

BLACK POLITICS

1993 — JULY

Small PAC Star 11/7/93 protest fizzles out

By Bronwyn Wilkinson
and Chris Whitfield

Policemen propped their shotguns against the walls of the World Trade Centre yesterday and lolled in the sun as a planned PAC march fizzled out.

At about 1.30 pm a delegation of seven PAC members led by deputy president John Mlambo was allowed through the gates to present a memorandum to the chairman of the plenary committee, Zane Titus.

Outside, about 40 protesters danced in front of police, chanting: "One policeman, one bullet" or "One settler, one bullet" (11A)

After several minibuses arrived, swelling the number of demonstrators to about 100, a scuffle broke out between policemen and a few protesters who tried to get into the centre's grounds, but even the couple of punches that were thrown failed to land.

Eventually the PAC supporters left, hurling abuse at the policemen.

One step closer to interim govt

New deal on constitution ends impasse

B/Day 11/1/93

A BREAKTHROUGH in the negotiating process was achieved yesterday when political parties agreed on a process to draft a new constitution.

After a full day of confidential meetings between parties to reach common ground, the negotiating council instructed the technical committee to draft a "constitution for the transition". This step will allow for the election of an interim government which will finalise the constitution and govern the country during the transition.

In essence, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Concerned South Africans Group parties get their strong regional government powers and functions entrenched in an interim constitution, while the ANC and government and their allies get the two-phased process involving an elected constituent assembly.

The agreement follows Tuesday's deadlock between Inkatha and the ANC.

The interim constitution will provide for an election on a proportional representation basis for an interim government which will finalise the constitution, legislate and govern during the transitional phase. This must include a national and a regional component and must provide for the election of regional legislatures and establishment of regional governments in the transition.

The powers, functions and structures of the regions will be entrenched in the con-

BILLY PADDOCK
and WILSON ZWANE

stitution, which should also include fundamental human rights on a justiciable basis. There should be a constitutional court/tribunal to ensure the justiciability of the constitutional principles, fundamental rights and of the constitution itself.

The council agreed that no parties tied themselves to the interim constitution until it was fully discussed and agreed. Agreement will depend on consensus in the council on constitutional principles, including provision for strong regional and national government. (ZS/PA)

The principles will be binding on the elected constitution-making body and be justiciable. The commission on regions has to finalise its recommendation on regional boundaries for regional elections during the transition phase. (IA) (IS)

The negotiators also have to reach agreement on transitional structures (such as a transitional executive and an independent electoral commission) and on the interim constitution and the repeal of discriminatory legislation.

The CP opposed the resolution; Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volksunie reserved their positions; and Inkatha, the KwaZulu government and the Bophuthatswana government agreed on the direction of the process but wanted to see "the exact words" used in the constitution.

ANC in Parow picket outside police station

Staff Reporter

MORE than 15 ANC supporters had a placard demonstration outside the Parow police station last night to protest against the right-wing occupation of the World Trade Centre last Friday.

Mr Willie Hofmeyr, ANC regional assistant secretary, said the ANC had decided to have the protest outside the police station because it was in Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel's constituency and near his office.

MK guard at talks mooted

Star 11/1/93
Political Correspondent

The ANC would consider arming and deploying Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) cadres to protect ANC leaders and delegates at the World Trade Centre, according to ANC national executive member Matthew Phosa.

Speaking at a national workshop presented by the National Peace Secretariat at the Police Board in Kempton Park yesterday, Phosa said the invasion of the centre by the right wing on Friday was "an act of high treason" which again showed that the SAP was not prepared to act against the Right.

If the rightwingers turned to war, "all peace-loving South Africans who love their people and country (should) descend on those hooligans as a united front for peace and freedom.

"MK will have to maintain law and order and stop the right wing and their fellow travellers in their tracks. (U/A)

"There seems to be no other alternative," he said. (U/A)

'Racist, sexist' Star 11-7-93 acts condemned

The ANC Commission on the Emancipation of Women has criticised the Afrikaner Volksfront, saying heavily armed men assaulted and terrorised women in the World Trade Centre attack last Friday.

"Black women delegates became the chief targets ... within full view of the police, who did nothing to assist ..." the commission said.

The incident illustrated the urgent need for joint control of the security forces and for the new constitution to prohibit "racist and sexist behaviour"

— Staff Reporter

(11A)

(11A)

'Only registered parties in poll'

By Kaizer Nyatsumba
Political Correspondent

As negotiators at the World Trade Centre argued about the transition process yesterday, Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte announced that all organisations which intended to take part in next year's election would have to register as political parties. (IIP) (20/11/93)

In a move likely to cause a clash between the Government and the ANC, Schutte said it was "inconceivable that in an election the particulars of any political grouping could be in-

Star 1/7/93
cluded in a ballot paper and that it could submit candidate lists without first being registered as a political party.

"This requirement regarding the registration of political parties is accepted worldwide without exception in democratic election procedures."

The ANC — which still relies heavily on overseas donors for its finance — has often said it would not become a political party before the election.

Schutte said the result of registration would be that all political parties would subject themselves to "relevant ethical

codes, qualifications, rules and regulations, and election procedures".

Schutte said the Government had already submitted to the Negotiating Forum a draft electoral Bill in which the registration of political parties was proposed "in clear terms".

He said that in his discussions with all major political players he had never gained the impression that any of them was against registering as a party.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday his organisation did not think it was "crucial" for it to register.

NEWS Interim constitution on central and regional governments to be drawn up

Negotiations take giant leap

Sowetan 11/7/93

TALKS at the World Trade Centre took an important step forward yesterday when negotiators agreed to the drawing up of an interim constitution based on both strong central and regional governments.

"Today was probably one of the most important days in the negotiation process so far," senior Government negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer told a Press conference after the talks.

"The route map to democracy has been adopted," said African National Congress general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

Twenty-two of the 26 parties adopted a compromise resolution spelling out the constitutional way forward.

The resolution was brokered during a flurry of

bilateral and multilateral meetings to prevent a public showdown between the parties.

"The negotiating council accordingly requests the technical committee on constitutional issues to draft a constitution for the transition," the adopted resolution states.

Resolution was opposed

The resolution was opposed by the Conservative Party, with the Pan Africanist Congress, the KwaZulu Government and Ciskei reserving their position.

The PAC will consult with its principals today before taking a decision, while the Ciskei and KwaZulu indicated they would wait for the draft constitution before deciding.

Last night's decision is the first real compromise contained in writing between the two main camps in the negotiation process.

On the one hand there is the Government and the African National Congress and their allies and, on the other hand, the Concerned South Africans Group and one or two parties from the self-governing territories.

So far they have clashed on almost every substantive issue raised in the talks process.

Senior Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan Cronje, a member of the planning committee which finally drew up the resolution, described the adoption as "a major move forward" to resolve the two biggest differences between the two sides.



Stay away - ANC

Sowetan 11/7/93

By Mzimasi Ngudle, Josias Charles and Sapa

THE African National Congress and its allies yesterday called for a stayaway today to protest against last Friday's siege by rightwingers of the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park. (SAPA) (11A)

The ANC, SA Communist Party and Congress of SA Trade Unions yesterday confirmed the stayaway and called for joint control of the security forces, the arrest and prosecution of those involved in the siege and the immediate resignation of Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel. (S2)

Rallies are scheduled for Mamelodi, Atteridgeville, Soshanguve, Enkangala, Garankuwa, Hammanskraal and Sebokeng.

While the National Council of Trade Unions supported the action, its general secretary, Mr Cunningham Ngcukana, said people who did not wish to stay away should not be forced to do so.

However, Nactu's regional chairman in Pretoria, Mr Nakedi Mogale, slammed the stayaway call and said workers were angry that they had not been consulted on the matter.

Azanian People's Organisation spokesman

Mr Lybon Mabasa said Azapo would not legitimise the multiparty talks by supporting calls for mass action.

Pan Africanist Congress spokesman Mr Waters Toboqi said the organisation did not have a formal decision with regard to the ANC alliance's "Day of Action".

Inkatha Freedom Party committee member and KwaZulu Minister Mr Velaphi Ndlovu said it was unwise to embark on mass action as this would damage the economy.

The call was also greeted with anger by workers who complained about the possibility of having their salaries cut and giving credibility to the actions of the rightwingers.

"We, the workers on the ground, are not going to give credibility to rightwingers by responding to their ghastly deeds with a stayaway," said Mr Madoda Sindane of Atteridgeville in Pretoria.

The Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut said it had advised its members to adopt a "no work, no pay" policy and to treat each case of absenteeism according to standing disciplinary measures.

The AHI said the the action was destructive and would serve no useful purpose.

"The alliance is creating problems for the country and for themselves which will remain after a democratic election," AHI spokesman Mr JP Landman said.

Talks: crucial compromise

Star 11/19/93

By Esther Waugh and Chris Whitfield

South Africa's negotiators yesterday took one of the biggest leaps forward in the talks process to date.

A day of straight talking in five hours of bilateral meetings led to a crucial compromise proposal on the process to move from apartheid to democracy.

The deal, accepted by "sufficient consensus" in the Negotiating Council, is poised to bridge fundamental differences between those wanting an elected constitution-making body and parties demanding that significant regionalism be agreed upon now.

The breakthrough resolution mapped out, in essence, the process for the transition to a new constitution. The Conservative Party opposed the resolution while the Afrikaner Volksunie, the IFP and the KwaZulu and Ciskei governments — all members of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) — reserved their positions.

However, some Cosag members confirmed privately they were encouraged. They would now wait to see how the agreement emerged in a draft interim constitution which a negotiations technical committee has been mandated to compile.

The compromise includes agreement that:

- A proportional representation election will elect national and regional interim governments — including the constitution-making body.
- Constitutional principles, including those for "strong" regional and central government, would be adopted by the multiparty negotiating process and be binding on the constitution-making body.
- Boundaries for the regions will be determined for elections and during the interim phase by the commission on the delimitation of regions.
- Powers, functions and structures of regions will be agreed upon in the multiparty negotiating chamber and entrenched in the interim constitution.
- A transitional executive council, an independent electoral commission and an independent media commission will be created.

Although no time frames were set, the progress could give the negotiation process a significant boost. Implicit in the proposals are that there will be a single constitution for the entire country, and no separate regional constitutions.

The compromise will go a long way to allay the fears of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) parties on entrenched regional government, and IFP sources were last night delighted. The Government, ANC and their respective allies have won concession for an elected constitution-making body

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Crucial compromise in talks

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Dr Ben Ngubane of the IFP said the agreement "shows that everyone is trying to find consensus", but cautioned there was "still a long way to go".

The compromise was struck during five hours of meetings outside the negotiating chamber during the day and after talks on the crunch issues had been postponed. Negotiators said it had been important to go behind closed doors and away from the posturing that sometimes characterises Negotiating Council debate.

Cosag first held discussions with Patriotic Front members before meeting Government negotiators.

● From Page 1

to draft the final constitution. Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer described yesterday as "one of the most important in the process so far". The focus had now shifted to the compilation of the interim constitution, hopefully within reach by mid-August.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa was also enthusiastic about the agreement, saying "the scenario for drafting the new constitution on a democratic basis has been accepted".

The Labour Party's Lewellyn Landers said talks had taken a "quantum leap".

Sowetan 11/1/93

Festival gets exemption

NATIONAL Arts Festival organisers remain hopeful that planned mass action in Grahamstown will not affect the start of the arts festival today.

The ANC-led alliance in the town has planned a march and a stayaway for today in line with national protests at the rightwing siege of the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park last Friday.

Festival spokesman Ms Heather Inge said yesterday that security around the festival had been stepped up and the organisers would deal with the situation as it

developed.

"We are aware they (the ANC) are talking about mass action and we hope that it will not affect the festival," she said.

A spokesman for the ANC in Grahamstown, Mr Philip Nzanzeka, confirmed plans for today's action.

He said the ANC supported the "cultural" aspects of the festival and that casual workers employed by the 1820 Foundation would not be asked to heed the stayaway call. "This only affects permanent workers," he said. — *Ecn*.

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PAC hits back at Right

Sowetan 11/7/92

By Sizakele Kooma

PAN Africanist Congress vice president Mr Johnson Mlambo led about 20 members of his organisation into the World Trade Centre yesterday in protest against the invasion by rightwingers last Friday.

The PAC had earlier cancelled a planned demonstration by its members at the centre, avoiding confrontation

with the security forces who had set up heavy reinforcements in and around the premises.

"We wanted to show our deep concern and anger at what happened on Friday but the Government thought there was going to be an Apla invasion.

"We scaled down the numbers of protesters because we did not want our voice to be ground in the blood of our own people," Mlambo said.

He said the PAC wanted the security forces to end their double standards and demanded that talks be moved to a neutral venue. The venue, he said, would be provided by the international community who would also chair the talks.

Asked if the PAC would pull out should the talks not be moved to a neutral venue, Mlambo said the PAC was evaluating and its position.

● See page 3.

'10% support for attacks on whites'

JOHANNESBURG. — A tenth of metropolitan blacks fully supported the killing of white civilians by the Pan-Africanist Congress' armed wing Apla, according to details of an opinion survey released here yesterday.

Forty-five percent said they were totally against such action by Azanian People's Liberation Army cadres, but another 40% said they "personal-

ly do not agree with the killings but can understand the reasons why it happens".

These were among the findings of the Markinor research group when it interviewed a representative sample of 1 000 blacks aged over 16 in April and May this year in the PWV area, Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town.

Of the four major black language groups, the Xhosa, with 12%, were the most supportive of Apla killings, with Zulus showing least support at eight percent.

"As might be expected, the younger groups were more in support of the killings, while the over-50s came out most strongly against, with 59% of them condemning the killings," ac-

ording to the survey organisation's deputy marketing director, Ms Christine Woessner.

Geographically, the greatest support for the killings came from Cape Town, with 20%, where most of the Xhosa sampled in the poll were resident, and the least support from Durban, with five percent. — Sapa

Nats slate ANC push for restructured police force

Biday 11-193

STEPHEN COPLAN

THE NP has criticised ANC legal adviser Matthew Phosa's demand that the Law and Order Ministry be abolished and police headquarters general staff be replaced by a multiparty civilian-dominated police directorate.

Speaking at a national peace secretariat and Police Board workshop in Johannesburg yesterday, Phosa repeated the ANC demand for Law and Order Minister Her-nus Kriel to resign. (11A) (301A)

He also called for the resignation of Deputy Minister Gert Myburgh and those officers with "bloody hands".

In a statement yesterday, the director of the NP's "anti-defamation campaign", MP Nick Koornhof, said Phosa's demands reflected the ANC's "communist/Nazi" characteristics. The ANC had no right to attack Kriel, under whose direction the SAP had undergone tremendous changes, or demand his resignation.

The directorate, Phosa said, would deal with daily command, control and management of the police and report to the transitional executive council's law and order subcouncil.

To solve the current crisis in police-community relations, the SAP should accept it was one of their own making, said Phosa. Police should take responsibility for their actions and realise that communities would support the police only when they supported communities.

Biday 11-192

The NP alleged that most intimidation could be linked to ANC members and supporters. The ANC rarely helped the SAP combat crime in the areas it controlled.

It said the ANC had now embarked on a campaign to "discredit" a much-needed stabilising force in our country.

Inkatha central committee member Ben Ngubane told the workshop joint control of security forces should be depoliticised but he questioned whether political-

ly trained soldiers could be impartial. SAP community relations spokesman Brig Zirk Gous said police had dramatically changed over the past three years.

ADRIAN HADLAND reports Myburgh told an RSA Technikon diploma ceremony in Paarl yesterday all police training courses were being revised to adopt community policing as the central theme.

He said a new technikon diploma, compulsory for all wishing to become commissioned officers, would be introduced from next year.



● PHOSA

Numsa, Seifsa fail to agree on wage hikes

Biday 11-193
LLOYD COUTTS

TRADE union and Seifsa representatives failed to reach agreement on wages yesterday, but Numsa said some progress had been made on its demands for restructuring the steel and engineering industry.

The main agreement between employers and unions expired yesterday. (11A) (189)

"The total agreement expired today, June 30, but in not one of the industries are we even close to agreement," Numsa national bargaining co-ordinator Les Kettledas said after the meeting in Johannesburg. (352)

He said engineering sector employers had agreed to reduce their grading from 13 grades to five, with two additional grades for artisans and technicians, by 1996.

National organiser Bernie Fanaroff said the reduced grading was central to Numsa's demands.

Numsa negotiations co-ordinator Chris Lloyd said employers had indicated that Numsa's vision of restructuring the industry had merit. "The problem is other parties in the industry don't see the need to restructure."

No agreement was reached on wages in this sector after management had stuck to its 6% offer, while Numsa had dismissed proposals for regional exemptions.

Kettledas said the tyre industry had offered an 85c increase on actual wages or an increase to bring wages to a proposed new minimum.

Management had also offered a 7% across-the-board increase for artisans. Neither offer had been accepted.

Kettledas said management had "basically agreed" to a five-grade structure in this sector, but that neither party was "in a position for final agreement".

Motor sector employers had offered minimum rates to a par with actual rates, or a 58c increase, and a 6% across-the-board increase for skilled categories.

Demands for an agency shop had not been entirely accepted, but employers had proposed a bargaining fee for non-union employees.

Star 117193

'No end yet to US sanctions'

By Peter Fabricius
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The United States government has acknowledged that remaining American sanctions will probably not be lifted as hoped while President de Klerk and African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela are on a high-profile visit to the country. (2/20)

After De Klerk arrived here yesterday, a Government source said that tomorrow's crucial Negotiating Forum meeting would probably not culminate in firm agreement on a transitional executive council and an election date.

These are the conditions which must be met if ANC leader Nelson Mandela is to issue the long-expected call for sanctions to be lifted.

South Africa watchers were hoping that this would happen in the full glare of media attention while De Klerk and Mandela are here to meet President Clinton and to receive the Philadelphia

Liberty Medal.

A highly publicised appeal would have attracted the attention of the scores of state and city legislatures which still impose sanctions.

