the next government is going to have a hard row to hoe in terms of disappointing popular expectations, it may not be unreasonable for the present authorities to defer, if only for a brief period, what rewards the outside world has to offer so that their successors may take the credit for achieving them.

The politics and symbolism matter because, assuming Manuel is serious about forswearing the Mont Fleur scenarios' Icarus spend-and-crash option in favour of the discipline and steady growth of the Flamingo route, in the near to medium term there is not going to be much else to dish out.

There is, of course, one rather serious flaw in all this: the inherent assumption that the ANC will form the next government, and the concomitant decision to work exclusively with, through and on its officials.

The words "other black decision-makers" occasionally leaked from Keys's lips, but entirely without conviction.

From time to time, a few brave souls — including, interestingly enough, the head of the African Development Bank — were heard to murmur "what about Inkatha?" They were politely ignored, as though they had belched in church.

The feeling, on the government's part at least, seemed to be that one cannot have everything.

ANC leadership to discuss mass action

Political Correspondent **CT 29/9/92**

THE ANC executive would not dictate to its Western Cape region on whether mass action like the planned blockade of Parliament in two weeks should go ahead, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

The same applied to plans for ANC marches on Ulundi in KwaZulu and Mmabatho in Bophuthatswana.

Mr Niehaus said the ANC's undertaking at the weekend summit with the government to review its mass action campaign did not mean that head office would lay down the law to ANC regions.

He said the ANC executive would consult with the regions about the gains made at the summit and a joint decision would then be taken as to whether it was appropriate to press ahead with the protest actions.

ANC Western Cape spokesman Ms Sue de Villiers said yesterday that consultations between the region and the national executive on the proposed blockade of Parliament on October 12 were expected to take place soon.

ANC expected to resume talks with Govt

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

The ANC is today expected to announce the resumption of fully fledged negotiations with the Government, thus marking an important step towards re-starting Codesa-style talks.

The organisation's national executive committee (NEC) meets in Johannesburg in the wake of the successful weekend summit with the Government — and is also scheduled to discuss the fraught question of mass action, including planned marches on Ulundi and Mmabatho.

Prospects for the resumption of multilateral talks brightened after the summit, but suffered when Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi angrily broke off contact with the Government.

After the weekend summit, Nelson Mandela said the ANC delegation would today recommend the resumption of constitutional talks to the NEC — the

body which broke off bilateral and Codesa-style negotiations on June 23.

At the World Trade Centre meeting the Government acknowledged the right to peaceful mass action, but the ANC undertook to examine urgently its programme of mass action in the current political context.

ANC sources said yesterday the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance would not abandon mass action, but would look closely at the specific forms it took.

The sources argued that despite the apparent revival of constitutional negotiations, mass action would still be necessary to highlight problems like unemployment, housing, and the lack of free political activity in certain homelands.

The controversial proposed marches on Ulundi and Mmabatho will come under the spotlight and the prevailing mood in the ANC appears to be that possible loss of life should be

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taken into consideration before such marches are decided upon. ANC regions would also have to be consulted.

Foreign Minister Pik Botha yesterday briefed diplomats in Pretoria on the summit, and the ANC is expected to do the same tomorrow.

Sapa reports that the western Cape leadership of the ANC alliance yesterday reiterated its call for a mass march on Parliament on October 12 and demanded that the alliance be allowed to address the parliamentary session.

In a statement the regional secretaries of the alliance said their supporters would occupy the Parliament precincts until the Speaker gave in to their demand. It noted, however, that the mass action programme planned for October 12 would still be discussed with the ANC's national leadership this week.

We will not target Popcru - PAC army

STAR 30/9/92
By Brian Sokutu

The Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), the armed wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, has undertaken to exclude members of the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru) as targets for its armed attacks.

The decision, announced at a joint PAC-Popcru press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, was taken at a two-day meeting between the two organisations in Harare at the weekend.

A statement signed by Apla chief political commissar Romero Daniels and Popcru president Gregory Rockman said the guerilla army would maintain its armed attacks "against the structures of the settler-colonial regime".