Although De Klerk played down the sanctions issue, there is certain to be disappointment and even disillusionment here if Mandela does not sound the expected all-clear. (11A)

Arriving at Andrews Air Force Base in his Falcon jet from Europe, De Klerk reported that there had been good progress at the World Trade Centre. (3/21)

"We are very near a breakthrough," he said.

Asked if his and Mandela's visits should be considered a failure if America did not move to lift sanctions now, De Klerk gave his standard reply: "I have not come here with a shopping list. Sanctions will be lifted in step with the progress we are making."

De Klerk will meet World Bank president Lewis Preston, International Monetary Fund

managing director Michel Camdessus and several chief executives of major corporations.

Meanwhile, Mandela wasted no time yesterday asking supporters to help him raise millions of dollars so he can get out the vote in South Africa's pivotal elections next year. Reuter reports. (2/21A)

"Opinion polls show that if the elections were held today the African National Congress would probably win," Mandela told a cheering crowd of more than 3500 at the Concord Baptist Church of Christ in the New York borough of Brooklyn.

Mandela is expected to pick up about \$250 000 (R825 000) from the first fund-raiser during his US trip.

"If we are going to win the election we must be able to afford transport vehicles to take people from their homes, from their workplace to the voting booth," he said.

"If we don't have that capacity we may lose the election ... If we are

going to beat them we must have the resources. We must have the funds. We must have the money," he said.

Today, Mandela planned to meet New York corporate executives who said they planned to raise some \$10 million (R33 million) to help the ANC.

Mandela then heads to Washington to meet US congressional leaders. Other stops on his itinerary include Chicago, Los Angeles, Atlanta and Indianapolis before he heads back to South Africa on July 12.

Tomorrow, both leaders see Secretary of State Warren Christopher (separately) before meeting Clinton while Mandela also meets the Freedom Forum, prominent African-American leaders and Africare.

De Klerk addresses the National Press Club. On Saturday, he flies to Kennebunkport, Maine, for lunch with former president George Bush and his wife in their summer home.

US lifts Angolan embargo

WASHINGTON — The US had lifted a domestic arms embargo imposed on Angola, thus allowing the sale of non-lethal military equipment, the US state department said yesterday.

When the embargo was officially lifted, possibly tomorrow, the US would review all licence applications and other requests for approval to export defence articles on a case-by-case basis, the department said.

A 1991 peace agreement imposed an arms embargo on the Angolan MPLA government and Unita until the terms of a peace agreement had been fulfilled.

A US official said the embargo was being lifted as part of the continuing normalisation of relations with Angola. (S)

Unita's Washington representative Jardo Muekalia objected, saying it would unfairly assist the MPLA government.

Meanwhile . . . the UN's new special representative in Angola, Alioune Blondin

B/Docy 17/193
Beye, took up his post yesterday saying he was determined to end the country's devastating civil war.

"The decisive issue is to prevent and help halt hostilities. Even the most optimistic statistics puts at 1 000 the number of people killed directly or indirectly by war in Angola every day," Beye said on his arrival in Luanda.

Beye, a former Malian foreign minister, said the UN would do everything possible to reduce suffering in the country.

Unita took up arms again after rejecting its defeat by the ruling MPLA in UN-supervised elections last September.

UN aid flights to stricken provincial cities, suspended earlier this month, have not resumed. (S)

The Red Cross flew its first evacuation flight, carrying more than 100 evacuees, out of Huambo last Thursday.

Fighting has intensified in recent weeks across the country. — Sapa-Reuter.

How talks broke the logjam

THE African National Congress bent over backwards this week to ensure that the country will go to the polls next year.

ANC negotiators at the World Trade Centre had to tackle a white party proposing a constitution for an imaginary country and a stubborn black party refusing to accept the idea of

elected constitution-makers.

The National Party's Roelf Meyer and Dawie de Villiers had every reason to smile broadly after Wednesday night's "breakthrough". Federalism, as everyone knows, is exactly what the NP wants. And that was exactly what they got. (11A) (11A)

● **Grasping the nettle. See PAGE 3**

w/m ad 27-8/7/93

Natal peace prize winner

Against all the odds in war ravaged Natal, the head of the Commonwealth Observer Mission in Durban has succeeded in bringing the ANC and IFP together. By **FAROUK CHOTHIA**

FORGET about Nelson Mandela, Mangosuthu Buthelezi and FW de Klerk. It's time to meet South Africa's most successful grassroots peace-maker. He is, incidentally, a foreigner — Ghanaian-born Moses Anafu.

In the eight months that he headed the Commonwealth Observer Mission (CoM) in Durban, the genial 45-year-old Anafu succeeded where local peace mediators had tried and failed: brokering peace in rural Natal between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

In the strife-torn district of kwaNdwalane, near Port Shepstone, both the ANC and the Local Dispute Resolution Committee made overtures to chief Aaron Ndwalane. Facing murder charges, and with the reputation of being a "warlord", Ndwalane spurned their olive branch.

Yet, Anafu had success — not only in kwaNdwalane but also in the districts of kwaMavundla, Ezingolweni, Ndwedwe and Umbumbulu.

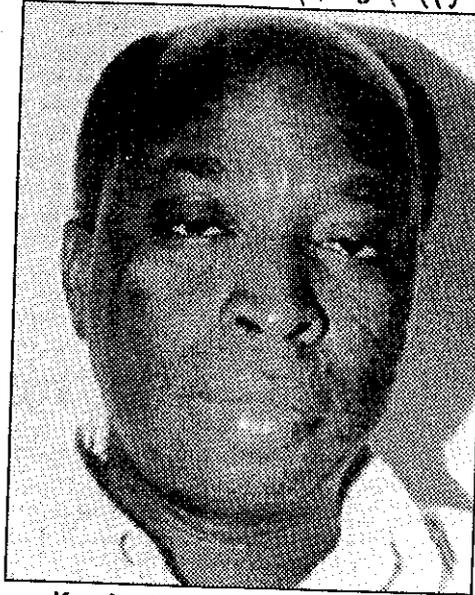
Explaining the reason behind his success, Anafu said: "I come from a chiefly family (his father was a chief) so I was quite familiar with protocol. When I arrived here, I noticed that the chiefs were conspicuously absent from the peace process — and you could not bring peace to rural Natal without their whole-hearted involvement. We therefore put the chiefs at the centre of the whole process."

After urging Ndwalane to adopt a neutral stance, Anafu gave him the role of peacemaker in the community and helped him to restore his authority over his subjects. Ndwalane called peace meetings between the ANC and IFP, earning the respect of both sides.

This was a far cry from the days when the chief, under fierce attack from ANC-supporting youth, was forced to flee his territory. Ndwalane returned later with his warriors and ruled with an iron fist, driving ANC youth away.

At the height of the violence in the 1980s, about 50 people were dying each month in his area. Violence has now declined sharply, with few deaths recorded.

Elaborating on his methods, Anafu said: "I told the chiefs what they already knew: that no matter what misgivings, anxieties and fears they may have of the future, as fathers of the community they needed to take the lead — and not only to support the peace process. When two of their sons fight, they needed to mediate — not to take sides."



Keeping the peace ... Moses Anafu

He has also tried to allay the fears of chiefs, citing the case of pre-independence Ghana, where chiefs earned the ire of Nkrumah for co-operating with the British colonial rulers. "Nkrumah had said that chiefs would either have to side with the people or one day they would have to run away and leave their sandals behind.

"But far from abolishing the chieftaincy, chiefs prospered under a national government. The present king of the Ashanti tribe, for instance, is a barrister and was once Ghana's ambassador to Rome," said Anafu.

He takes a sympathetic approach to chiefs, believing their "co-operation" with the British in Ghana and with the National Party government in South Africa must be seen in a historical context. "In Ghana, the Ashantis fought the British intermittently between 1800 and 1900, when the British finally put down the last Ashanti uprising. The Ashanti king was exiled to the Seychelles with his senior chiefs until 1925. The minor chiefs, seeing what happened to the bigger chiefs, caved in. It was a humiliating experience for the chiefs. They conformed outwardly, but in their hearts of hearts they could never have loved colonial rule.

"In South Africa, the defeat of the Zulu kingdom couldn't have been a badge of honour for subsequent Zulu monarchs either. I won't be surprised if they feel the same (as the Ghanaian chiefs of pre-independence)," said Anafu.

He hopes that South Africa's political parties will not turn chiefs into a "political football" in an election campaign.

"They would be more useful playing a healing role. Throughout Africa, their role has been a standard one: to represent the spiritual well-being

of communities."

He does not believe chiefs should join either the ANC or IFP. "If there are divisions, the chiefs should bring the two sides together — every other thing is of secondary importance."

He believes South Africa should look at other West African countries when it maps out the future of chiefs under a new constitution.

"In Ghana, we have a National House of Chiefs and we have Regional Houses in the 10 regions. But they do not have a political role — nor do they seek one. They are part of our cultural heritage — and we treasure them as such," said Anafu.

Even though he has convinced chiefs — who provide the IFP with support at grassroots level — to accommodate the ANC, Anafu has not had any confrontation with IFP leader chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. "In every meeting I have had with him, he has promised me his wholehearted support. He told me that if I encounter any problems, I should approach him," said Anafu.

Much to the anger of local peace mediators, Anafu has now left Durban to take up a new post in Johannesburg from this month.

Sources close to him said he was reluctant to move — but that he had had to give in after immense pressure from Commonwealth general-secretary Chief Emeka Anyoukou. This, sources say, reflects the Commonwealth's new focus on upcoming elections, and downscaling of its peace role.

"As the general-secretary's special representative in South Africa, I have to be close to where the politicians are," said Anafu.

This has sparked concern that the various initiatives he has spearheaded in Natal could flounder — though Anafu brushed the fears aside. "My heart will always be in Natal. What we have built, we will not allow to fall apart. I will keep my ear to the ground and assist wherever I can. When necessary, I will come to Natal," said Anafu.

He added that an earlier decision to close the Durban office of CoM has been overturned: new monitors would be based there.

Anafu — who boasts a doctorate in history — confirmed that the Commonwealth intended playing a more prominent role in South Africa in the run-up to elections. "We intend adding new dimensions to the evolving situation," he said.

This would include sending in "election experts" to assist the Independent Electoral Commission, to send in "media experts" to ensure that media coverage is fair to all the political parties and to run training programmes on mediation and negotiation skills for grassroots activists involved in peace initiatives.

Reject fascism plea by ANC

JOHANNESBURG. —
The ANC yesterday called on Afrikaners to reject right-wing fascism and instead accept "the hand of friendship" the organisation offered.

In a full-page advertisement in the Afrikaans newspaper Beeld, the ANC said Afrikaners once again found themselves at a crossroads and that an honest search for freedom and self-accomplishment was deep-seated in Afrikaner history.

"The majority of Afrikaners want a peaceful solution for South Africa's problems. We are now reaching out a hand of friendship to you.

"The ANC is willing to look for democratic solutions with you.

"The time has come to negotiate without thugery and threats of violence to establish a new South Africa."

2/7/93

An old MK ^{without} friend visits SA

By PAMELA DUBE 217-87193.

THE first man to sneak Umkhonto weSizwe into Cyprus for training in the 1960s paid a courtesy call to his old friends in South Africa last week.

Dr Vassos Lyssarides — president of the Socialist Party of Cyprus, secretary general of the International Committee for South Africa, vice-president of Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation and leader of the opposition in the Cyprus parliament — came to South Africa at the invitation of the ANC and the Cypriot community here.

As president of the Cyprus parliament, he invited the ANC military wing for political, not military, training in his country. (CIPA) (IIA)

He brought a message of unity: "South Africans should learn from Angola and Mozambique. The lesson is war is not and will never bring peace and stability."

He also warned the ANC and other parties hoping to form a new government: "Deal with social and economic empowerment now. If you don't, the majority of unemployed and out-of-school youth will become a threat to the peaceful settlement in future."

Goniwe's secret work in ANC underground

Matthew Goniwe led an African National Congress underground cell which was gearing up for military operations, a close colleague tells **LOUISE FLANAGAN**

MATTHEW GONIWE headed the underground structures of the African National Congress in his region when he was murdered.

The revelation, made by ANC national executive committee member Arnold Stofile in an interview with *The Weekly Mail*, points at a clear motive for a security force hand in his assassination. At the inquest into the June 27 1985 murders of Cradock activists Goniwe, Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Sicelo Mhlauli, now in recess, police witnesses have consistently denied that they regarded Goniwe as an enemy and that they had any knowledge of his underground activities.

Stofile also disclosed that Goniwe's death had coincided with the transformation of political underground structures into military formations. At least one other activist who disappeared at the same time as Goniwe was probably linked to the ANC underground.

Stofile said he had helped Goniwe set up an underground ANC area political committee (APC) for the Karoo

region during 1980 and how that later changed to a military working committee. In 1980, Stofile was running the underground structures for Alice for the Border and Ciskei region. The ANC wanted to expand into the Cradock area.

"I was told to go and look up Matthew Goniwe in Cradock," Stofile said. Goniwe had recently been released from jail, where he had served a sentence for ANC-related activities.

The fledgling Cradock structures were linked through Stofile to the chief of the ANC's underground mission in Lesotho, Chris Hani.

"Initially he (Goniwe) had to report via me to Lesotho, but as soon as he had enough cells in his area — by 1982 — he was reporting directly to Lesotho," said Stofile. That year, on June 26, both men travelled to Lesotho to meet the ANC to discuss their work.

"From 1982 we met periodically. Usually he would come with Mbulelo (Goniwe, a relative), who was still a young fellow. I met him on the road, I met him in houses, I met him on rugby fields. We met everywhere.

"Most of the time we would go to Lesotho and get pamphlets. The APC's work was to distribute these as widely

as possible and remind people about the ANC," said Stofile. "By 1983 Matthew was organising Graaff-Reinet, which we had given up as a PAC support base. He was making unbelievable headway."

By 1984 the police were beginning to harass Goniwe. "I think they were 'jealous' of his work in Hofmeyr, because they don't like inciting in the rural areas."

The structures slowly became more involved in military work.

"In 1981, the APCs were beginning to work in a supportive role for the trained people who came in. In 1985,

the APCs changed to military working committees (MWCs), which were overtly military."

The cell structures changed as well. The old APCs used cells of three to five people, but the MWCs ran on a one-to-one basis, which limited the number of contacts each operative had.

"Matthew died at a time when the APCs were busy transforming themselves into MWCs," said Stofile.

He said that Mbulelo Goniwe, whose "permanent removal from society" is mentioned in the controversial military signal, along with that of Matthew Goniwe and Calata, was also involved in ANC underground structures. Calata comes from a family with long-standing ANC links — his father was the regional ANC general-secretary before the organisation was banned.

Stofile said that at least one of the missing Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation activists who disappeared weeks before Goniwe's murder, was probably also part of the ANC underground.

"(Sipho) Hashe for sure was part of the eastern Cape APC," said Stofile. He thought the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation's Qaqawuli Godolozzi — "a very key person in the organisation of civics" who vanished with Hashe — had probably also been part of the APC.

Stofile is convinced the security police knew something about Goniwe's underground activities. Stofile himself was detained in 1986 and later jailed on arms and terrorism charges. Although he was held by Ciskei, Stofile was interrogated by South African security forces. He was questioned about Goniwe's activities, although Goniwe had been dead for a year.

"They had this notion we were planning this massive initiative in 1985 with Matthew. They said Chris (Hani) came inside and that we met him in Wilgespruit," he said. Stofile, who was at a church meeting in the eastern Cape on the day he was allegedly meeting Hani, said his interrogators's suspicions were nonsense.

Stofile said his security police interrogators had seen the eastern Cape underground as stronger than anywhere else in the country. "One told us the Border region has sent more people to join MK than any other place in the country. But they were convinced — and I think they were correct — that our underground was still solid."

"They knew that as long as Matthew was there that Karoo region would never go down." — Ecna

ANC slates Sabelo Phama

THE ANC said yesterday it could not agree with recent statements attributed to PAC secretary for defence Mr Sabelo Phama that it might be acceptable to lose five million people in the liberation struggle. (IA) Sowetan 2/7/93

The PAC leader made the statement in an interview in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, with Ruth Bhengu of the *Sowetan Africa News Service* published this week.

Phama said he believed the armed struggle should be intensified and that those who had abandoned it were a "bunch of opportunists. Even if we lose five million out of 30 million, we must make sure that the other 25 million are free". — *Sapa*.

Mixed response for stayaway call

Sowetan 21/1/93

■ **WORKER ABSENTEEISM** Thousands heed

call while other areas record high attendance:

By Bongani Mavuso and Sapa

THERE WAS a mixed response throughout the country to the call by the African National Congress and its allies for a work stayaway yesterday. Assessments by business organisations showed that worker absenteeism varied between 30 percent and 90 percent in various parts of the country.

The call was made to protest against last Friday's siege of the World Trade Centre by rightwingers. (11A)

Some areas recorded 100 percent worker absenteeism while at others attendance was normal. An SA Chamber of Business survey of its members showed that in Johannesburg about 90 percent of workers turned up for work while in Cape Town there was a 100 percent turnout.

However, the SA Labour Bulletin recorded a 61 percent stayaway in the PWV region. Absenteeism on the East Rand and in the Vaal Triangle averaged 90 percent, the bulletin said.

Almost all companies adopted a "no work, no pay" policy while a small number granted workers a day's leave, the SALB said.

The Eastern Cape-Border region reported between 35 and 100 percent absenteeism.

In East London, between 85 and 100 percent of workers did not report for work while in Port Elizabeth worker attendance varied between 35 and 100 percent.

Business organisations in Natal said between 20 and 45 percent of workers did not report for work yesterday. The Maritzburg Chamber of Commerce said absenteeism in the city was about 45 percent while the Durban Regional Chamber of Business reported an average 20 percent worker stayaway.

Northern Transvaal executive director of the Chamber of Industries Mr John Toerin said the alliance's call had fallen on "deaf ears" in Pretoria as most workers had reported for work.

The Pretoria City Council claimed a 100 percent worker attendance. Some council departments registered 10 percent absenteeism.

AWB flag is burnt in city

Staff Reporters

A MOCK AWB flag was burnt yesterday as ANC regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak warned the right-wing from the steps of St George's Cathedral "not to try and stop our people getting our freedom".

The call came during a peaceful hour-long mass demonstration against the right-wing occupation of the World Trade Centre last Friday.

Over 2 500 people — from dignitaries and Rastafarians to mothers with prams and PAC members — thronged the streets to call for peace and the continuation of the process towards democracy.

Afterwards the chant "kill the Boer, kill the farmer" echoed through Adderley Street as hundreds of youths toyi-toyed to the Grand Parade, by which time the song had been adapted to "kill the Boer, Terre'Blanche".

The only police complaint of the day was against office workers in the Volkskas building dumping water on demonstrators.

The only tension was at Cape Town station, when police linked

ANC's 'day of action' was relatively peaceful

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC-led protests yesterday against right-wing actions at the World Trade Centre last Friday went off relatively peacefully.

Several incidents of stone-throwing and intimidation were reported by taxi owners and bus operators in the greater Durban area.

The South Coast Mangosuthu highway was barricaded at Umlazi and Reunion and taxis and busses were stoned.

In Bloemfontein a petrol bomb hurled at a policeman during a march broke a window of an OK Bazaars branch and started a fire. There were no injuries.

The stayaway in the PWV region was

patchy.

A South African Chamber of Business (Sacob) survey showed that in Johannesburg some 90% of workers went to work and in Cape Town almost 100%.

The Pretoria retail sector was hardest hit, with no workers showing up.

In the Eastern Cape/Border region, between 35 and 100% of workers failed to arrive at work.

In Maritzburg 34% stayed home, and in Durban between 10 and 20%.

Sacob labour spokeswoman Mrs Janet Dickman said there had not been a call for a national stayaway, but rather a day of action to be orchestrated on a regional level. — Sapa

arms and forced people on to the trains, a tactic developed during the violent Chris Hani demonstration in April.

Railway tracks at two stations outside Khayelitsha were blocked by timber barricades, delaying trains.

United Nations observer Ms Helena-Maria Lim, of Brazil, said the protest action was peaceful because it consisted of the "right people; real people".

The city council limited the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance participation to between 2 500 and 3 000 people.

Some Adderley Street shopkeepers closed during the lunch time protest.

There were about 200 ANC marshals and a large but low-profile police presence.

The planned human chain down Adderley Street was abandoned for lack of time.

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Lives not expendable — ANC

THE ANC said yesterday it could not agree with PAC defence secretary Sabelo Phama's statement that it might be acceptable to lose 5-million people in the liberation struggle. (11A)

Phama, in an interview in Dar es Salaam, said he believed the armed struggle should be intensified and that those who had abandoned it were a "bunch of opportunists".

"Even if we lose 5-million out of 30-million, we must make sure that the other 25-million are free."

The ANC said Phama had created the impression that "our people are ex-

pendable in the struggle for freedom and democracy.

"The ANC regards the life of every South African, black and white, as precious. *Bikay*

"Our country needs every person's contribution to create a free and prosperous society." 21/7/93

The objective of the liberation struggle, the ANC statement said, was to ensure the right to life and dignity for all SA's people.

The ANC regretted every South African death.

"Everything possible must be done to bring peace and justice to our country," it said.

It also called on its supporters "to internalise the principle of peaceful co-existence with members of other political organisations", saying such sentiments "remain the cornerstone of our policies and are not just slogans".

The ANC statement was issued after the Rand Supreme Court convicted ANC member Michael Phama on 21 counts of murder and 14 of attempted murder arising from three separate shootings, including an attack on Inkatha-supporting hostel residents in Thokoza. — Sapa.

Confusion as Mandela switches ANC stance on ending

Biday 2/7/93
IIA
SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — The ANC would continue to oppose SA access to IMF and World Bank loans, and the lifting of other economic restrictions, until Parliament had enacted legislation defining the powers of the transitional executive council, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Appearing on CBS's This Morning, Mandela acknowledged the ANC had shifted its position on the removal of remaining sanctions, which had previously been to await the announcement of a firm election date and the "establishment" of the transitional

executive council.

His remarks prompted an urgent personal telephone call from President F W de Klerk, who told reporters after a meeting with IMF MD Michel Camdessus that there had been a "misunderstanding". This was being cleared up, De Klerk said, but he appeared resigned to the fact it would still be "a few weeks" before the issue was resolved. He stressed that government continued to believe the transitional executive could be "agreed upon and implemented" before Parliament resumed.

Sapa-AP reports that Mandela said sub-

sequently he would support an end to economic sanctions, perhaps as early as next week. As a condition, Mandela said he wanted the transitional executive council created to run the government until elections were held.

"(We are) . . . trying to work out a formula which will enable us to take a decision perhaps in a week's time or so to lift sanctions," Mandela said at the New York offices of law firm Paul, Weiss, Rifkind, Wharton & Garrison, where he attended

the first board meeting of the SA Free Elections Fund.

Despite the confusion, Camdessus predicted that the IMF would "be able very soon to have a full-fledged arrangement in place", adding: "The sooner, the better." He stressed that even now SA was an IMF member of "high standing", but certain "political realities" had to be dealt with first.

De Klerk had also been scheduled to see World Bank president Lewis Preston, but Preston cancelled at the last moment because of illness, which officials stressed

Sanctions

Sanctions

Biday 2/7/93

From Page 1

structive and upfront interest" in SA.

The ANC leader began his fundraising drive within hours of arriving in New York on Wednesday. His first stop yesterday was to meet the board of the SA Free Elections Fund, a corporate drive chaired by Heinz CEO Tony O'Reilly to raise at least \$10m to help the ANC prepare for elections.

The effort is being organised by Theodore Sorenson, adviser to John F Kennedy's administration and now a prominent New York attorney.

Board members include former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, former UN ambassador Andrew Young, former World Bank president and defence secretary Robert McNamara, former federal appeals judge Leon Higgenbotham and Sony Pictures Entertainment chairman Peter Guber. Sorenson, who put the group together at Mandela's request, is serving as the

fund's counsel.

Mandela felt the fundraising drive was "essential to ensure free elections with informed judgment by individuals who have never voted in national elections", Higgenbotham wrote in yesterday's Philadelphia Enquirer.

The judge defended the joint award of the Philadelphia Freedom Medal to Mandela and De Klerk, saying: "De Klerk, whatever his race, his past or limitations, has evidenced a commitment to peaceful negotiations." It had been Mandela's decision to accept the medal jointly, and "we must respect his choice".

Mandela was due in Washington last night for meetings with congressional leaders. He is to see Clinton today after De Klerk.

Picture: Page 3

was genuine, and not diplomatic. Mandela, meanwhile, went out of his way to forestall any controversy over De Klerk's decision to have a private lunch with former president George Bush in Kennebunkport tomorrow. There had been rumblings that President Bill Clinton, whom De Klerk meets today, might regard this as a slight.

However, Mandela himself had warm words for Bush, noting that "he gave all the assistance he could give" and that his administration had taken "a very con-

To Page 2

More trouble for Thebe as staff protest

W/Mand 27-8/7/93 11A

By FERAL HAJFAJEE

A SUBSIDIARY of the controversial Thebe Investment Corporation has retrenched staff — and the workers are now occupying their old offices at the African National Congress's Johannesburg headquarters in protest.

Movement Marketing Enterprises, which sells ANC products such as T-shirts, retrenched about 10 staffers in mid-May. They say they will not leave MME's former office until ANC leaders step in and get them their jobs back.

"We will be occupying the offices until the dispute is handled and we will be toyi-toying outside Shell House," they said this week.

This is the latest in a series of controversies involving the investment company, which has strong ANC links. ANC representative Ronnie Mamoepa said the organisation did not know anything about the occupation but would investigate.

The retrenched MME staff members have taken their grievances to ANC president Nelson Mandela, vice-president Walter Sisulu, PWV chief Tokyo Sexwale and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, and are meeting Sisulu today.

Thebe recently took over a controlling interest in MME from the ANC and implemented a retrenchment programme because the company was losing money. They also moved the administration of the company from the ANC headquarters at Shell House to Thebe's headquarters in central Johannesburg. All that remains at Shell House is the store where T-shirts and other ANC memorabilia is kept. Most of the office furniture and phones have been removed, but the retrenched staffers still come in every day.

They allege that fair retrenchment procedures have not been used. Instead, they charge that favourites have been kept on instead of the company applying the "last in, first out" principle, under which the last person employed is the first to be retrenched. They have, however, received standard retrenchment packages.

An MME representative this week confirmed that Thebe had closed down an early learning project called "Learning Channel" which had already set up a number of learning centres in townships. It has also closed its arts and crafts wing, though this project is still prominently touted in the organisation's glossy publicity document. The schemes still up and running are those which sell ANC memorabilia and a national hawker scheme.

Staff, who would not be identified because they still hold out hopes of being rehired, allege that they are the fall-guys of bad business decisions made by inept and overpaid directors.

Thebe's managing director Vusi Khanyile recently sought legal advice on how to retrench MME's managing director Willie Ramashoba. Ramashoba was earning R17 500 a month but failed to put the company on a profitable footing.

A retrenched staff member said "Ramashoba employed new people at exorbitant salaries but they were not qualified".

Sources call the links between the ANC and Thebe "umbilical" although Thebe is trying hard to distance itself from the ANC.

Khanyile this week said MME was "refocusing and repositioning". He said he had met retrenched employees involved in the Learning Channel project and approved their plans to re-launch the project as a non-governmental organisation.

He had agreed that they could use the Shell House offices which MME leases from the ANC to start the new project.

BUSINESS

Manuel's changed manifesto

wlmail 217-817193 (11A) (E)

ANC economics supremo Trevor Manuel is in the hottest seat in Plein Street. **REG RUMNEY** reports

HIGH up in the African National Congress' Plein Street HQ, department of economic planning head Trevor Manuel grapples with the accusation of being in favour of a socialist "commandist" approach to the economy.

Many governments, he says, have been or are "commandist" and he mentions the role of MITI in Japan and how the German government leaned on the private sector to invest in the former GDR on unification. These governments are not necessarily "socialist commandist", he reckons.

This is the same Trevor Manuel who not so long ago raised the ire of white South Africans by using the United States as an example of how capitalism failed. He still points to 25 percent of Americans having no access to health care in one of the richest countries in the world.

But there is no longer talk of nationalising the commanding heights. Manuel has mastered the economic terrain, offering a more sophisticated vision of economic policy. For instance, he acknowledges the price of reintegration in the world economy will be pressure to liberalise the economy, and spells out the ANC's differentiated approach to trade barriers — an approach, moreover, which fits in with a broader industrial policy.

The emphasis remains on the state's responsibility for economic policy, and affirmative action and beefing-up of anti-trust policy are on the cards. Also, he vows to make institutions such as the Industrial Development Corporation, the Small Business Development Corporation and the Development Bank more accountable.

The ANC's May 1992 policy guidelines dealt directly with the question of possible state intervention in the economy. Business hailed a playing-down of nationalisation. And there was, and is, a perception that the leadership of the ANC had been won over by the persuasive logic of the white elite and that most ANC supporters did not necessarily understand or approve of the shift.

Manuel points out that the May 1992 policy guidelines went further than any other policy process in South Africa in trying to bring people along with it through a process of widespread workshopping at regional conferences.

The document, in his view, relinquishes a hard-core position on state involvement in the economy in favour of a flexible position that sees the key issue as being how the state responds to needs or equity and growth, rather than terms of ownership.

That document is the cornerstone of policy. "The ANC's department of economic planning,"



Trevor Manuel ... Mastering the terrain

he stresses, "are custodians of adopted positions rather than makers of policy."

Asked about the state's ability to resist pressures for overhasty solutions, Manuel says frustrations are high now, partly because the negotiations have dragged on for three years and partly because of the worsening economy.

"There will always be a difficulty about the speed with which you can tackle problems," he observes. He is well aware of the dangers of macro-economic populism. "There will be intense debate about these issues. The problem is the phase of the debate about these specifics is not as deep as it was in the run-up to the policy conference."

Obviously, Manuel is concerned that the options of the future state have been constrained by the spending record of the previous government.

"Our constituency must clamour for housing," he notes. But he says a shortage of 1,4-million units will cost the state billions more in expenditure. The state cannot assume responsibility for that backlog alone: "We need creative solutions for the state to up its contribution of 15 000 houses a year. At all times we need to be mindful of the macro-economic balance."

Besides overall spending, Manuel echoes calls for shifts in allocation within the Budget. In the last Budget, R3,7-million was devoted to the Special Defence Account, primarily for weapons acquisition. He contrasts the boasts by Denel, a beneficiary of this account, about its low-level satellite with the widespread housing shortage.

The thrust of his observations about future economic policy are that the state must shoulder the burden of a policy integrating macro-economic,

industrial and development policy.

"The Building Industries Federation says 300 000 houses a year need to be built and its members can deliver these. Last year the public and private sector together did not build more than 35 000. A question arises about the capacity of the building-materials sector to supply all these needs and the speed at which they can do so. There is also the question of the efficiency of the markets in the materials-supply sector, and this may be linked into anti-trust policy."

Here he mentions the cement cartel. "You can import cement of the same quality more cheaply." This line of reasoning would imply a lowering of tariff barriers, and could lead to a loss of jobs.

Manuel says the cement industry is relatively capital intensive, and its loss may have to be balanced against the needs of another industry with many jobs. "You need to look at how much of the housing backlog the fiscus can take care of and what instruments you have to design to bring private sector to the party."

The private sector, interested now only in a small, wealthy segment of the market, cannot sit on the sidelines, he says. "The problem remains that, as long as people are homeless, there will be a lot of pressure on the state to respond."

The National Economic Forum holds out some hope of bridging that gap by achieving a social accord between business, labour and the state. The NEF, he says, needs to be strengthened and properly resourced.

Manuel has already stirred some controversy about the NEF. A paper delivered to a South African Clothing and Textile Workers' Union conference on June 18 has been interpreted as a first shot across the bows of the union movement in a war over who controls economic policy.

Manuel says the ANC is committed to the NEF; and reiterates that no government has a monopoly on wisdom. There is a danger of the NEF and a myriad of other forums all talking at cross-purposes. The state has the ultimate responsibility for macro-economic policy and, though such policy will be touched on in these forums, elements of macro-economic policy cannot simply be separated out. He insists there must be more control of government spending, including the setting up of a fiscal commission. Now committees in each government department decide on spending without an overall strategic plan.

As outlined by Manuel, then, the ANC approach is no succour for those who believe in a smaller, less powerful state and the primacy of free markets: neither is he talking of pinning hopes on growth through inward-looking redistribution, or relinquishing overall control of economic policy to any grouping.

In a July 1985 ABC News/Washington Post poll, Americans were asked whether they thought Ronald Reagan's cancer would recur before he left office. Most — 54 percent — thought it would; 33 percent said no; and only 12 percent gave the only right answer: that, frankly, they didn't know.

Perhaps in a society where opinion polls are God, public opinion can prevent the recurrence of malignant polyps on the president's duodenum — or conversely, inflict them like voodoo on a less popular incumbent.

We in South Africa stand at the other extreme. Public opinion has no standing except in planning ad campaigns to flog new brands of motor cars or toothpaste.

Americans have an almost narcissistic fascination with their own opinions. Among interesting facts published recently: 37 percent of Americans in their twenties believe corruption is an important factor in getting ahead; or, only eight percent of Iowans would like having Madonna for a neighbour "a lot".

We don't even have a "we" to speak of. Pollsters are only beginning to discover collective South African views, and to employ more meaningful social categories than the increasingly dubious "black" and "white".

The government has even imposed opinion poll blackouts in the runup to elections, on the assumption that knowing what other people were going to do would interfere with the process of democracy. They did this, even as they manipulated public opinion with radio, television, newspapers and every tool at their disposal.

There are critical debates in America that opinion polls are an increasingly dangerous substitute for democracy — and are largely to blame for the low turnout in elections (barely 50 percent). During the 1988 campaign, the Doonesbury cartoon strip jokingly called the presidential election off 10 days early because the polls indicated, correctly, that Michael Dukakis had a snowball's chance in hell of getting elected.

But the best argument for allowing opinion polls to be published right up to the eve of the election is an objection in principle to censorship, which is supposed to be outlawed in our Bill of Rights. One could go further and suggest that there is a democratic right to know what other people think; that political parties such as the National Party and the African National Congress, with their own private polling organisations, do not have a greater right to election information than ordinary voters.

Unfortunately, independent polling in South Africa is hugely expensive. There is a well-developed commercial market research industry which, every now and then, publishes polls on such mundane matters as whether whites or blacks feel more optimistic now than they did a year ago.

Public opinion research is a secondary, public relations byproduct of market research — and

Will Eugene get a painful case of piles?

We do have opinion polls but only those which ask intelligent questions are useful. What South Africans think on specific issues remain mysteries



By
**PHILLIP
VAN
NIEKERK**



quite often it tells.

There are polls like the one conducted by Markinor, asking whether blacks and whites favoured power sharing, which made no attempt to distinguish the motherhood and apple pie concept of all people sharing the riches of the country from the infinitely more sinister National Party design to thwart majority rule.

Nobody seems to ask really pertinent questions. The views of most South Africans on specific issues remain deep mysteries, papered over by racial and social stereotypes and the extravagant claims of politicians.

Some groups like the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (Case) have done impressive and

thorough surveys, such as their recent work on the marginalised youth. Among the stereotypes they trash is the notion that black youths are all angry and discontented, as liable to "necklace" an informer as to hijack a car.

The survey found that 21 percent of black youths described themselves as "ambitious". The next most common characteristics were "happy", "caring", "confident", and "honest". Couple this with their abysmal job prospects and it becomes clear that it is the system, not the black youths, that requires fixing.