At the meeting Popcru expressed concern about Apla's campaign of violence against South African policemen, who included Popcru members.

According to the latest SA Institute of Race Relations figures, more than 120 policemen were killed in South Africa in the first seven months of 1992.

Asked how Apla forces operating within the country would be able to identify Popcru members, Popcru general-secretary Peter Nkuna said: "Popcru is to meet local structures of Apla and the PAC to introduce our members."

Apla's new stance yesterday condemned by the SA Police.

"This is just another form of intimidation. Although policemen have been targets of violence, there are very few acts Apla has been responsible for," said police spokesman General Leon Mellet.

He added: "Popcru has no stature as far as the police force is concerned. If a policeman wants to join Popcru, he should choose between his career and being a Popcru member. No one is allowed to join a union in the force."

Dr Jackie Cilliers of the Institute for Defence Politics in Midrand said: "Apla has not waged any well-orchestrated armed struggle. This is part of an armed propaganda campaign."

Professor Tom Lodge of the University of the Witwatersrand's Department of Political Studies said the PAC's armed struggle was insignificant in South Africa.

IFP out to match Mandela

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BY withdrawing from the negotiating process, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Inkatha Freedom Party president and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, has embarked on a similar tack to that taken by ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Mr Mandela's decision to sever ties with the De Klerk administration and to withdraw from constitutional negotiations in June had two central aims: to pressure Mr de Klerk into taking concrete action to halt the carnage in the townships and to mobilise and consolidate ANC support.

The ANC leader's tactical manoeuvre, prompted by outrage over Boipatong, succeeded spectacularly at both levels.

Mr de Klerk's administration agreed to take action to control migrant workers' hostels — which, the ANC contends, often serve as "barracks" for IFP militants in the township war — and to prohibit the possession and display of dangerous weapons in public, including the "traditional weapons" (spears, battle axes, sticks and shields) often carried by the IFP's Zulu members.

During the hiatus in its contact with the "De Klerk regime," the ANC turned the full blast of its formidable propaganda machine

onto Mr de Klerk and used its "mass action" campaign to mobilise support for its demands, including the immediate installation of a government of national unity.

The question posed by Chief Buthelezi's decision to withdraw from negotiations — announced after the signing of a "Record of Understanding" between Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela at the weekend — is simple: can he duplicate Mr Mandela's achievement by forcing Mr de Klerk to backtrack on his concord with the ANC and, at the same time, galvanise IFP members and sympathisers for the coming struggle?

Chief Buthelezi is not in as strong a position as the ANC. Judging from opinion polls, his IFP has lost out heavily to the ANC in the past five years. Its support in the black community appears to be largely confined to the Zulu people and even there it is challenged by the ANC.

But Chief Buthelezi, a tough and resilient politician with prodigious energy, is not in a hopeless position: the 10 to 12 percent of the vote which experts think the IFP would win in a general election is indispensable to Mr de Klerk's hopes of winning an election against the African National Congress or — at worst — of fore-

casting an ANC landslide victory.

It is significant that Foreign Minister Pik Botha's calculations that a NP-alliance victory is possible assume a vital contribution from the IFP.

President de Klerk's election strategy, with its associated policy of regionalism or federalism, depends on forging an alliance with regional black leaders, of whom Chief Buthelezi is undoubtedly the most important.

That gives Chief Buthelezi greater leverage on the De Klerk Government than opinion polls suggest.

Believing that the ANC has singled out KwaZulu for special attack — the present campaign against the selected "bantustans" was preceded by one in June 1990 where KwaZulu was singled out — Chief Buthelezi talks of the need to defend "the Zulus" against threat from the ANC and its South African Communist Party ally.

Political analysts describe Chief Buthelezi's response as "playing the tribal card". If so, it is not a bad card — in the tactical sense — to play.

The Zulus are the largest ethnically defined community in South Africa. Chief Buthelezi is the Chief Minister of KwaZulu, having held that position for more than 20

years. He is a descendant of Zulu kings and he has the backing of the present Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelethini.

In the past week Chief Buthelezi has addressed three mass rallies: in each he abandoned Western for traditional Zulu dress, drapping a leopard skin across his shoulders and holding a shield, a stick and a spear in his hands; at each he warned Zulus their very existence was at stake and their foes planned to wipe KwaZulu "off the face of the earth".

More specifically, he compared the ANC's planned march on the KwaZulu capital of Ulundi with the invasion of Zululand by a British army in 1879. The implication was not missed by his indignant audiences: the ANC is an alien force and the Zulus who support it against KwaZulu are comparable to the "loyal natives" who fought for the British against their own kinsmen in the last century.

Speaking last week at Ndandla not far from the grave of Cetshwayo, the Zulu king who resisted British invaders, Chief Buthelezi said to a chorus of approval: "Every Zulu remembers that the last march on Ulundi was that of the British soldiers."

Linked with his appeal to Zulu history and pride is a thinly veiled

threat of secession, a move which could activate the latent but potentially powerful centrifugal forces in South Africa.

Many of the ANC's political foes, from Lucas Mangope's nominally sovereign state of Bophuthatswana to Afrikaner right-wingers who dream of establishing a separate Afrikaner state, have put secession on the agenda as a last desperate option.

In a recent speech in Ulundi Chief Buthelezi told KwaZulu's civil servants: "KwaZulu is not a construct of apartheid... it has a historically established sovereignty. We can either negotiate to become part of a new federal South Africa acceptable to us or negotiate out of whatever contractual relationships the rest of South Africa would wish to establish with the ANC."

Significantly, Chief Buthelezi, who believes that Mr de Klerk has been manoeuvred by the ANC into giving way to its demands and harming the cause of the IFP, has announced that he plans to begin a series of meetings with black leaders who are similarly threatened by the ANC's drive to establish a unitary state with a powerful central government.

Significantly, too, the De Klerk administration believes that Chief

Buthelezi's stand has already acted as a catalyst by encouraging the formation of a separatist front favouring confederation above federation.

Chief Buthelezi has already touched on a theme which may strike a responsive — and angry — chord in anti-ANC quarters: the contrast between President de Klerk's "appeasement" of the ANC on its demands for firm action on hostels and the carrying of spears, and his apparent failure to insist on the dissolution of the ANC's underground army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the surrender of its arms caches.

Chief Buthelezi told journalists in Durban that President de Klerk had responded "limply" when he raised the issue of the ANC's guerrilla army with him at a recent meeting.

Mr de Klerk's public silence on the ANC's underground army since he raised it last December, only to be verbally mauled by Mr Mandela in front of whirling TV cameras and frantically scribbling journalists, will not help him. Nor will the finding by the Institute of Race Relations that the vast majority of deaths in South Africa's on-going township war are due to gunfire, not stabbing. □

Election dream has led us into dead-end street

STAR 30/9/92

ONE could weep at what has happened since Codesa deadlocked in May — at the time wasted, the lives lost, at the damage to our economy and its prospects of recovery, the harm done to our international image, the attitudes soured and the negotiating climate fouled.

All for what? The Government has now effectively conceded all the constitutional points that led to the deadlock in the first place, and all the 14 conditions the ANC made for resuming negotiations after Boipatong in June.

What has it gained by its stubborn reluctance? The only concession won from the ANC is a commitment to review its "mass action" programme — and mass action was only introduced to pressure the Government into yielding to those demands.

Perhaps what is needed now is another "bosberaad" to reassess the attitudes and strategic thinking which led us into this disastrous cul de sac. Things started to go wrong, paradoxically, with the white referendum in March. Instead of interpreting the big "yes" majority as a signal to move swiftly towards a bold political settlement, the Government saw it as a sign of electoral strength which fired up hopes that with a little luck and cunning it might not have to give up power in the new South Africa after all.

With a whiff of destabilisation for the ANC and some alliance-building it might win the election — or at least get close enough to hobble an ANC-led regime.