The drawback to studies such as those conducted by Case is they are painstaking and slow. We need agencies — ideally, newspaper groups

— to get involved in instant polling, the snapshot of opinion that technology has made possible.

Who would like to know, for instance, after the rumble at the World Trade Centre last Friday, what percentage of Afrikaners are: (a) Proud of the Ystergaarde, (b) Disgusted, (c) Think they should be turned into boerewors and fed to the Magaliesberg vultures?

How many blacks in the age groups 16 to 24 agree with the chant "kill a boer"? What is the approval rating of Peter Mokaba, Winnie Mandela, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Brenda Fassie?

What percentage of people living in urban townships would favour a clampdown on crime and illegal weapons once a democratic government is elected? How many township dwellers have lost all respect for the law after last Friday?

There is a strong sense that the limp police response to the Afrikaner Volksfront invasion and the acquittal of the Sanlam insurance agents who, we are to believe, didn't roll a minibus-load of blacks down a hill to a fiery death in order to profit from life insurance policies, has made a lot of people hopping mad.

Is there some way, short of a riot or an attack on whites, that quantifies reactions to these events quickly and puts the politicians on the alert?

In seeking to know whether there is sufficient consensus to push on with building the new South Africa, would it not be helpful to know that the political allies of the neo-fascists, the Concerned South Africans Group, have the support, say, of a mere seven percent of the population?

Opinion polls are a handy reality test to measure politicians. Unfortunately, the only time the people's opinion was seemingly sought in South Africa was to bypass politicians — not to discover the truth, but to prove a counter-proposition, which was that blacks opposed sanctions.

A longer-term objection to a poll-driven society is that it produces craven politicians of the Bill Clinton or John Major variety who, instead of using polling data — including their own approval ratings — as part of their armoury of intelligence when formulating policy, allow it to replace genuine leadership.

But that is a problem with the calibre of politicians, not of the polls. Similarly, to avoid manipulative polls, it is up to the newspapers to arm their reporters with bullshit detectors to sniff out phoney or flawed polls instead of just dropping press releases unquestioningly into the paper.

An opinion poll which asks intelligent questions and interprets answers thoughtfully is an enormous asset to democracy. It has the potential to be far more democratic than a Radio 702 call-in programme or a mass meeting where a few rowdy individuals can provide a false sense of a community's opinions.

Come on South Africa, take a cue from the Americans: how many of you think that Eugene Terre'Blanche is about to come down with a really painful case of piles?

SA's mature revolution

A member of the opposition for over three decades, Colin Eglin sees the changes of the past three years as slow in coming. But the effect of the ANC's patience, he told
CHRIS LOUW, will be the attainment of true democracy

W/M cut 2/7-8/7/93.

VERY, very mature revolutionaries, a state president who did not quite appreciate the consequences of his actions, and the most protracted, negotiated, discussed, considered revolution in modern history ... These are the factors that will ultimately lead to true democracy in South Africa.

This is the view of Colin Eglin, respected political analyst, Democratic Party MP and a previous leader of both the Progressive and the Progressive Federal Parties, who has opposed the National Party's apartheid policies for decades. He is the only man in parliament who has gone through three different constitutions — the constitution establishing the Republic in 1961, the 1983 constitution for the tricameral parliament and the present negotiations for a new, democratic dispensation. Now he acts as the DP's chief negotiator.

In an interview, Eglin, who has followed political events in South Africa closely since he was first elected to parliament in 1958, expressed his amazement that all apartheid structures were still in place — three and a half years after the release of African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela.

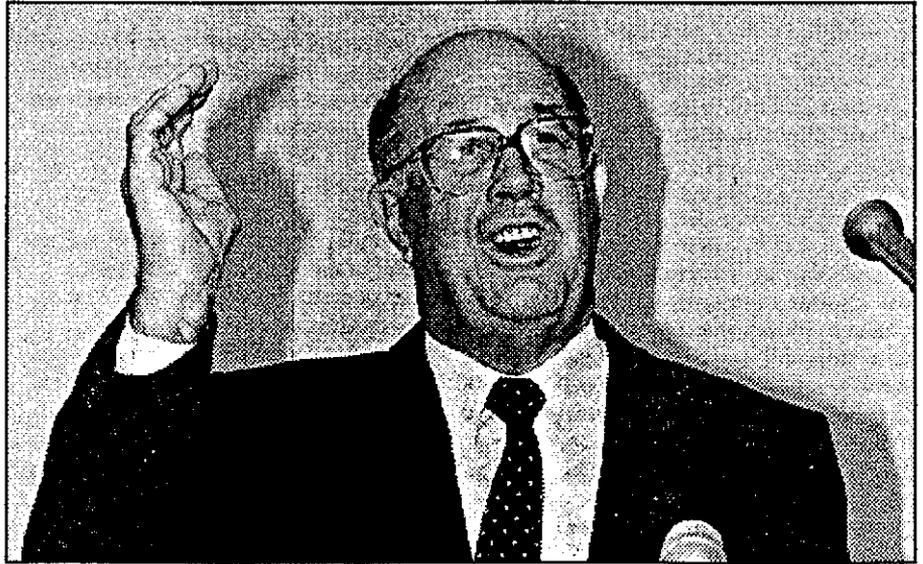
On February 2 1990 Eglin believed the end of apartheid was finally in sight. But President FW de Klerk proved to be a much more effective strategist than he was given credit for.

"But it is also because the ANC have been very, very mature revolutionaries. They have actually decided they want to get it right. And even if it takes some time to get it right, they prefer to get it right."

The effect of the ANC's patience, according to Eglin, was that they have refined their constitutional and economic policies, and have almost formulated a health policy and an education policy. "It is as if they are saying: 'We don't want to be just another African state, we want to show that we are different, that we can make it work.'

"It has been good for South Africa, but the underlying problem is that you're getting an impatient crowd of youngsters who say: 'Look, old men, you're taking too long.'"

But Eglin said there were many issues to be sorted out in the five years following the first elections for a constituent assembly, and before



Veteran ... Colin Eglin has sat through the creation of three different constitutions

real democracy could be established in terms of a new constitution.

"There are new boundaries to be determined for regional governments, there will be new bosses, new functions. Once you've drawn up your final constitution, you've got to restructure your civil service, you'll have to restructure in particular your security forces. You've got to restructure your whole fiscal system, in that you are going to have to have various levels of government sharing in central funding."

It was one thing to say there was a new constitution, but another thing to put it in place. "The long process from where you are to where you want to be will be decided by the interim government of national unity. They will preside over that phasing-in process. And when it is all phased in, they will say: 'Right you are, now we are going to phase ourselves in by having another election.'

"Then you'll have to phase in a senate. There are 39 government departments on the central level. They'll have to be restructured. It is an enormous process.

"Even the 1961 constitution didn't have that much restructuring, because really it was just changing from a monarchy to a republic. A clause in the 1983 constitution, on the other hand, allowed the state president to declare what were 'own affairs' and what weren't 'own affairs'. Over a 10-year period, things were gradually restructured and new departments were created."

Eglin believes it could take anything between one and four years for the final constitution to be put in place. "The understanding that the government and the ANC have is that the first constituent assembly-cum-parliament will be

there for five years. It makes sense, because you can't expect 400 people to give up their jobs as schoolteachers, as architects, as lawyers and come to parliament when it is only for nine months."

Although the Democratic Party has accepted the inevitability of the current process, they have argued for a separate constituent assembly consisting of experts. "It would have been possible to get top-class academics who could take a year's leave. But if it is expected of them to sit as backbenchers in parliament, they will not be willing to do that. They need some permanence, or some continuity."

But the criticism is restrained by optimism. "De Klerk started a process which was irreversible from the time he unbanned the ANC and let Mandela out of jail ... There was no way he could have put them back in jail and reimposed the ban.

"I think philosophically he understood what he was doing, but I doubt whether at that stage he knew precisely what was going to happen. I don't think he realised that all apartheid was to go. In his first speech he said you could still have group representation, the building blocks will be the groups."

If De Klerk had understood what was meant, says Eglin, he probably wouldn't have started the process.

"He thought it would be a process in which certain aspects of the status quo would remain. It would be a modification. Having said that, he is quite effective in getting his way. If you had said to me after he let those guys out of jail that every apartheid constitutional instrument would still be in place three and a half years later, I wouldn't have agreed."

ANC 'grasps the nettle' of compromise

SOUTH AFRICA'S major liberation movement, the African National Congress, bent over backwards yet again this week to ensure that the country will go to the polls next year for its first ever democratic elections.

In one of the most crucial weeks in the negotiating process, ANC negotiators at the World Trade Centre had to tackle a white party with a constitution for an imaginary country, and a stubborn black ethnic party refusing to accept the concept of democratically elected constitution-makers.

The National Party's Roelf Meyer and Dawie de Villiers had every reason to smile broadly after Wednesday night's "breakthrough". In this week's debates, they could project an image of reasonableness, while "spoilers" in the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) took the casualties in their battle to entrench federalism in a future constitution.

Federalism, as everyone knows, is exactly what the NP wants. And that was exactly what they got.

After weeks of avoiding the real issue — who draws up the final constitution — ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa on Tuesday insisted that the 26 negotiating partners "accept that a deadlock exists". "Let us grasp the nettle and agree to find a solution," he said.

The ANC wanted a democratically elected constituent assembly to draw up a constitution for the country. Most of the parties in Cosag — fearful that national elections may eliminate them — insisted that the present, undemocratic body of negotiators draw up the constitution.

The South African Communist Party's Joe Slovo was less diplomatic than Ramaphosa. Accusing the Inkatha Freedom Party of fearing democracy "like the devil herself", he added that "if this means a parting of the ways, so be it".

In spite of the tough words, it was — once again — the ANC which was willing to compromise.

Key IFP negotiator Walter Felgate might as well have been in Ulundi. While most other parties, with the exception of the Conservative Party, were drawn by the dynamics of the pro-

This week was one of the most important in the negotiating process so far, with most parties reaching agreement on the drafting of an interim constitution.

CHRIS LOUW reports

cess to compromise, ensuring a convergence of ideas, all Felgate could come up with was a repeated: "Never, never."

He was reacting to a compromise proposal by the technical committee on constitutional issues, which provided that constitutional principles binding an elected constituent assembly and ensuring a strong regionable dispensation be made justiciable.

Foreign diplomats at the World Trade Centre had little doubt that IFP representatives were given little room to manoeuvre by the "big boss" in Ulundi, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who issues their instructions.

IFP central committee member Jurie Mentz,

on the other hand, offered a kinder view. The IFP, he said in an interview, suffered from "a terrible fear" that they would be cheated. This also explained their insistence on staying in Cosag, despite last Friday's racist invasion of the World Trade Centre by their partners in the CP.

"We believe we have to find protection in a herd, otherwise the lions might catch us," Mentz said.

What was ultimately decided, after many wasted hours of "bilaterals", was that the current negotiators will be responsible for an interim constitution under which the first elections are held. This constitution will be based on both strong central and regional government, with provision for regional legislatures and the establishment of regional governments during transition.

The powers, functions and structures of the regions in the transition period will also be determined by the present body of negotiators.

This "compromise on a compromise" was accepted by 22 of the 26 delegations, with most Cosag members reserving their positions and the CP opposing.

Watching the process at the World Trade Centre unfold were the CP's increasingly sulkily negotiators, Fanie Jacobs and Thomas Langley.

Jacobs has in the past week spent late nights drawing up a grand draft constitution for the "staat van die Afrikanervolk".

It is a beautiful document, if you are an Afrikaner, with provision for the rule of law, territorial integrity, human rights, personal freedoms, equality before the law, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and with property, educational and marriage rights entrenched.

There is one slight hitch: it is a constitution for a country that does not exist.

The CP still refuses to divulge details of the boundaries of its *volkstaat*. When asked in the passages of the Trade Centre where the *volkstaat* would be, one CP negotiator shrugged off the question by replying that it "would serve no purpose" to provide this information.

Observers believe the CP may be afraid to announce the territory of its *volkstaat* because it is bound to exclude most Afrikaners, which will no doubt lead to a significant loss of support for the party, even among rightwingers.



Govt cannot decide election rules — ANC

AN INDEPENDENT election commission, not the NP government, would determine the arrangements for the forthcoming democratic elections, the ANC said yesterday. *BiDay 2/7/93*
It rejected as unacceptable a statement by Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte that all political organisations would have to register as parties in order to contest the elections, Sapa reports. ~~(Sapa)~~

"The ANC will not allow the NP government to unilaterally determine the arrangements for the elections." Electoral arrangements were currently the subject of multiparty negotiations and government could, therefore, not pronounce unilaterally on the matter. It had to accept that negotiations brought the obligation to heed the views of others. ~~(Sapa)~~

GERALD REILLY reports from Pretoria that Schutte also said recently government had submitted to the negotiating forum a draft electoral Bill which provided for the registration of parties and their participation in elections.

The technical committee on the independent electoral commission had also proposed the commission should be responsible for the registrations.

Schutte said all major players he had discussed the issue with agreed groupings should register.

He stressed registered parties would be subject to all relevant ethical codes, qualification rules and regulations applying to electoral procedures.

"It is inconceivable in an election held on a proportional representation basis that political groupings could be included in a ballot paper and submit candidate lists without being registered."

He added: "To ensure a level political playing field for all in the election, it is of paramount importance that parties subject themselves to the same rules and regulations."

FW, Mandela Star 317193 brief Clinton

SAPA-AP, PETER FABRICIUS

WASHINGTON — President F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela yesterday discussed with President Clinton progress toward dismantling apartheid.

The White House rendezvous came after public statements by the two visiting leaders disagreeing on whether international sanctions against their country should be kept in place. (SAPA) (IA)

De Klerk told a luncheon gathering the sanctions exacted an unnecessary economic price.

"Every day that we lose, somebody pays for it. And it's not me and Mr Mandela," De Klerk said. "The unemployed are paying for it. And those without a roof above their heads. And those who are hungry."

Agreement at home

De Klerk and Mandela later met Clinton to issue a progress report on ending racial separation.

Hours earlier, negotiators in South Africa reached final agreement on terms for elections on April 27.

Mandela said he believed sanctions should remain until he was satisfied on the make-up of an interim government.

"There is no question of us making any statement in regard to sanctions during my visit in the United States. This is a matter which we will address in South Africa," Mandela said.

● TO PAGE 2.



F W DE KLERK: The unemployed are paying the price.



NELSON MANDELA: Not in a position to agree upon sanctions.

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Sanctions

Star 317193
● FROM PAGE 1.

"Until that council has been installed we will not be in a position to agree upon sanctions."

De Klerk said after meeting US Secretary of State Warren Christopher yesterday he was confident the remaining US economic sanctions would be lifted shortly.

Both De Klerk and Mandela are eager to attract extensive foreign private investment to make it easier for the post-apartheid government to deal with the country's pressing economic and social problems. (IA) (SAPA)

De Klerk is convinced the estranged Inkatha Freedom Party will

come back on board negotiations and will participate in the April 27 elections. (SAPA)

Mandela said that he would try to persuade the IFP to come back on board, but if he failed, negotiations would have to go on without them. The two leaders were speaking shortly before going to the White House for separate, successive meetings with Clinton.

He did not think the IFP's failure to endorse the April 27 election date would upset the timetable for change. He believed the IFP had refused to accept the date only because it wished to be sure that its main concerns were addressed in the transitional constitution, which should be agreed to by mid-August. (SAPA)

Talks: Government, ANC force the pace

Star 3/1/93

ESTHER WAUGH and CHRIS WHITFIELD

THE African National Congress and the Government yesterday bit the bullet and forced real movement towards a new order, bypassing vigorous opposition from the Concerned South Africans Group (COSAG).

The day ended with a symbolic walkout from the Negotiating Forum by the Inkatha Freedom Party, the KwaZulu government and the Conservative Party over a decision to fix the election date for April 27 — but all are expected back in the process soon.

See Editorial - Page 8

The rejection by some COSAG members of the "sufficient consensus" basis on which the agreement was struck followed significant progress and studious attempts by other parties to avoid confrontation that could damage the process.

Besides the election date, overwhelming agreement was readied among the 26 parties at the World Trade Centre on the process to be followed in arriving at a democratic order, including the drafting of legislation for a transitional executive council, the principles that would be binding on a constitution-making body and how to tackle the violence sweeping the country.

A draft constitution could be tabled in two weeks, and Government negotiations chief Roelf Meyer and his ANC counterpart, Cyril Ramaphosa, are confident it could be adopted and ready to pass through Parliament in August.

The election date was always going to be the crunch issue, and it was evident that the IFP and KwaZulu delegations

TO PAGE 2

WASHINGTON Mandelton progress The Whit statements whether into should be kept De Klerk

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Saturday Star July 3 1993

Talks

FROM PAGE 1.

had returned from an overnight consultation with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi with attitudes hardened.

A lengthy argument broke out in the forum — which ratifies negotiating council agreements — over whether enough parties had supported the issue to provide for "sufficient consensus". A break of nearly two hours for meetings on the issue failed to provide a solution, despite the tabling of several compromise resolutions.

It is understood that IFP delegates told negotiators that their instructions from Ulundi were not to discuss any compromise.

However, IFP delegation leader Joe Matthews told journalists the IFP would be back when negotiations resume in two weeks, but its continued participation would depend on a draft interim constitution being compiled by a negotiations technical committee.

IFP negotiator Thomas Langley said a decision on when to return to the talks would be made in consultation with party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg.

Essentially, however, the day was marked by

considerable progress in several areas, notably:

● Fixing the election date for April 27 next year, or earlier if possible. It was noted that adoption of a transitional constitution and other agreements would have to be reached before elections.

● How the transition process should run, including the transitional executive council, simultaneous elections for both central and regional government and the delimitation of boundaries for regions before elections.

● An independent media commission and an independent electoral commission will also be established, while discriminatory legislation will be scrapped.

● A range of principles that will be binding on a constitution-making body. These make provision for a proportional representation election, a multiparty democracy, a bill of rights, three-tier government with democratic representation and "adequate legislative and executive powers" at each level.