Pure fantasy, given the racial arithmetic of this country, but the Nationalists believed it. And so a strategy of electioneering and political gerrymandering began to overlap and dominate the negotiating process.

Almost immediately the Government started playing hard-ball with the ANC in the negotiations. For its strategy to work, it needed time to weld its alliance together, and weaken the ANC by drawing it into a relationship where it would share responsibility for government but be able to deliver little to its own constituents.

The thrust of its approach at Codesa 2 was to try to get an indefinite period of interim government. It refused to accept any time-frame. The word was that it wanted five years, maybe 10, of all-party interim government before an election was held under a new constitution.

The ANC refused, knowing that by then it would be a dead duck among its own people. As the haggling continued, the Government demanded a 75 percent majority to reach agreement in the constituent assembly, then agreed to the ANC's compromise of 70 percent — on condition there was an advance commitment to having a Senate with minority veto powers. Both were demands that it knew had no chance of acceptance.

That is where the deadlock occurred. Since then the Government has backed off both those demands, switching to federalism as its plan for protecting minorities. And at Saturday's summit it agreed that the constituent assembly and interim government should operate within a fixed time frame. So it has retreated from all



Allister Sparks

its positions that caused the Codesa 2 deadlock.

It has done the same with the 14 conditions the ANC set for returning to negotiations after Boipatong, which Nelson Mandela telescoped into three when he responded to F W de Klerk's summit invitation.

Now the Government has met them all. This is no victory for the ANC. It is no victory for anyone. It has been a terrible setback for all of South Africa, from its big businessmen to its little people who have suffered most from the delay. Nor will the effects be quickly over. Frustration swung the townships to militancy. This weakened the ANC's pragmatic leadership, which had to respond to the mood to avoid alienating its constituency.

It strengthened the "Leipzig option" militants, and although the tide has been turned somewhat by the bloodshed at Bisho, "mass action" has in the end been justified by its results and by the perception that the Government responds only to blunt-instrument politics. It will remain in the wings, to be brought out again whenever deadlock threatens.

Not least is the fouling of the atmosphere. Trust has been broken, personal relationships damaged and a mood of anger and suspicion poisons the air.

Chief Buthelezi's latest outbursts, threatening to "bugger up" the ANC and breaking off negotiations with the Government, are a symptom of this.

He is a tragic figure who did an important job in keeping a black voice of protest alive through apartheid's darkest years, but he is becoming dangerously frenetic now as he feels his constituency shrinking beneath him.

The Government has aggravated this by drawing Chief Buthelezi into its machiavellian schemes. It ends up playing a cat-and-mouse game, one day using him as an electioneering weapon against the ANC, the next making a placatory deal with the ANC to repair the damage this is doing to the negotiating process.

In the end Chief Buthelezi is a problem of the Government's own making, and it must find the solution. It will not be easy and Mr de Klerk may have to get tough, but he cannot allow the consequences of his "slim politiekery" to go on fouling up South Africa's future.

The President must understand one thing above all else: the success or failure of the transition depends on the ability of the pragmatists in the Government and the ANC to work together to build a solid centre that can drive forward to agreement with sufficient momentum to carry both constituencies with them.

If the momentum flags, the initiative will pass with catastrophic results to the militants on both sides, to the "Leipzig option" mobilisers and the hard men in the Cabinet who want to crunch Mr Mandela. □

'Political' (11A) crimes probe

put on hold

STAR 30/9/92
Investigations into past politically motivated crimes, including those allegedly committed by members of the ANC and the security forces, have been temporarily suspended.

Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday: "In the light of the release of political prisoners announced at the weekend, investigations into all so-called politically motivated crimes committed before October 8 1990 will be postponed."

Investigations which had already become legal proceedings, such as inquests, would continue. So, Captain Kotze said, the investigations into the murders of David Webster and Matthew Goniwe had not been suspended.

Investigations into all crimes committed after the October 8 1990 cut-off date agreed to by the ANC and the Government would still be investigated.

● ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday there was a need to investigate crimes by people in State sectors. "The ANC still insists strongly on these people being investigated." — Crime Reporter.