● Steps to end violence, including a national peacekeeping force, moves toward unified security forces and the ending of hostilities.

Ramaphosa said: "The democracy train is on track to its ultimate destination. This is one train that will not and cannot be derailed."



paces by jockey Piere Strydom, ahead of training partner Photograph: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

Dan July fever is not same as it used to be

ROBERT GARNER

Book-length the top today's a bid to less on remier

ranked one of the finest horses in South African racing history.

The superstar filly has not raced since flopping in the Administrator's Cup at Gosforth Park in March, but she is working well again according to

close of business last night punters had already wagered more than R1 million. This was slightly less than at the corresponding time last year.

The current tote favourite is Dancing Duel.

Projected win and place payouts are:

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Cape PAC woos 'em in numbers

VUYO BAVUMA
Weekend Argus Reporter

(1/11)

ALTHOUGH operating in hostile territory and facing financial constraints, the Pan Africanist Congress branches in the Western Cape have swelled from 14 to 39 in just 10 months.

This growth indicates that the movement is capable of defying great odds — and having a good go in the forthcoming first South African non-racial elections.

So says regional secretary of the PAC, Mr Bathembu Lugwana, who believes the Africanist movement should no

longer be regarded as a "Cinderella" of the South African politics.

Recently, for the first time, the movement attracted an estimated crowd of 10 000 to its June 16 rally which was addressed by secretary general, Benny Alexander, in Khayelitsha.

And last month two polls reflected a rise in support for the PAC among black people. But a recent Human Science Research Council survey showed that the ANC alliance was still the favourite, followed by the National Party.

Mr Lugwana told Weekend Argus the growth of the movement in the Western Cape was due to an "internal" shake-up.

"Our head office resolved to decentralise duties so that the regions could take charge of their own affairs.

"We have also stepped up our propaganda campaigns by establishing a high-profile presence, and we strive to be everywhere."

"In the past we've never really had support in the Western Cape, but now we are growing. We have branches in Kensington, Uitsig, Saldanha, Worcester, and Ashton.

role in development
country.

'Right wing want to stop the wheel of histor

CHRISTELLE TERREBLANCHE:
On the basis of your contact with right-wing people do you think they have any real desire to negotiate or have they opted for a violent alternative?

WILHELM VERWOERD:
There are too many generalisations about the right wing — that is if the right wing is defined as people who value the "Afrikaner volk" above all else. There are numerous camps within the right wing, of which many have already moved towards greater pragmatism.

They have realised that self-determination is a long-term process for which there will only really be space once a legitimate dispensation is in place. And this gives me hope. People like Carel Boshoff, the Orania people and Avstig (Afrikaner Volkstigting), have become more pragmatic and we should try and strengthen that pragmatism.

Given the increasing sensitivity, including in the ANC, towards regionalism and different cultures, there should be space for consensus. Once Mandela is president and people see there won't be any violent destruction of those things they hold dear, people will become more moderate. But the World Trade Centre incident is a terrible tragedy. It is tiny minority reinforcing the old stereotype of the Afrikaner while many Afrikaners are trying to break loose from this historical bondage. Other right-wing groups are unhappy about the way these people affect their image, here and abroad.

CT: The transition process has built up a certain momentum. To what extent should these people be allowed to hold the process hostage?

WV: The fact is that the radical right wing's actions at the World

WILHELM VERWOERD, ANC member, grandson of apartheid architect Hendrik Verwoerd, and lecturer in political philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch, still maintains contact with some right-wing family members. He speaks to **CHRISTELLE TERREBLANCHE** about the crisis in "Afrikanerdom" after the storming of the World Trade Centre.

South 37 - 7/7/93

Trade Centre have made the whole process more vulnerable once again, while radicalising some South Africans even further. These people get their support from repeating the same old rhetoric with which the NP has indoctrinated people for decades. And the government, SABC and media are doing little to manage the process by telling people what is really happening.

People have been impoverished intellectually by the success of apartheid propaganda.'

What we saw last week was a bunch of people who have been impoverished emotionally and intellectually by the success of apartheid propaganda. They are trying to stop the wheel of history but are destroying themselves in the process.

I hope the so-called silent majority among the right wing would distance themselves from this.



Wilhelm Verwoerd

CT: But how can the moderates be accommodated after the World Trade Centre incident?

WV: It is difficult to accept that once again a tiny minority is disadvantaging an entire society. But if you don't accommodate them, then

you start working with the concept of violent repression and that should only be a last option. If the kragdadigheid of all these years is going to be used against them, it should be the responsibility of all South Africans. Something should be done at the same time to show them that within their community or region, they will have their church, language and culture.

The longer they are allowed to incite violence, the more difficult it will become. I am sad to say this, but there should be a point beyond which they should not be allowed to continue.

CT: Do you think this point is at hand?

WV: Yes, it depends on whether they will be prosecuted and how they react to it. If they reject the legitimacy of the prosecution, it will legally be easier to contain them.

CT: Does the average South African really have something to fear from the radical right?

WV: I think we should be honest. They should be feared, in the sense that this is a small group of people, with access to weapons, who have been indoctrinated for years, and are prepared to lay down their lives for their cause. They are dangerous. They look like people who are not open to rational discussion and will probably have to be handled with force. One hopes there will be strong enough action to marginalise the dangerous ones, while at the same time efforts should be made to draw into the process the more moderate right-wing Afrikaners.

We must not write off all of them. We must find ways, for example within the ANC, of building relations with them and showing them their fears are built on sand on disinformation.

Glimpse *5 Times 4/7/93* into our future

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

AFTER an astonishing week of progress, the talks at the World Trade Centre have nailed down the framework for a liberal democratic constitution for South Africa.

"The democracy train is on track," a jubilant Cyril Ramaphosa said on Friday after a Negotiating Forum meeting which adopted 26 constitutional principles and ratified April 27 next year as the date by which elections must be held.

The principles borrow from leading Western democracies to include elements such as a bill of rights, a multi-party democracy and a three-tier system which includes strong regional and central government, similar to the US system. (307) (117)

● Full story on Page 4

ANC chief

Star 3/7/93

'Life of every South African is precious'

KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Political Correspondent

THE ANC this week took a shot at Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA) commander Sabelo Phama, and reiterated its "long-standing call" that everything possible had to be done to bring about peace and justice in South Africa.

Commenting on a statement reportedly made by Phama in an interview with The Star Africa News Service in Tanzania last week, the ANC said the objective of the liberation struggle had always been to ensure the right to life and dignity of all South Africans.

It said Phama's statement — that it would be acceptable "to lose five million people in the liberation struggle" to save many more — created the impression that South Africans were expendable in the struggle for freedom and democracy.

"The ANC regards the life of every South African, black and white, as precious. Our country needs every person's contribution to create a free and prosperous society. (iff) (SAA)

"The objective of the liberation struggle — from its inception or in the days when we engaged in an armed struggle, and now in negotiations — is to ensure the right to life and dignity for all the people of South Africa."

Call for tolerance

In another development, the ANC yesterday re-committed itself to peace and the creation of a climate for free political activity, and called on its members to be tolerant of those belonging to other organisations.

In its first official comment on the conviction of its member Michael Phama on 21 murder charges, the ANC said it stood for freedom, justice and democracy, and condemned all forms of violence irrespective of who was responsible. "There is no place in our ranks for killers," the organisation said.

The ANC said it had never condoned the murder of people simply because of their membership of a rival political group, and that Phama's actions were carried out without its knowledge.

However, the ANC said that while it accepted the verdict of the Rand Supreme Court, it also recommended that previous allegations made to the Goldstone Commission, that the commander of the unit responsible for the massacre in which Phama was involved in Tokoza had links with the security forces, had to be investigated.

It said those who had masterminded the strategy of low-intensity conflict continued to act with impunity.

ashes out at APLA

ANC and civic clash in Bishop Lavis



By Christelle Terreblanche

CIVIC MEMBERS disrupted an ANC meeting in Bishop Lavis on Tuesday night called to discuss alleged NP exploitation of housing and related issues.

The meeting, where Western Cape ANC chairperson Dr Allan Boesak earlier addressed about 600 people, was in the process of giving the ANC a mandate to address the housing issues, when members of a civic organisation stormed onto the platform.

The civic body, calling itself the

Bishop Lavis Association for Civic Affairs (Blaca), was recently formed in the wake of the crisis over floods and stormwater.

Mr Frank Julies, the chief organiser, told SOUTH that Blaca is widely representative of ratepayers and tenants in Bishop Lavis but not aligned to any civic umbrella body or political party.

"We are against any political party speaking on behalf of the people of Bishop Lavis. We are in the process of dealing with the issues of transfer of houses to people, the costs involved and the timing of the transfer," Julies claims.

SOUTH 317 - 717198

The meeting was convened by the ANC after several attempts to resolve the transfer issue, and amid claims of unaccountable conduct by the National Party (NP) MP for Bishop Lavis, Mr Nic Isaacs.

Residents claim Isaacs is evicting people from their houses when they can't pay their rent, and replacing them with NP members. They also say they are paying too much for the transfer of council houses.

After Boesak's address, the 60 people left in the Bishop Lavis High School hall were asked by Mr Joe Marcus, chairperson of the northern suburbs region of the ANC, to give

the movement a mandate to deal with the issue on their behalf. There was overwhelming support until about seven members of the civic disrupted the meeting.

Mr Michael Draai of the ANC planning committee in Bishop Lavis told SOUTH another meeting will be convened soon to get a mandate.

In his speech Boesak urged people to examine the histories of the parties before deciding which to vote for. He slammed the NP, the Democratic Party and the Labour Party, accusing them of lacking accountability and failing to speak out against repression.



Azapo stands firm on the Constituent Assembly

SOUTH 2117 - 418193

By Christelle Terreblanche

AZAPO has reiterated it would continue the liberation struggle if negotiations do not bring into being a Constituent Assembly (CA) in the way the movement understands it.

In the week that has seen three of the 26 partners at the World Trade Centre withdraw from the talks, Azapo's regional publicity secretary in the Western Cape, Mr Jimmy Yekiso, told SOUTH the movement has no plans to join the talks.

The Conservative Party has confirmed its permanent withdrawal, while the Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu government is weighing up its position — all in protest at the draft constitutional principles unveiled on Monday.

"We do not want to take part, because the talks are undemocratic in that the parties there were not



JIMMY YEKISO

(SOUTH) (IFA) (IB) elected to decide on the country's future," Yekiso said. "Parties taking part should do so on an equal basis, and not have a situation where the NP is still in government. If we join

the talks we will be giving them legitimacy.

"At the same time we do acknowledge that the negotiations can deliver a CA. If this assembly's sole purpose is to draft a democratic constitution, we will participate in the elections and the transitional authority structures."

Yekiso was adamant that Azapo was against a CA that drafted the constitution and governed at the same time.

"We are in favour of government by a transitional authority, comprising neutral bodies like the United Nations, the Organisation for African Unity and the Commonwealth," he says.

If this did not happen, he foresaw the movement protesting against the "fraudulent government" after the elections.

Joint control by all major political players over key national areas will soon be a reality with the institution of the transitional executive council and its sub-councils — mainly to facilitate the so-called "levelling of the playing fields". This will certainly transform government and decision making in South Africa during the run-up to the election.

But on several levels the ground has already been prepared for this transition to joint control.

During the past few years several forums have been established in important and contentious areas and have currently become an integral part of decision making. An Education Forum is being put together.

The major national and regional forums now number 22 — with the National Economic Forum, the new Local Government Negotiating Forum and the National Housing Forum the most important and influential.

Most of these forums are representative of a wide spectrum of disenfranchised people, but not all include government representatives.

Most consult with the public, while others mainly draw on the expertise of professionals.

It is still uncertain whether all will function after the election.

The National Economic Forum is set to play a key role next year when it will most likely help draft a provisional budget in the absence of a parliamentary sitting before the election.

The forerunner of these forums is the National Training Board set up shortly after new legislation in 1981 made its formation possible. But nearly all others sprang up after 1990 and their wide involvement is a far cry from the old advisory boards.

CHRISTELLE TERREBLANCHE and **SHANNON NEILL** focus on nine of the more important forums:

Western Cape Economic Development Forum (WCEDF)

THE WCEDF was formed in April 1991 and officially launched in December the same year.

It anticipates filling an important position in a future democratic government.

All members of the WCEDF are plenary members. This group meets quarterly and meetings are open to the press.

The plenary appointed a 16-member steering committee with four representatives from each of the four major voting blocs — organised labour, organised business, community and political organisations and regional and local authorities.

In addition, there are two non-voting blocs including development funding and service organisations, central government and the parastatals.

It established six commissions. These deal with:

- Short-term job creation through public works programmes, special employment projects and similar initiatives. Skills training will be an integral part of all job-creation programmes. The commission will identify agencies to implement employment programmes, rather than executing projects itself.
- Urban development which interacts with other relevant forums working in this area.
- Education and training is developing proposals to address questions of literacy and numeracy,

vocational training and organisational capacity building.

- Economic growth and restructuring will examine questions of attracting investment; export promotion; co-ordination of tourism development; co-ordination of small, medium and emergent enterprises support; and industrial growth restructuring strategies.
- Rural and agricultural development, focusing on the Winelands and the rural areas of the Western Cape.
- Development strategy integrating the work of all the commissions.

National Local Government Negotiating Forum (LGNF)

THE LGNF was launched on March 22, 1993. Its objective is to racially intergrate local government at all levels and it anticipates replacing the Council for Co-ordination of Local Government Affairs.

The LGNF has a statutory group involving local government, provincial administration and central government, and a non-statutory group working under the auspices of the South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco).

Its three working groups meet on a fortnightly basis. They report to a management committee which in turn reports to a 60-member plenary group. The LGNF holds regular press conferences to inform the public of its progress.

Its working groups deal with:

- Legal and constitutional matters, planning alternative local govern-

ment legislation and examining various legal and constitutional policy options and models.

- Services and finance examining alternatives to central government funding.
- Existing training boards and institutions, looking at how they can be opened up to service all people. Options include affirmative action programmes which will integrate departments which are currently racially segregated.

Water and Sanitation 2000 (WS2000)

THIS FORUM, WS2000 was launched in 1991 by a group of professionals. This was extended to include other interested parties in January 1992 when the Standing Committee on Water Supply and Sanitation (SCOWSAS) was launched to compensate for the sector's inability to meet current needs. It is now known as either WS2000, or SCOWSAS.

Members of the standing committee include the Rural Advice Centre, ANC, Sanco, Congress of South African Trade UnionS (Cosatu), Umgeni Water, Rand Water Board, Transvaal Provincial Administration, Inkatha Institute, Department of Water Affairs, Association of Water Boards, Human Sciences Research Council, SA Institute of Civil Engineers, Valley Trust, Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), Durban Water and Waste, Development Water and Waste, Development Bank of South Africa, Department of National Health, Azanian Peoples' Organisation

Govt tr by nati



(Azapo), Water Research Commission, Watertek, Water Institute of Southern Africa and the Association of Regional Services Councils.

The standing committee meets monthly to review work done by sub-committees and task groups. At present it is left to committee members to inform their constituencies of progress.

SCOWSAS focuses on three areas:

- Education, training and affirmative action in the sector.
- Determining which institutions best meet the needs of the country.
- Deciding the costs of maintaining viable services.

SCOWSAS is not a negotiating body, but the feeling among some members is that it should be one.

The National Housing Forum (NHF)

THE NHF was formed in August 1991. It initially planned to deal with problems surrounding hostels, but extended this to include broader housing issues.

Members include the ANC, Azapo, Inkatha Freedom Party, PAC, Sanco, Material Manufacture and Supply Sector, Construction Consortium, Association of Mortgage Lenders, Life Offices Association, South African Co-ordinating Com-

mittee on Labour Affairs (Saccola), Cosatu, Independent Development Trust (IDT), Kagiso Trust, South African Housing Trust and the Urban Foundation.

The NHF is a negotiating forum involved in internal negotiation and external bi-lateral negotiation with the government.

It will provide a forum for discussion around housing, rather than providing housing itself.

It consists of a plenary which meets four times a year where each party is represented. It decides on recommendations for the co-ordinating committee.

The co-ordinating committee has a member from each party, meets regularly, and is aided by working groups. It is responsible for co-ordination and development of policy and strategy proposals.

The working groups are staffed by experts and trainee members from disadvantaged organisations. They deal with issues of land and services, end-user finance and subsidies, housing options, institutional structures, integration of the cities,

Transformed National forums

South 317-717193

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Border-Kel Development Forum (BKDF)

and hostels.

The NHF identified 14 issues for immediate attention, of which four required intervention.

These were around the 1993/4 state budget for which a submission on the use of housing funds was presented to the government; negotiation with the government to achieve joint control of the R326-million to be used for upgrading hostels; an attempt to stop the government from selling off state land; and discussion with the government to prevent unilateral restructuring.

The Communication and Participation Committee (CAP) was organised to facilitate communication between constituencies and communities. It issues newsletters to constituencies and key actors.

THE BKDF was formed in July 1992. Groups directly represented are: Ciskei government, South African government, Transkei government, ANC, Cosatu, Democratic Party (DP), National Party (NP), PAC, South African Communist Party (SACP), Sanco, Border Business Action Committee, Border Regional Development Association, Border Services Organisation Forum.

The BKDF meets monthly. It is assisted by an executive committee which meets between monthly meetings. Both report back to each other on proceedings. It is left to BKDF members to inform their constituencies on progress.

The BKDF's specific objectives are to:

- Formulate strategies to alleviate poverty and improve economic

opportunities for less privileged communities.

- Focus on employment creation and maintenance.
- Identify policy instruments and opportunities for implementation within specific social and economic sectors.
- Encourage participation in planning and development by all.
- Identify those aspects which will strengthen the economic base of the sub-region.

Four working groups, under the auspices of a directorate, deal with economic development, urbanisation, human resources and rural development.