Homeland leaders reject pact

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● From Page 1

pressed that a "separatist" bloc might be developing.

Remarks by Conservative Party leader Dr Andries Treurnicht in Pretoria yesterday bolstered this view. Dr Treurnicht revealed that Chief Buthelezi had telephoned him after the IFP leader cut off contact with the Government on Sunday. Other homeland leaders who had suspended talks had "also taken the trouble" to inform him of their decision.

Dr Treurnicht said: "These are all leaders who reject the policies of the ANC. We are saying it is time for an alternative forum of leaders who are anti-communist and in favour of self-determination for their people ...

"Today, black leaders want to talk to us, they have stopped talking to De Klerk."

Foreign Minister Pik Botha sounded an exasperated note yesterday when reviewing the latest turn of events. He said political leaders should not be forming power blocs and should act in the best interests of the country.

He said the agreement reached with the ANC had been misunderstood: it was not "aimed at any other party, but at resolving obstacles that were in the way of the resumption of talks".

In a separate statement from Mmabatho, Brigadier Gqozo rejected the Government-ANC agreement, demanded the disbandment of the ANC military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe and rejected the imposition of an interim government or constituent assembly.

He believed the Mmabatho meeting would prove to be the turning point in a time dominated by political compromise and agreement unacceptable to a silent majority of concerned South Africans.

● The Afrikaner Volksunie said yesterday it would like to attend the proposed meeting of leaders and parties who are concerned at the weekend agreements between the Government and the ANC.

DAC will call for a cash freeze for arts councils

Sowetan Correspondent

THE African National Congress' Department of Arts and Culture (DAC) will call for a freezing of funds to the performing arts council with the advent of an interim government, says DAC chief Wally Serote.

Speaking at a Press conference at the weekend, he expressed his dissatisfaction regarding negotiations with all the different performing arts councils, saying that "little or no progress" had been made.

He said the general attitude as he perceived it was: "We have been around a long time, you should listen to us." And - "the performing arts councils say no (to) access to public funds".

Recreation and art

Annually more than R450 million had been earmarked by the State for culture, recreation and the arts, which included such institutions as museums and libraries, but these were not accessible to the majority, he said.

"Diversity in this country must reach its fullest expression," he argued, call-

■ FUNDS EARMARKED Arts and culture must be used for the benefit of all the people of South Africa:

There should emerge a non-sectarian, national culture...I should be seen as having the potential to bring us together

Sowetan 30/9/92

ing for the democratisation of the governing bodies of the arts councils, museums and other nationally endowed bodies.

Blacks had been "dealing from a disadvantaged position" and it was time to "redress imbalances", through mass action. The focus was on the music industry, the arts councils, film industry, Civic Centres and SA National Gallery.

Regarding the DAC's highly publicised dispute with Pact, he said it was his intention to speak with the Administrator of the Transvaal.

He said in the future South Africa, funding for the performing arts and for culture as a whole should come from the State, private sector, public at large and

from international contributions.

Individual companies in the private sector should "create their own trust funds" for the advancement of the arts.

He also hit out at the "pomp and circumstance" of the Civic Theatre's opening two weeks ago, complaining that a minority of blacks had been invited.

"The manner in which the Civic was opened could easily cause problems," he said.

He was particularly biting about speeches from the stage at the opening night performance, saying that they "raised a spectre" by being spoken "first (in) Afrikaans, then (in) English".

If there had been an acknowledge-

ment in Sotho or Zulu, it might have implied that "we are moving an inch forward", he said. "One got the perception that this was a conscious decision." And, "it brings doubt in the mind whether they are repentant".

Assisted to exercise

Asked if the DAC was acting to bring about reconciliation or intended to dominate the arts, Serote said the DAC was a facilitator and he agreed that people such as Steve Tswete could be of invaluable assistance to the exercise.

He declared that it was the intention of the DAC to "put culture on the agenda of the nation" and that he had had assurances from ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa that cultural requirements would receive a sympathetic hearing.

"There should emerge a non-sectarian, national culture. I don't think culture should be used to gain political mileage. It should be seen as having the potential to bring us together."

FW-Buthelezi summit planned

ANC debates meeting with Inkatha leader

GOVERNMENT and the ANC are poised to take urgent steps to placate Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and other homeland leaders who yesterday rejected the ANC-government Record of Understanding.

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC) will meet today to decide whether it is willing to approve a top-level ANC-Inkatha summit.

Government is separately involved in an all-out effort to woo Buthelezi back to the negotiating table.

Buthelezi was in Mmabatho yesterday to meet Ciskei military ruler Brig Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope to rally support for his opposition to the agreement reached between government and the ANC at the weekend. The three leaders rejected the agreement and decided to call a meeting soon with other leaders and organisations sharing their concerns.

In a vociferous statement yesterday, Buthelezi slammed the Record of Understanding, comparing it to a campaign of "ethnic cleansing".

The agreement was an attempt to hijack the negotiations process and would result in "Zulu concentration camps", he said.

The Record of Understanding was "intended to support the violence" and the "continuous string of assassinations" of Inkatha members, he said.

A senior ANC source yesterday predicted a tough NEC debate over whether the ANC should "swallow its pride" and agree to a Mandela-Buthelezi meeting in an attempt to patch up relations with the KwaZulu leader who withdrew from negotiations at the weekend.

BIDAM 30/9/92
BILLY PADDOCK
and ALAN FINE

Some NEC members believed that, following the weekend concessions from government on prisoner releases and violence, the ANC was in a sufficiently comfortable political position to relent on a meeting with Buthelezi.

This would alienate elements of the ANC's rank and file but, the argument holds, the organisation had delivered enough to its membership to mitigate these effects.

However, ANC president Nelson Mandela himself was believed to be cool towards the idea of a face-to-face meeting with Buthelezi because of recent verbal attacks by Buthelezi. Natal representatives who have been involved in a bitter war of words with Inkatha were also expected to oppose the idea.

Meanwhile, it is expected President F W de Klerk will suggest a high-profile leadership meeting with Inkatha in the next few weeks. It is understood that government also plans to emphasise Buthelezi's importance in the negotiating process.

De Klerk is to communicate by letter with Buthelezi within the next couple of days and is expected to explain that there are few, if any, differences of principle between Inkatha and government. He would also urge him to agree to a high-profile meeting with Mandela.

Government's negotiations commission, which meets today under De Klerk's leadership, is expected to formulate the approach to Buthelezi.

Government now believes it probably

□ To Page 2

Inkatha

underestimated Buthelezi's sensitivity to the way in which the summit with Mandela was handled, and it is desperately trying to correct the oversight.

However, it is also understood that De Klerk would not accept an Inkatha veto over legislative transitional processes and a new constitution. Should Buthelezi refuse to accept broad agreements necessary for the process to move forward, then De Klerk would go forward without him.

Government sources insist the agreement with the ANC did not even go as far as the recommendations of the Goldstone commission and UN special envoy Cyrus Vance which Buthelezi had accepted. Therefore Buthelezi's objection was not one of principle so much as protocol.

At the same time, government negotiators had travelled to QwaQwa, Lebowa

From Page 1

and Venda to inform and consult leaders on the summit discussions.

DP leader Zach de Beer yesterday said he could understand Buthelezi's feelings at being excluded. The DP was also excluded.

"But I believe Inkatha and the DP and all others, must recognise that co-operation between the NP and the ANC is absolutely pivotal if we are in the end to achieve agreement of which, of course, we must all be part," he told a meeting in Grahamstown.

In a joint communiqué, Buthelezi, Mangope and Gqozo said the public was profoundly concerned at the bilateral agreement dealing with issues which had an impact on all other parties. The meeting decided to call for the rejection of the Record of Understanding.

ANC 'to announce restart of talks'

ARC 30/9/92

11A

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC is today expected to announce the resumption of fully-fledged negotiations with the government, thus marking an important step towards re-starting Codesa-style talks.