National Economic Forum (NEF)

THE NEF was formally constituted on 29 October 1992. It comprises three blocs:

business, labour and government. The NEF is split into committees dealing with short and long term issues. Long term issues are discussed at monthly meetings, while smaller task groups meet more regularly. Task groups report back at monthly meetings. When decisions are reached at these, a press statement is released.

The NEF aims to examine:

- Economic and related socio-economic issues while aiding the transition to democracy.
- The generation and sustaining of economic growth.
- Social and developmental needs.
- Improving utilisation of human and capital resources.
- Linking internal and international economic developments.
- Improving participation of stakeholders in economic decision-making.

Those organisations that do not fall into the required categories may apply to participate in the NEF if they represent a constituency affected by macro-economic policy, are representative and a national body.

National Training Board (NTB)

THE fourth NTB was formed on May 1, 1991, and will run for three years.

The board is appointed by the Minister of Manpower and consists of 24 members — seven each from employers and employees in the private sector, seven from training-related public sector groups and three with expertise and services useful to the board.

It meets three times a year and only reports to the public if a report has been concluded.

It liaises with concerned public groups.

Its objectives are to:

- Co-ordinate, facilitate and promote training.
- Identify needs, deficiencies and problems in training.
- Develop the national training infrastructure.
- Set training standards within the legislative and training framework.
- Collect information on manpower training.

Other forums currently working in South Africa include: The Food Logistics Forum, The Vaal Forum, Durban Region Initiative, PWW Regional Economic and Development Forum, Orange Free State REDF, Eastern Transvaal RDF, Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber, Kosh 2000 Initiative, Port Elizabeth Single City Forum, Eastern Cape REDF, Natal/Kwazulu REDF and the Northern Transvaal Development Forum.

National Electrification Forum (NELF):

THE NELF was launched on May 14, 1993. Membership includes central government, local government, civic organisations, trade unions, political parties, the business sector, Eskom and a number of development organisations.

It has a plenary which will be attended by stakeholders in electrification and a management committee supported by a secretariat. A working group will be created to advise on conflict resolution at a local and regional level.

NELF believes discussion and consultation with concerned communities to be as important as electrification. Electrification will, therefore, be a result of national consensus.

It plans to liaise with other forums working on related issues.

Its objectives are:

- To accelerate electrification in South Africa, particularly in disadvantaged communities. Residents will be empowered through training in specific skills.
- Bring social upliftment and improved health and living conditions through electrification.
- Stimulate economic growth in both the formal industrial sector and the informal sector through electrification.

National Consultative Forum on Drought (NCFD)

THE NCFD first met on June 26, 1992, to discuss drought relief measures. Since its inception its focus has shifted from drought response to rural development.

Membership comprises church representatives, civics, liberation movements, unions, business, non-governmental organisations, homeland governments, welfare organisations and central government.

A steering committee administers programmes with the support of a secretariat, an operations room and a number of task forces dealing with water supply, nutrition, employment, agriculture and long-term development.

It focuses on:

- Training communities to organise development in their areas.
- Providing communities with drought-proofing information.
- Providing skills training that will aid development.
- Funding and infrastructure development.

It has established:

- A national early warning system (NEWS) to identify areas threatened by drought to try and deal with the problems before they become endemic.
- Regional forums to deal with regionally specific problems.
- A water supply task force to establish a water infrastructure in rural communities.
- An employment task force.
- A nutrition task force (NTF) functioning through working groups on food relief, surveillance and monitoring projects.

'Nongwe's broken promises sparked violence'

South 317-717193

By Sabata Ngcai

CONTROVERSIAL squatter leader Mr Jeffrey Nongwe is responsible for the violence in Crossroads, claims one of his former committee members.

Mr Amos Nyhakatyha, who broke away from Nongwe's committee in February, said trouble began when Nongwe could not fulfil his promise to build houses.

When Nongwe took over the squatter leadership from Johnson Ngxobongwana in 1990, he persuaded people from Section One to move to Lower Crossroads in order to prepare land for housing.

He allegedly promised that the people would pay rent of 75 cents a month when houses were built.

The houses would be ready by the end of 1990.

Nongwe allegedly told people to "put a tyre around my neck" if he did not fulfil his promise.

But by the end of 1991 no houses had been built. In October 1992,

Nongwe told residents from Sections Two and Three to move to Lower Crossroads.

Residents insisted they were not prepared to move until the houses promised to Section One residents were built.

Reminding him of his "promise", they demanded to put a tyre around his neck.

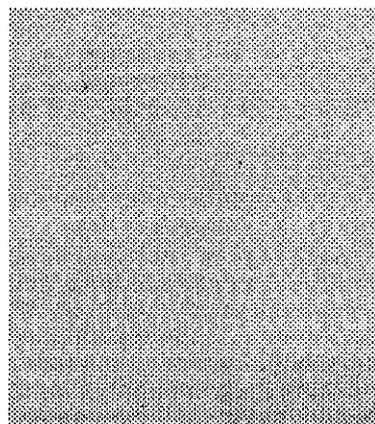
Residents discovered that a contract signed by Nongwe and the Cape Provincial Administration was for servicing the sites only.

It is claimed Nongwe demanded a seven rand a month levy from each of the 80 000 squatter residents since the beginning of 1992.

In January this year, after Nongwe returned from holiday in Transkei, he tried to find out from his men if the Section Two and Three residents still resisted moving.

Nongwe allegedly told his headmen at the January meeting that the residents would be forced to move.

This resulted in some committee members breaking away from his



JEFFREY NONGWE

"cabinet".

Nongwe could not be reached for comment by the time of going to press.

More than 40 people have died, hundreds injured, and shacks destroyed since February this year.

"As long as Nongwe, the SADF and the police are still in Crossroads, there will never be peace," Nyhakatyha said.

Police spokesperson Colonel Raymond Dowd dismissed the statement as "untrue".

"If it wasn't the presence of the SADF in Crossroads there would be more violence," he said.

'Road map to democracy'

South 317-717193

By Christelle Terreblanche and Sapa

CONSTITUTIONAL negotiating came into its own yesterday when "sufficient consensus" was reached by multi-party negotiators to go ahead with drawing up of an interim constitution for elections.

Fears of another breakdown in talks early on Wednesday were allayed after several bilateral meetings in which major obstacles were overcome.

The deal saw the ANC and the NP concede that both strong regional and national government will feature in the interim constitution, which will continue to bind an elected constituent assembly that writes a permanent constitution for South Africa.

Details of the regional powers still need to be thrashed out.

"The road map to democracy has been adopted. Wonderful," Sapa quoted ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa as saying.

The minister of Constitutional Development, Roelf Meyer, added: "Today was probably one of the most important days in the negotiation process so far".

Experts from the technical committees were wary to comment shortly after the compromise, but said it certainly meant major advances had been made.

The compromise brokered on Wednesday means that the boundaries, powers, functions, duties and structures of regions will be finalised by the unelected multi-party forum during the current round of negotiations.

These will then be binding on an elected constitution-making body.

Sources say there will not be a separate national constitution and regional constitutions. Principles for both will be entrenched in a single "list" drawn up by the negotiating council.

The technical committee on constitutional affairs will draw up the interim constitution and hand it to the negotiating council for debate before being endorsed.

I take TerreBlanche seriously — Yengeni

South 217 - 7/7/93

A waste of time — AWB leader

South 217 - 7/7/93

By Christelle Terreblanche

STEPH JACOBSON, "commander" of the Western Cape AWB, has distanced himself from the AWB assault on the World Trade Centre.

And he laughs at the suggestion of the AWB waging a full-scale war on the negotiation process.

"Their leaders are a bunch of drunkards and schoolboys," Jacobson told SOUTH. "They cannot be taken seriously."

"The World Trade Centre incident seems like a waste of time and money to me. They will spend a lot of time in jail and the courtroom, after which their weapons will be taken away," he says.

Jacobson himself was declared unfit to own a firearm after being tried for vandalising a controversial penis-shaped sculpture of Eugene TerreBlanche in Cape Town.

Jacobson denied he had resigned from the AWB. According to him he has received two letters which stipulate that he has been thrown out of the far-right movement.

However, after consultation with the AWB commander general, Servaas de Wet, he says he has been assured that this is not so.

De Wet apparently supports Jacobson's demand that he appears at a tribunal, but TerreBlanche does not want to consider this.

Jacobson has slammed the "state of chaos" reigning in the Western Cape AWB. He also claimed to have "proof" of "widespread drunkenness" among national leaders.

"I will soon have sworn affidavits from my generals," he promised.

He maintains that "dozens" of the "thousand or so" AWB members in the Western Cape have resigned in the past two weeks, including some "generals".

● The AWB could not be reached to respond to Jacobson's comments.



AWB MEMBER: Steph Jacobson defended TerreBlanche last year by smashing this statue. Now he is trashing his former leader

... and the leader's cousin

IN CASE you were wondering, SOUTH's political editor, Christelle Terreblanche, has worked as a democratically orientated journalist in both South Africa and Namibia.

Although only one member of the French Terreblanche family, Etienne, fled to South Africa in 1691, it is genealogically estimated that at least two million South Africans now carry his genes.

SOUTH's Christelle and the AWB's Eugene are historically at opposite ends of the Terreblanche family tree. They are also politically at opposite ends of the spectrum.

However, some of her close relatives are members of the AWB and its armed wing, the Iron Guard.



Christelle Terreblanche

By Christelle Terreblanche

"THE ANC and its allies — MK and the Youth League — must prepare for war against the AWB (Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging)," says Mr Tony Yengeni, ANC Western Cape Secretary.

Yengeni was responding to threats of war made by AWB leader Mr Eugene TerreBlanche following the storming of the World Trade Centre last week.

TerreBlanche said on an SABC "Agenda" programme this week: "We are preparing ourselves for war as the ANC, the Communists and Apla (Azanian Peoples Liberation Army) have already declared war on us."

Earlier, the AWB leader told SOUTH the incident at the World Trade Centre was "only the beginning".

"When a folk is cheated out of its fatherland, you can expect resistance," TerreBlanche says.

Yengeni says that, unlike some, he takes TerreBlanche very seriously: "He is not just a crazy fool."

"I agree with him for the first time ever. This was only a dress rehearsal. We are up against something much more vicious from now on."

Yengeni emphasised that he was not asking for anarchy and war.

"But we cannot only preach peace and reconciliation, while these people are trying to destroy the process."

"The leadership has a responsibility to tell people they should take this man seriously."

In his response Dr Allan Boesak, Western Cape ANC chairperson, told SOUTH: "Even though I am dead set against any kind of violence, particularly state violence, the South African Defence Force (SADF) should be mobilised to protect South Africans against the AWB."

Boesak said that the armed forces should be integrated as a matter of extreme urgency in order to deal with the "onslaught on democracy".

"I do not understand Hertzog

Kriel's (the minister of law and order) hesitancy in this regard," Boesak stated.

"What these people are doing is trying to block the legitimate aspirations of the majority of South Africans with violent deeds. We have no choice but to fight them."

However, on Wednesday Kriel promulgated regulations forbidding the carrying of weapons in the Kempton Park Magisterial District, saying police had information that both the ANC and AWB were going to march on the World Trade Centre on Thursday.

Barbed wire, Nyala and Casspir armoured vehicles, water cannons and a large contingent of SAP members were dispatched.

The ANC said earlier it would converge on the Centre to protest against "the onslaught on democracy" by the AWB. No announcement about a march was made by the AWB.

Kriel indicated that roadblocks and other measures would be set up to prevent marches from forming, rather than breaking up groups or trying to keep the two groups from each other.

"If people defy the ban on the display of weapons, we will arrest them and their weapons will be confiscated," he told journalists from his office in Pretoria.

"This will be done with sensitivity," Kriel added.

He would not answer questions on why the SAP was not rounding up the AWB as was the case a few weeks ago when police had information that the PAC was planning attacks.

"This is a question the SAP must answer," Kriel said.

He also denied that police acted in favour of the AWB at the storming of the World Trade Centre on Friday.

Yengeni said although the activities of the AWB should be curtailed, the ANC was aware that not all Afrikaners and right-wing people were violent.

"With most of them we can still sit down and work out a solution. If we don't, we would have a disregard for history."

THE WORLD THIS WEEK

Mandela needs liberation — from sanctions

S/Times 4/7/93

11A (337)

AS THEY made their rounds in Washington in preparation for today's big Philadelphia medal ceremony, President FW de Klerk and his all-but-anointed successor, Nelson Mandela, inevitably invited comparison. One could not help but think that Mr Mandela suffered as a result.

It was, without question, a magnanimous gesture on his part to agree to share honours with Mr de Klerk. But a politically astute one?

By week's end, even Mr Mandela appeared to have his doubts, which may explain his unexpected refusal to be photographed with Mr de Klerk and US President Bill Clinton at the White House on Friday.

In the politics of race, particularly as it is practised in America, innocence is power. Here, voluntarily and for the best conciliatory motives, Mr Mandela was ceding power by appearing to grant absolution to his opponent.

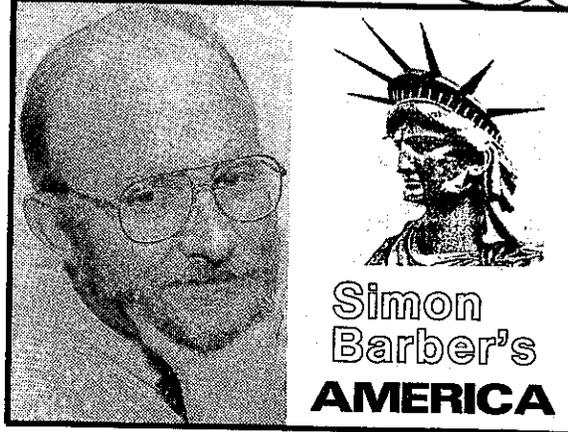
Clearly, a limit had to be set before the playing field became a little too level. The Rose Garden photo opportunity was called off, and an invitation to share a podium at the National Press Club declined. Even so, Mr Mandela has lost more than he perhaps intended or bargained for.

He still holds the cards in terms of sanctions. The trouble is, those cards are no longer what they once were. The more legitimate Mr de Klerk looks, the more fatuous becomes the ANC's insistence that the US directors on the boards of the World Bank and IMF continue to vote against South African loans, and that state and local governments persist in deterring would-be investors.

After his meeting with Mr Clinton, Mr Mandela observed, rather testily, that sanctions belonged to the ANC, and that Mr de Klerk had no right to suggest they would fall away within six weeks or so, once arrangements for a transitional executive council had been settled.

But by now, Mr Mandela must find the sanctions issue a millstone around his own organisation's neck. Put another way, self-inflicted wounds are always the most painful: on top of the physical hurt, they are embarrassing.

The embarrassment in this instance is multiple. Not only,



that question — and Mr de Klerk made it clear this week that he intends to ask it. Anyone campaigning for votes would be foolish not to.

The fact is, Mr Mandela's antics over sanctions, combined with his gift of implied absolution, have helped Mr de Klerk look quite statesmanlike in the past few days. But Mr Mandela has hurt himself in other ways.

Few are impressed by his begging-bowl routine. While Mr de Klerk has been pleading, quite plausibly, for his country, Mr Mandela has been wheedling for his party.

YOU don't, as Mr Mandela openly admitted he did, go inveigling an American president to fill your partisan coffers; this is etiquette. And when you are invited to discuss freedom of the press by an extremely wealthy foundation devoted to the issue, is it not altogether tactful to use your speech to wave a tin cup?

Mr Mandela's remarks to the Freedom Forum were both audacious and inappropriate.

"We," he said, had been visiting "prominent business houses" in South Africa to solicit "resources", and "the response has exceeded our wildest expectations". The captains of South African industry realised "the democratic forces must win", and so "no questions are asked as to what other organisations can be funded".

Having thus boasted of the ANC's ability to shake down the South African business community, the ANC leader got to the point: Americans should be equally amenable. Give generously, for "that is what we expect our friends outside South Africa to do".

All of which was a shame. While the absolved Mr de Klerk used the opportunity to deliver plenty of vision, even going so far as to paint the new South Africa as a model for mankind, Mr Mandela's utterances — apart from an interview with Fortune managing editor Marshall Loeb before he left for the US — were, by contrast, mainly cramped.

He seemed badly in need of liberation — above all, from the issue of sanctions.

by Mr Mandela's own admission, is it going to require a "tremendous campaign" to persuade state, cities and counties to end their boycotts. Worse, the entire policy makes the ANC look feckless and weak.

No wonder Mr de Klerk, now granted reformed-sinner status by Mr Mandela, is suddenly so sanguine on the issue.

Sanctions are now the friends not of the ANC, but of those — like the government and the IFP — who seek a deeper, more entrenched federalism. The tables have been turned.

Mr de Klerk announced this week that the IMF stood ready to send South Africa nearly R3-billion to help it recover from the economic shock of the drought. That's a lot of money, and it's entirely up to the ANC when the treasury gets it.

What's more important? A major economic boost at a time when the country desperately needs it, or a few fine points of constitution-making?

Most sensible people should have little difficulty with

Rethink, Sisulu urges rightwing

ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu warned the "ultra rights" to refrain from trying to interfere with the multiparty negotiations and the reform process for their own sake. C Press 4-7-93

Speaking at a rally in Mamelodi this week with Comrades Marathon veteran Bruce Fordyce, Sisulu said talks and reform could not be held to ransom by a "bunch of radicals".

He called on the rightwing, particularly the Afrikaner Volksfront and the AWB to adhere to the changing times before the patience of the majority of the people wore thin. (117)

FW, Bickering dominates US visit

IT was to have been a display of black-white harmony in SA's quest for a non-racial system but there was more friction than friendship in Washington on Friday between State President FW de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Their differences prompted cancellation of a White House photo session. Beyond that there was long-distance sparring between the two on the question of sanctions against SA.

At one point, Mandela said De Klerk was "irrelevant". De Klerk, in turn, said Mandela's ANC was aggravating poverty in SA by insisting that sanctions remain in place.