The organisation's national executive committee meets in Johannesburg in the wake of the successful weekend summit with the government — and is also scheduled to discuss the fraught question of mass action, including planned marches on Ulundi and Mmabatho.

Prospects for the resumption of multilateral talks brightened after the summit, but suffered when Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi angrily broke off contact with the government. Nevertheless, the ANC is proceeding with plans for an intensive round of meetings with the government.

After the weekend summit, Mr Nelson Mandela said the ANC

delegation would today recommend the resumption of constitutional talks to its National Executive Committee — the body which broke off bilateral and Codesa-style negotiations on June 23.

At the World Trade Centre meeting the government acknowledged the right to peaceful mass action, but the ANC undertook to examine urgently its programme of mass action in the present political context.

ANC sources said yesterday the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance would not abandon mass action, but would look closely at the specific forms it took. The sources argued that in spite of the apparent revival of constitutional negotiations, mass action would still be necessary to highlight problems like unemployment, housing, and the lack of free political activity in certain homelands.

The controversial proposed marches on Ulundi and Mmabatho will come under the spotlight, and the prevailing mood in the ANC appears to be that pos-

sible loss of life should be taken into consideration before such marches are decided upon. ANC regions would also have to be consulted.

Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha yesterday briefed diplomats in Pretoria on the summit and the ANC is expected to do the same tomorrow.

Sapa reports that the Western Cape leadership of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance yesterday reiterated its call for a mass march on parliament on October 12 and demanded that they be allowed to address the parliamentary session.

In a statement the regional secretaries of the ANC, SACP and Cosatu said their supporters would occupy parliament until the Speaker gave in to their demand.

The statement noted however that the mass action programme planned for October 12 would still be discussed with the ANC's national leadership this week. Finalised plans would be disclosed at a Press conference on Friday.

suspicion of perjury.

been registered.

dangerous for dozens of years.

their village:

ARG 30/9/92

11A

ANC is urged to stop abusing human rights

FRANKFURT. — The International Society for Human Rights, based in Germany, has called on the ANC to release prisoners held abroad and to end its continuing human rights abuses outside South Africa.

The ISHR said in a statement the ANC was holding prisoners in two countries — in

safe houses and small sites in Uganda and in a remote camp in Tanzania.

"The camp in Tanzania is at Kigwa, about 320 km west of Dar es Salaam," the ISHR said.

The ISHR said according to reports, more than 100 former ANC supporters were detained there.

"The camp suffers like the whole region from a shortage of water and food. Medical care for prisoners is absent.

"The detainees include a number of people who, according to interpretations of reports, appear to be mentally ill or mentally handicapped and several badly injured people.

The ISHR said a small group being held at Kigwa originally came from Namibia and might be some of those imprisoned by Swapo in exile before 1989.

"Communication between prisoners is forbidden and the camp houses a group of ANC fighters who act as guards," the ISHR said. — Sapa.



ANC call to address Parliament

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance in the Western Cape demanded yesterday that the national leadership of the tripartite alliance be allowed to address the opening of the "racist" Parliament on October 12.

In a departure from earlier plans for a blockade of Parliament to prevent the opening of the short session, the alliance now wants to participate in proceedings.

A statement last night by the regional leadership of the alliance demanded that the "the true leadership of South Africa's people be allowed to address the opening of the racist Parliament to put forward the views of all democratic South Africans and insist that they are acted on".

The alliance called on its supporters to march on Parliament to back demands for its leaders to address MPs.

"If our request is denied by the Speaker of Parliament, we will call on our people to sit around Parliament until our request is met," the joint statement said.

The Speaker of Parliament, Mr Eli

Ulundi march is 'still on'

Political Staff

DURBAN. — Natal regional ANC leaders, still determined to march on Ulundi, have met ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu to discuss the issue.

Southern Natal organiser Mr Bheki Cele said yesterday: "The march goes on, but a date has not been finalised."

Mr Sisulu met Natal branches on Monday and yesterday.

Louw, said last night that he had not yet received a request for alliance leaders to address the opening of Parliament.