The day began with word from SA that negotiators had reached final agreement on terms for a one-person, one-vote election next April 27.

Mandela welcomed the announcement but said sanctions should remain intact until the setting up of an interim government.

Unemployed are paying

At a luncheon gathering, De Klerk reacted sharply when he was asked about Mandela's stand on sanctions.

"Every day that we lose, somebody pays for it. And it's not me and Mr Mandela," he said. "It's not the political leaders who are paying for this. The unemployed are paying for it. And those without a roof above their heads. And those who are hungry."

Later, Mandela was asked about a De Klerk prediction that the sanctions could be lifted in six to eight weeks if the negotiation process went smoothly.

Standing in the White House driveway, Mandela said de Klerk had fought very hard to prevent sanctions in the first place. The decision to remove them, Mandela said, "does not lie with him. And he has no right to set any time frames. He just is irrelevant on the question of removal of sanctions".

Their day was to have been crowned by a joint photo session with Clinton in the Rose Garden. But the White House cancelled it without explanation less than an hour beforehand. - Sapa-Reuter

C1 Press 4-17-1993
Mandela clash

Azapo ups the attitude

CIPers 4/7/93

By ZANELE VUTELA

AZAPO is gearing up for a final assault on the homelands.

In a media statement this week the organisation announced the campaign - which began on June 2 with the occupation of the Bophuthatswana consulate in Johannesburg. (IA)

Azapo said the campaign would last for three months.

It said: "The entire country of Azania belongs to the black people and hence our vehement rejection of the balkanisation of our country into tribal, ethnic and racial cocoons."

Deputy secretary general Lybon Mabaso said: "We feel that the campaign has to be actualised, especially in the

light of the homelands getting credibility through the back door.

"The homeland leaders are negotiating the future of the country without a mandate. They never got more than 6 percent credit in any poll."

Mabaso said Azapo intended working from within the homelands to ensure that "the people themselves render the system unworkable". (IA)

He said Azapo had units operating in the homelands who had reported "utmost repression while Mangope has created a myth that it is people from outside who are causing problems".

Mabaso said Azapo did not object to elections, "only to elections for elections' sake".

JLUNDI'S FURY

C Press 4/7/93

Schoolkids chased away to make way for farmer's cattle



By THEMBA KHUMALO

INKATHA has threatened to unleash the wrath of "two million" supporters in the streets countrywide to stop the ANC, the government and 18 other parties from setting April 27 next year as a date for SA's first non-racial general elections.

This warning was sounded by Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate.

He was speaking soon after Inkatha chief negotiator Joe Matthews led a walkout by his party and the Conservative Party during the negotiating forum talks at the World Trade Centre on Friday.

Felgate said the walkout was aimed at showing that people on the ground were "sick and tired" of ANC-government "manipulation" of the talks.

"We are saying we don't want an interim government. We want the general elections to be held all at once at the end of next year once a new constitution has been drawn up and accepted by every citizen."

He said violence was a possible option to force the pro-April date parties to defer their proposal.

Felgate added his party and the CP would consult their principals and by this week they would probably begin holding bilateral talks with the government and the ANC to try to strike a compromise.

The walkout came after forum chairman Pravin Gordhan ruled that the

Inkatha vows to take to the streets

election date had been reached "through sufficient consensus".

The date was also opposed by the PAC, Ciskei, Afrikaner Volksunie and Bophuthatswana delegates.

Patricia de Lille of the PAC said they were opposed to the April date because the proposed interim constitution would be binding on the constituent assembly. The PAC would nevertheless take part in the April elections.

Opponents of the date were roundly condemned as "opportunists and power-mongers, most of whom benefited in the apartheid office".

Maria Moroamoche of Nelson Mandela's United People's Party drew loud applause when she said some people were opposed to the date because they led "fat-cat lives and their children attended the best schools while people on the ground were homeless and their children had no education at all".

However, ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa and Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer - at separate press conferences afterwards - expressed hope that Inkatha and the CP would resume their seats when the Negotiating Council reopened two weeks from now.

C

BARRING an unforeseen obstacle, South African political organisations could from next week start preparing themselves for the country's first general elections, earmarked for early next year.

In a major ground-breaking compromise aimed at placating both supporters and opponents of an early election date, negotiators agreed to the drawing up of an interim constitution based on both strong central and regional government.

This compromise went a long way towards satisfying the two camps divided between the Inkatha-aligned Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) who favour strong regional government and the Patriotic Front which favours a strong, central authority.

The breakthrough came after two days of intense behind-the-scenes bargaining in lengthy bilaterals and multi-laterals, punctuated by prolonged adjournments, demonstrations and fears of walkouts.

So tense was the mood before the midweek breakthrough that SACP chief negotiator Joe Slovo accused the Cosag group of trying to stall the talks because they "feared the outcome of the elections".

An exasperated Slovo warned that the democratic process might have to go on without certain parties if they deluded themselves into thinking that they might stand in the way of elections. In an uncompromising mood, Slovo, said: "If there has to be a parting of ways, so be it!"

Both Cosag and the ANC factions seemed to be digging in their heels and earlier predictions were that prospects of a compromise were receding fast - until Wednesday's breakthrough.

Although there is now hope for an early election date, refusal by Cosag and the PAC to endorse the resolution to mandate the Technical Committee on Constitutional Issues to draw up a draft constitution, has raised concern about obstacles being raised.

The Cosag grouping has taken divided positions on the issue. The CP, which is one of the two senior members of this alliance (the other being Inkatha) rejected the resolution outright. The other members, which included Inkatha, KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei governments and the Afrikaner Volksunie reserved their positions until the constitution is drawn up.

"We don't want to go into the future blindfolded, giving an interim government a blank cheque for the abuse of power," they said.

The 26 parties at the talks have been divided between the ANC, PAC and Pretoria and their allies who want elections to be held before the drafting of a new constitution so as to guarantee accountability on the one hand, and the Cosag group who demand the drafting of the constitution before elections to obviate the "abuse of power".

Explaining their stance, Ramaphosa said the current negotiators did not have a mandate to draw up a constitution because they were not elected.

Ramaphosa said: "As far as the ANC is concerned it will be undemocratic for the parties here to draw up a constitution because we are an unelected and therefore undemocratic lot. We should see ourselves more



GREAT COUNTDOWN ... Sham elections, such as these forming part of the old PW Botha tricameral system, are gone and could be replaced by the REAL thing!

Many bilaterals and multilaterals later a broad agreement is reached

CIPROD 4/17/93

D-DAY LOOMS

~~SACFA~~ ~~IIA~~ ~~ITC~~

as facilitators of the peace process than elected representatives of SA."

The ANC has had to climb down from this position and has now agreed that the constitution be drafted by the Technical Committee on Constitutional Matters, itself an "undemocratic lot".

Veteran advocate Arthur Chaskalson leads the team of lawmakers serving on this committee which is now faced with the daunting task of drawing up the document which will essentially be the supreme governing law of a new SA.

The draft document will also provide for deadlock-breaking mechanisms and special majorities by which decisions will be taken.

It will provide for the election of regional legislatures and the establishment of regional governments in the transition. Fundamental human rights during the transition will also be catered for.

The Commission on Delimitation/Demarcation appointed by the 26 parties will make recommendations on regional boundaries for the purposes of elections and on regional government during the transitional

phase. The parties agreed on the legislation to make provision for the establishment of a Transitional Executive Council, an Independent Electoral Commission, an Independent Media Commission and Independent Broadcasting Authority.

The breakthrough comes on the eve of ANC leader Nelson Mandela and State President FW De Klerk receiving the Philadelphia Liberty Award from US President Bill Clinton in recognition of their peace role in SA.

The night McBride will never forget

By SHARON CHETTY

OF THE four years and two weeks he spent on Death Row in Pretoria Central Prison, the one night that still haunts Magoos Bar bomber Robert McBride is August 12 1987. *SITING*

A member of the ANC's regional peace desk since his release last September, Mr McBride stayed awake throughout that long night ... listening to the man in the cell next door dying.

Frikkie Muller had been sentenced to death a year earlier for the murder of a Calvinia farmer and his wife. *(scribble)*

"Frikkie always said they would never hang him ... he had vowed no one would take his life," Mr McBride recalled this week. *(scribble)*

"Quite early that evening, I heard lots of talk from the cells. In those days, you were not allowed to talk except between 4pm and 8pm unless you were in a part of the cells we dubbed the Pot. *(scribble)*

"Frikkie was talking when he shouldn't have been. He said he was going to kill himself.

"Another person shouted to him that he should go ahead and do so instead of making threats.

"There was silence for a while, then I heard the warders go into his cell.

"We later worked out that Frikkie had slit his wrists with a nail from his shoe because after that incident the soles of our shoes were removed."

Two warders wrestled with Muller in the doorway of his cell as they put him into a straitjacket.

"For the next few hours, all I heard from the cell next door were moans and swearing.

"Then, around 4am, Frikkie stopped talking and all that could be heard were painful sighs.

"I heard him groan and in Afrikaans he cried out to God to take him away before Siquwala did.

"Siquwala in Xhosa means cripple ... on Death Row we believed the hangman was a cripple and he was always referred to as Siquwala," said Mr McBride. *4/7/93*

Prisoners who were due for execution were woken at 6am so they could pray before taking the final walk to the gallows.

But Frikkie Muller cheated the hangman. When the time came to awaken him for execution, he was already dead. Mr McBride



ROBERT MCBRIDE
Listened to moans

skipped breakfast that morning. When the warder arrived with his food, he looked into the passage and was confronted by a river of congealed blood.

"As the door of Frikkie's cell was opened, it flowed out ... it was the most sickening sight."

Colonel Barry Eksteen of the Department of Correctional Services confirmed that Muller had slit his left wrist with a nail and had been treated and given stitches.

"Muller was placed in a straitjacket due to his continuous threats that he would persevere to the end with his attempts to commit suicide," Colonel Eksteen said.

Mr McBride was sentenced to death for the bombing of a Durban beachfront bar in 1986, in which three women died. He was released as a political prisoner last year.

ANC call against service cutbacks

THE ANC has described as "insensitive" the cutback in services to Soweto and Diepmeadow.

The organisation said this would aggravate the crisis caused by the rent and service boycott rather than contribute to solutions.

It called on the government to continue providing funding for services in Soweto until negotiations for interim local structures were concluded.

Soweto and Diepmeadow administrator Sakkie Lombard announced on Thursday that street lights would be switched off and refuse removals reduced because funds had run out. Water and health services

would be maintained for the time being.

The service cutback is a result of a deepening financial crisis caused by the protracted rent and services boycott.

Agreement on ending the boycott could not be

reached at a meeting last week of the greater Soweto Crisis Committee. Another meeting is scheduled for Tuesday.

The ANC said the ending of the rent boycott had to be linked to the creation of interim metropolitan and local councils.

The creation of the Greater Soweto Forum continued to separate Soweto from Johannesburg and did not address the issue of a common tax base.

"We believe people must pay once there is visible and measurable delivery of services."

Chief executive officer of the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber Vic Milne said he hoped an agreement could be reached on ending the boycott at Tuesday's meeting.

The ANC is understood to be meeting Soweto civic organisations on Friday evening to discuss options for ending the boycott. — Sapa

5 Times 4-7-93

11A

AT THE WORLD TRADE CENTRE

IT'S all over bar the shouting — and one last, feverish round of horse-trading.

The shouting will be loud and long, and will range from the ululation of Inkatha-supporting Zulus girding for battle to the lonely wail of the Conservative Party.

The horse-trading will centre on the wording of legislation to flesh out a remarkable range of decisions taken on the form and substance of the next constitution and how to get there.

Full settlement is months away, but the most important concerns of the ANC and its opposition in Cosag were met in principle this week.

The ANC wanted a constituent assembly to be elected to draft South Africa's "final" constitution. Cosag parties wanted to have a say in that constitution now, before many of them are all but wiped out by that election.

The two bottom lines were linked in a resolution adopted this week.

Cosag — a loose grouping of Inkatha, people who have homelands and people who want them — has made its acceptance conditional on getting the sort of interim constitution it wants and binding the future constituent assembly to the constitutional principles underpinning the draft.

This is a big, but not insurmountable, condition. It remains to be seen whether the ANC and the government's stated commitment to strong regional government goes far enough to meet the fears and needs of the Cosag parties.

Parties have eight days to tell the technical committee on constitutional issues what they would like to see written into the next constitution.

Once again this brilliant group of lawyers and academics will have to marry fears and hopes, democratic and peculiarly South African clauses into a comprehensible document. They are good at this.

Between the acceptance of the draft constitution and elections lies a transitional phase. Great strides were made in this area as well with the acceptance, in principle, of a Transitional Executive Council, an Independent Media Commission, Independent Broadcasting Authority and Independent Electoral Commission.

Other technical committees will spend the next two weeks drafting legislation for these transitional organs.

Inkatha, whose petulant chief has tried to block almost every wobbly step forward, and which remains uncommitted to allowing the process to progress until it sees the final draft constitution, felt the chill wind of *realpolitik* blowing through its cosy Cosag parlour this week as allies opted for movement.

Inkatha's junior partners realised that their common end-goal — strong regions and shelter from the harsh light of elec-

tions — was being hampered by Ulundi's dyspeptic blasts.

"We are a group of people with very different philosophies," said Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje after Friday's forum meeting when asked why he had not joined the IFP in walking out to consult principals on the election issue.

It was Mr Cronje who brokered the bilateral agreement that led to the breakthrough.

This crucial meeting on Wednesday — between Cosag and the Patriotic Front

— was characterised by "a really constructive attitude on both sides", he said, as Messrs Slovo and Ramaphosa went out of their way to assure the meeting of their commitment to strong regional government.

Not present at the bilateral meeting was Mr Walter

Felgate, defender and comforter of the unfortunate Dr Mario Ambrosini, an American citizen and constitutional adviser who is increasingly getting on the nerves of Inkatha delegates and the talks at large.

Dr Ambrosini was kicked out of Friday's forum because he is a non-South African — and after IFP delegation leader Joe Matthews muttered that he was "not even aware this person was here. I am not giving this person any protection".

Dr Ambrosini may have looked even more miserable than usual, but Roelf Meyer and Cyril Ramaphosa both wore huge grins on Friday.

Their unseemly race to be recorded as proposer of the breakthrough resolution on Wednesday said it all.

Mr Meyer won, but both men had pulled it off by deliberately restraining themselves from confronting the crucial issue of the talks for three long months.

Behind the scenes, two powerful and opposing forces had kept this delicate strategy on course.

The government, with a smug 45 years of barely accountable rule under its belt, knew how to be patient, how to spend hours, weeks, listening to the concerns of the other delegates until they slowly shed some suspicions, trusting first the process and then their own voices.

The ANC, hounded by a hungry and volatile constituency, brought the urgency of this ominous rumble to the talks.

"Every day was a learning and teaching process," said a government source. "For the first time we had to deal with the raw politics of a real constituency out there."

At the end of an extraordinary week, an unstoppable vehicle was set in motion. And, with a very real interest in the draft constitution to be bashed out between now and mid-August, Cosag will be committed as never before.

Claire Robertson

ST Times 4-17-93

New ship of state gets ready to sail

Billions wait for ANC nod

5 Times [Buss.] 4/7/93

Business Times
Reporters

THE tide of investor sentiment has turned in South Africa's favour.

Aid and investment flows are expected to pick up after this week's indications by ANC president Nelson Mandela that sanctions could go within three weeks and the IMF signal that it would grant an \$850-million loan to SA by November.

Several foreign firms await the ANC's go-ahead before announcing their investment.

There is growing evidence of increased corporate investment from abroad.

Tube

Anglo American Industrial Corporation (Amic) announces today that it has established a 50-50 partnership with Korean industrial leader Daewoo.

Amic chairman Leslie Boyd says two areas for co-operation are SA manufacture of high-value downstream consumer goods and joint international exploitation of technology-driven markets.

One SA manufacturing project has been approved and will be announced shortly. A colour-television tube-making facility could be started in SA.



LESLIE BOYD

Mr Boyd hopes the partnership will lead to more jobs, higher foreign-currency earnings and technological developments.

Apple Computers, Chrysler, Motorola, Polaroid and Pespi are rumoured to be set to open offices in SA this year.

American Chamber of Commerce (Amcham) executive director Michelle Cohen says deals are being kept under wraps until sanctions are lifted.

"We are getting four to five serious inquiries a week from US corporations wanting to invest in SA. We get dozens of calls from not-so-serious investors checking out the mood."

Several firms are conducting feasibility studies.

International financier and author Albert Alletzhauer has bought Nationale Pers' 29% stake in Penrose Holdings for R2,2-million. This is one of the first significant investments in SA by an American in recent years.

Mr Alletzhauer expects strong interest from US investors in SA once financial sanctions are lifted.

The IMF loan, which could be in place by November, would be made from its compensatory and contingency financing facility, designed to tide member states over extraordinary pressures on their balance of payments (BoP).

Mr Mandela says SA faces such grave social problems that the ANC is considering changing its requirements to end sanctions.

He was speaking before his meeting with President Bill Clinton.

Mr Mandela cited rising unemployment, crime and violence as reasons for the policy shift. He contradicted a statement earlier in the week linking the lifting of sanctions to legislation defining the powers of a transitional executive committee.

The IMF loan could start to reverse net capital outflows by placing investor sentiment behind SA, say economists.

This would hasten the demise of the financial rand and allow relaxation of exchange controls, says Nedcor Bank chief economist Edward Osborn.

Finance Department Deputy Director-General Estian Calitz says: "Although the IMF money will be allocated for alleviation of BoP problems caused by the drought, it will not be used for a specific expenditure item."

Reserve Bank general

manager James Cross says IMF approval is an important condition for attracting large-scale foreign investment.

"Once you have the IMF behind you, you're back in the world league and can afford to run BoP deficits. This will make a big difference to the country."

Net capital outflows were nearly R10-billion in the 15 months to March this year.

Mr Cross says the outflow could go into reverse once the IMF loan is in place.