He said the rules of Parliament did not allow for "strangers" to enter the debating chamber.

Even British Prime Minister Mr Harold McMillan's famous "Winds of Change" speech in 1960 had to be delivered in the MPs' dining room.

However, it was technically possible for an MP to propose that a non-member be allowed to address MPs from the bar of the House.

ANC head office spokeswoman, Ms Gill Marcus, said last night that the national executive committee would be

evaluating the organisation's entire mass action programme at its meeting today.

"The proposed march on Parliament will be one of the items on the agenda," she said.

A final decision would take into account the views expressed by the regions.

Leaders of the tripartite alliance in the Western Cape accused the National Party of "trying to pre-empt and unilaterally define" the work of an interim government.

**Mandela (11A)
gets award**

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela received the Miami Beach Medallion of Honour at a ceremony in Johannesburg last night - more than two years after the American city had snubbed him.

He also heard that Miami mayor Seymour Gelber had proclaimed April 27 Nelson Mandela Day.

The presentation was made by Mr Jim Joseph, president of the Council on Foundations.

Southern 30/9/92

March on Telkom offices planned

About 4 000 Post and Telecommunications Workers' Association (Potwa) members will stage a lunch-hour march to the headquarters of Telkom and the SA Postal Services tomorrow.

The march is part of a campaign to press home political and economic demands including a stop to unilateral restructuring of the two companies without worker involvement. — Pretoria Correspondent.

ANC official held in Cape

CAPE TOWN — Police have confirmed the arrest of the ANC's branch chairman in Villiersdorp, Thomas Jansen, following an incident yesterday in which a policeman was knocked down. *Star 30/9/92*

Mr Jansen (38) will appear in the Caledon Magistrate's Court today charged with attempted murder, escaping from custody and assaulting a policeman.

The incident occurred yester-

day morning while municipal officials were evicting the Jansens from their home because of alleged rental arrears.

A policeman allegedly jumped in front of Mr Jansen's vehicle as he drove home.

Police at the scene arrested Mr Jansen and took the injured policeman to a local doctor.

Meanwhile, lawyers acting for Mr Jansen are seeking a court order to allow the family to return to their home. — Sapa.

By Peter Fabricius
and Shaun Johnson

Homeland leaders reject Govt-ANC pact

The leaders of KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei yesterday furiously denounced the Government-ANC "Record of Understanding" and served notice that other groups would be approached to oppose alleged attempts by President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela to "share out" South Africa between them. Chief Mangosuthu Buthe-

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lezi, President Lucas Mangope and Brigadier Oupa Gqozo attended an emergency summit in Mmabatho to assess the political situation after the success of the weekend meeting between delegations led by Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela.

A joint communique issued in Mmabatho said there was "profound concern"

about the Government-ANC agreement — which was rejected outright by the three homeland leaders — and a further meeting including other "organisations sharing these concerns" was announced.

The statement said all parties had the right to enter into bilateral discussions, but "we object to decisions being

made in bilateral discussions which impact on others not involved in the decision-making".

The angry tone of the meeting — most evident in a lengthy presentation by Chief Buthelezi — caused immediate concern among political observers about the prospects for a quick resumption of fully fledged ne-

gotiations.

In his address Chief Buthelezi launched a scathing attack on the "Record of Understanding" which he repeatedly likened to the infamous Von Ribbentrop-Molotov pact of World War 2 (the peace pact between Hitler's Germany and Stalin's Soviet Union).

He accused the Govern-

ment and ANC of concluding a deal to "hijack the negotiation process". He intimated that the two parties were sanctioning violence against Zulus and were agreeing to "a strategy of ethnic cleansing".

The agreement to fence Zulu hostels was an attempt to create "Zulu concentration camps", he said, and to

ban the carrying of all weapons, including Zulu cultural weapons, was a "well-planned form of cultural castration".

The overall aim of the "Record of Understanding" was to support the violence and a string of assassinations against IFP leaders "with a very effective governmental action of genocide" against the IFP.

After the Mmabatho meeting, fears were also ex-

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