Mr Osborn says the loan will cost more than R250-million a year if interest is charged at 8%. The cost will also depend on the rand's rate of exchange.

Surplus

"This year the surplus on the current account of the BoP will be R5-billion, almost equal to the capital account deficit resulting from meeting SA's debt obligations.

"It is unlikely there will be any overall BoP payments surplus this year, thus putting pressure on reserves and reducing the likelihood of further interest-rate cuts. "This tight BoP situation will continue. The IMF loan will enable SA to withstand pressure on reserves, but it will come at a direct cost to the Exchequer.

Twenty-seven US states, 90 cities and 24 counties have sanctions against SA.

Amcham says 16 US firms have invested in SA since 1991.

TRIVIALITY SPARKS RACE WAR

By BILL KRIGE

A SMALL issue decided unilaterally by an all-white town council is largely to blame for a ruinous racial split in a Free State town.

Today the gulf between white and black yawns wider than the two-kilometre strip of no-man's land separating the dorp of Koppies from its dusty township, Kwakwatsi.

On Thursday, armed white thugs shot and wounded eight ANC supporters bussed in for a protest march which turned ugly after ANC youths burnt a farmers' shed.

That night scores of out-of-town white toughs drove around Kwakwatsi's fringes, dismounting from bakkies to terrorise a squatter camp.

Adamant

For four days armed white residents had blockaded Kwakwatsi, turning back black workers, in retaliation for the fourth ANC-inspired boycott this year. The boycott was the result of the town's refusal to allow the ANC to hold a June 16 protest march ending at the police station.

"At the moment we have a sort-of ceasefire," said Charl van der Merwe, businessman and deputy mayor. "We meet tomorrow to try and sort things out."

Both the white blockade and the black consumer boycott are over — for the moment — but both sides are adamant that the other was to blame for the crisis.

Blacks accuse the police of taking sides in the dispute, the town council of being petty and the Action Committee of being manipulated by the AWB.

Whites blame the crisis on weak ANC leadership and bad faith. Solemn agreements were broken and

And dusty
S Times
dorp reaps
4-7-93
a whirlwind



TALKING: Charl van der Merwe

business was alienated by four consumer boycotts, and six worker stayaways this year, they say.

But the truth seems to be that the last boycott, the blockade and the violence wouldn't have happened had Koppies agreed to the ANC's simple request to allow the June 16 march.

Mr van der Merwe said the town council had decided not to allow the June 16 march to end at the police station partly because it feared a right-wing backlash.

Moreover, it had made its approval conditional on the backing of the local peace secretariat. This was not forthcoming — because ANC delegates failed to attend a secretariat meeting and a quorum was not reached, he said.

ANC vice-chairman Sol Mayekiso, an Afrikaans schoolteacher, said: "We waited 10 days and then they told us we could hand over our petition to the station commander at the mill (on the white side of no-man's land) and that was unacceptable."

Talks between the ANC and the Action Committee led to agreement on terms for a march on Thursday. It ended with angry youths lighting barricades on the white outskirts and burning a shed belonging to farmers in the agricultural showgrounds in which furniture worth R65 000 was stored.

Busses carrying protesters home to nearby Free State towns were fired on and eight people were wounded, one critically.

A car carrying top ANC officials Zacharia Phori and Tate Makgoe was ambushed.

At about 10pm some 100 whites drove to Kwakwatsi's crowded squatter area.

Terrified

"I was lying in bed when I heard people swearing in Afrikaans," said Mrs Margaret Seitsho. Windows in the bedroom and lounge of her home were smashed with rifle butts.

"I was terrified. I ran into the kitchen with my son, Michael. They had parked outside and were shining their headlights at the house. I couldn't see them in the glare."

Nearby, the iron shack of Mrs Betty Mtibisi had several windows smashed and walls buckled. She was not at home at the time.

While inspecting the damage, three police Nyalas and several other armoured vehicles cruised by.

"Where were they when we needed them?" asked Mr Mayekiso.

De Klerk and Mandela in amazing Washington stand-off

SA SQUABBLES RUIN THE SHOW

SI Times 4/17/93

By EDYTH BULBRING in Washington

SHABBY party politicking thwarted an attempt by US President Bill Clinton to turn this week's visit to America by President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela into a display of national unity that would unlock billions of rands in aid for South Africa.

The American hosts, who went out of their way to assure economic support for a democratic South Africa, looked on in amazement as Mr Mandela repeatedly snubbed Mr de Klerk and the two leaders traded personal attacks in a visit fraught with tension. (SAA) (UA) (SAA)

One example was Mr Mandela's refusal to be photographed with the two presidents on the White House steps.

How Mrs Clinton



snubbed Marike

By EDYTH BULBRING

MRS Marike de Klerk received a re-sounding snub from America's First Lady, Hillary Clinton, when an approach by the South African embassy for a meeting between the two presidential wives was ignored.

The screaming AWB 'colonel' and her



Cockerels crow as the Boks just miss the mark

By DAN RETIEF

THE French cockerel crowed in the night at Ellis Park yesterday as the Tricolores beat South Africa 18-17 in an electrifying Test to claim the two-match series.

After playing to a 20-20 draw in Durban a week ago, the French fought back to overturn a spirited start by the Springboks, who led 8-0 in as many minutes.

Although the Tricolores did not manage to score a try against the South Africans in their first floodlit Test match, their greater experience and stronger discipline told as the match built to an exciting finale.

In an atmosphere of tangible tension

The first, and probably only, occasion on which the two South Africans will be photographed together on this visit will be in Philadelphia today when Mr Clinton awards them Liberty medals - ironically, in recognition of their joint efforts to promote racial peace and reconciliation.

After separate meetings with both leaders at the Oval Office on Friday, Mr Clinton promised:

- His support in lifting remaining economic and financial sanctions;
- US socio-economic aid packages;
- To promote International Monetary Fund loans and World Bank in-

SA squabble in USA

From Page 1

agreement on a TEC would be sufficient.

The difference between simple agreement and Parliament approving legislation could be several months.

Mr Mandela's insistence on parliamentary approval will delay not only the lifting of sanctions, but also an IMF loan of \$850-million (about R2,5-billion) to counter the loss of export earnings because of drought-relief programmes.

The second curved ball bowled by the ANC was its refusal to attend joint functions in the capital with Mr de Klerk.

The ANC was determined to ensure that Mr de Klerk's "piggy-back ride on Mr Mandela into the White House" — as one ANC official termed it — was made as uncomfortable as possible.

ANC aides felt that if the leaders were photographed together, Mr de Klerk would be placed on an equal moral platform with Mr Mandela, making the organisation's opposition to sanctions in the face of apparent harmony difficult to defend.

Besides declining to have his photograph taken on the White House steps, Mr Mandela also refused to attend a National Press Club lunch with Mr de Klerk on Friday.

Mr Clinton was informed of the change of plan about the photograph several minutes before entering the Oval Office to hold a 40-minute meeting with Mr de Klerk.

But, according to a spokesman for the SA president, Mr de Klerk was received warmly by Mr Clinton, who expressed great eagerness to do whatever he could to help South Africa. "We sit here and marvel at what you are doing," he told Mr de Klerk.

Sources close to the meeting said Mr de Klerk told Mr Clinton he expected agreement on a TEC by the end of July, agreement on an interim constitution by mid-August and legislation on a TEC to be approved by Parliament in mid-September.

He also told Mr Clinton he expected to be a co-leader — with Mr Mandela and, probably, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthe

lezi — in a government of national unity.

Mr Clinton assured Mr de Klerk the US would encourage investors to return to South Africa. He said sanctions would soon go completely, and he would promote IMF and World Bank involvement in SA.

Mr de Klerk also expressed concern that agreements reached in negotiations could be "torn up". He asked Mr Clinton for assistance in ensuring that the international community would underwrite negotiated agreements.

Mr Clinton assured Mr de Klerk he would press for this in the G-7 summit communique.

The meeting between Mr Clinton and Mr Mandela was dominated by concerns about the right-wing threat, the intransigence of Inkatha, and the uneven way in which Mr de Klerk handled the attack on the World Trade Centre.

Mr Mandela stressed nothing could be taken for granted, and said Mr Clinton could assist in ensuring that elections took place.

In a stinging attack on Mr de Klerk after the meeting, Mr Mandela said the lifting of sanctions did not depend on the SA president, but on "the democratic forces led by the ANC".

"He has no right to set time frames because he is irrelevant on the question of lifting sanctions," said Mr Mandela.

Mr de Klerk said later: "Nothing is irrelevant to me that concerns South Africa." He was tired of the ANC "playing God about sanctions".

Former American President George Bush said yesterday he saw great prospects for the future South Africa.

He was speaking at his home at Kennebunkport, Maine, where he and Mrs Barbara Bush received President and Mrs de Klerk.

Mr Bush said he had invited the South African presidential couple to his home out of friendship and respect for Mr de Klerk.

He said everyone in the United States was saluting the exciting democratic changes taking place in South Africa.

President de Klerk said he had become friends with Mr Bush via the telephone.

"I once spoke to Mr Bush from the Lowveld while he was in the Oval Office."

with the two presidents on the White House steps.

The first, and probably only, occasion on which the two South Africans will be photographed together on this visit will be in Philadelphia today when Mr Clinton awards them Liberty medals — ironically, in recognition of their joint efforts to promote racial peace and reconciliation.

After separate meetings with both leaders at the Oval Office on Friday, Mr Clinton promised:

- His support in lifting remaining economic and financial sanctions;
- US socio-economic aid packages;
- To promote International Monetary Fund loans and World Bank involvement in SA; and
- To encourage US private-sector investment.

Hope

Mr Clinton also assured Mr de Klerk he would press the G-7 countries at their summit in Tokyo next week to reintegrate South Africa into the world economy.

However, the US will only push for economic involvement in SA after there is a firm commitment to an election date and the transitional executive council has been established.

The TEC will be the first stage of joint rule in the run-up to the April 27 elections next year.

The visit by Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela to Washington this week was initially billed as an occasion for the announcement of the lifting of sanctions and a symbol of reconciliation between the two main political players.

Entrench

But the trip was blighted from the start as both leaders kept a cool distance and pursued their own political agendas.

Mr Mandela made no bones about his intention to spend two weeks in America to raise funds for the ANC's election war chest, and to entrench his image as the only future leader of South Africa after an election.

For Mr de Klerk, the intent was to counter impressions that he represented the lame-duck government of the past and to assert himself as one of the co-leaders of the future.

On his arrival in Washington, Mr Mandela stubbornly dictated the public debate on the lifting of sanctions by announcing in a television interview that they would only be lifted once legislation was passed in Parliament to implement a TEC.

He maintained this position despite Mr de Klerk's insistence that simple

To Page 2

Political Correspondent Chris Whitfield looks at an evolving National Party policy

Star 5/7/93

The meaning of power sharing

WHEN white South Africans went to the polls in last year's referendum, they were urged by the National Party to support a negotiated future based on "power sharing". The concept was — and still is — subject to wide interpretation, and it is being steadily refined (some would say redefined) in the course of negotiations. The NP's final definition of acceptable power sharing will, of course, partly determine the country's future. What does the NP really mean by the term?

At the time of the referendum, President de Klerk and others explained that power sharing meant a party getting 51 percent of the vote would not get 100 percent of the power, as parties in Westminster-style systems — including the NP — have in the past.

"Mechanisms" in a new constitution would ensure that the majority could not "dominate" minority groups. In the moments after the announcement of the hefty win for the reformist "Yes" vote, an elated De Klerk stood before a battery of cameras on the steps of Tuynhuys and told the watching world that the NP's new

mandate to negotiate a power sharing deal would guarantee everyone a place in the sun.

Earlier NP proposals, most specifically its "framework" for a new constitution unveiled in Bloemfontein late in 1991, introduced the phrase "participatory democracy". The document mooted an executive made up of all the major parties. At the same time the first suggestion of a rotating presidency — probably consisting of the three leaders of the major parties — was raised. Government Ministers at the time also pointed to other parts of the document that would entrench power sharing. These included a proportional representation voting system, "regionalism" (as they preferred to call it) and a Bill of Rights. This vision has been considerably refined over time, although its major elements are still present.

Since then, debate on the issue has largely centred on the interim constitution which, if ANC and Government thinking prevails, will last a full five years. It has been evident for some time that the ANC will accommodate power sharing requirements in the interim stage. This would probably

amount to representation in the Cabinet reflecting the percentage of the vote gained in an election. How leaders of the major parties will be accommodated is still being "kicked about" by ANC negotiators.

Presuming that the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) or armed rightwingers do not destroy negotiations entirely before agreement is reached on an interim constitution, it seems the NP's mandated desire for power-sharing will be part of that agreement. But can it hope to extend such an agreement to the final constitution, scheduled to be drawn up by that interim parliament?

Bottom line

Yes, says President de Klerk. Opening the short session of Parliament in October last year he spelt out his bottom line on negotiations — an elected constituent assembly would not be given a blank cheque to negotiate any constitution. In an interview with Britain's Financial Times recently, he said: "We are talking about the need, in a government of national unity, to be governed on the basis of consensus between the

main role players when considering fundamental issues."

The newspaper concluded that De Klerk was not about to hand over power to a majority-rule, winner-take-all black government: "Not now, not ever."

The Government proposals for an interim constitution tabled in a negotiations technical committee last month gave more detail. In a section on "principles governing constitution-making in South Africa" — the principles that it envisaged would be binding on whatever body draws up the final constitution — it included a section on participatory democracy. It called for "the representation of parties in the executive, relative to their representation in the legislature". No, says the ANC. Anything that smacks of a permanent veto would not be acceptable.

On June 23 the negotiations technical committee on constitutional matters tabled its report on the principles that it suggested could be binding on a constitution-making body. Absent from this was any principle similar to the Government submission for entrenched representation in the Cabinet, immediately giving rise to suggestions that the Govern-

ment had quietly dropped its insistence on power sharing.

Government sources insist this is not the case. One said: "The Government will see to it that the (binding) principles do cater for a sharing of power." Pointing out that considerable debate on the constitutional principles lay ahead, he reverted to the familiar phrase: "The Government will promote mechanisms to ensure 51 percent of the vote does not give any party 100 percent of the power."

What appears to have happened is that the Government — faced with ANC rejection of a system that could seriously curtail its power to govern (presuming it gains a majority in a second election) — has begun to search for less crude ways of achieving this. First hints of this became evident as far back as September last year, at about the time when President de Klerk and Nelson Mandela signed the Record of Understanding which led to a resumption of negotiations. Indications became much more firm in the course of crucial Government/ANC *bosberade* late last year and early this year. The deal was that permanent power sharing, en-

trenched in the executive, would only last five years, while the ANC would make concessions on regionalism.

At that time it became evident that the "rotating presidency" scheme was being dropped and there was movement in the thinking on entrenched positions in the executive. Besides the limits on power inherent in the NP's Bill of Rights and the proportional representation system, the Government appears to be looking towards regional power bases, with entrenched representation in and restrictions on central government. "But the debate is not over about the composition, the effect and the influence of the executive," said one Government source.

Some opponents of the Government, with the Codesa 2 breakdown still in mind, believe it may attempt to have the interim constitution transformed into a permanent one. Whatever the case may be, it is evident that the book has not been closed on power sharing, and certainly not in the minds of the more hardline NP members. The question is the extent to which the notion can evolve, without losing its meaning altogether. □

Leaders in ugly clash

(11A) Star 5/7/93

By Peter Fabricius
Washington Bureau

PHILADELPHIA — President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela had an ugly public clash yesterday just moments before they were to receive the Philadelphia Liberty Medal for their joint efforts at peace and reconciliation.

The simmering squabble about sanctions, which has marred their visit to the US, burst out in a savage attack by Mandela on De Klerk at a press conference just before they received the medals in the presence of President Bill Clinton.

The incident jarred completely with the huge, festive celebration marking America's 217th birthday.

Taking up an earlier attack on De Klerk as someone who was "irrelevant to the lifting of sanctions", Mandela slammed him as the leader of an illegitimate government lacking credibility.

"We don't regard him as the president of South Africa, but as a leader put there by only 15 percent of the population," Mandela said bitingly after yet another difference with De Klerk about who had the right to lift sanctions.

Shortly after the clash, the two leaders put aside their differences and mounted a podium in front of Independence Hall where the US Declaration of Independence was signed 217 years ago, to receive the liberty medals from Clinton and Philadelphia mayor Ed Rendell.

After receiving the medals and a \$100 000 cheque they shook hands.

'US has not abandoned FW' — Page 5

Although he did not issue the call for the lifting of sanctions which once seemed possible, Mandela did call upon Americans to invest in the new South Africa.

Clinton replied by saying the US was ready to help with voter education and alleviating poverty.

In his acceptance speech, Mandela said it might seem strange that he as a freedom fighter should be sharing the honour of the award with someone who had been a custodian of apartheid. But he reminded America that their forefathers, who had written the US constitution 200 years ago, had permitted the system of slavery.

In his speech, De Klerk highlighted the importance of the question of federalism and appropriate balance between the State and the central government in South Africa, Sapa reports.

He said there should be a Bill of Rights to protect individuals and minorities, and checks and balances to prevent the misuse of power.

"It is symbolic that we, who are so greatly honoured today represent two power-



At the airport . . . the wounded hijacker is helped by ambulancemen last night. A passenger was also hurt. Picture: Ken Oosterb



A police negotiator . . . carries the hijacker's gun.

'Drunken' hijacker shot in head

By Peter Davies

A dramatic four-hour plane hijack drama ended at Jan Smuts Airport late last night when police stormed a twin-engined Royal Swazi Air Fokker 28 jet and shot the drunken AK-47 wielding hijacker.

The aircraft's pilot and the only other passenger were "slightly wounded" in the

siege which paralysed the airport. The pilot was shot in the left leg, the passenger in the right shoulder, and the hijacker in the head.

They were all reported today to be in a stable condition in the Hydromed Clinic on the East Rand.

Acting State President and Foreign Minister Pik Botha told a hastily called press conference shortly after-

wards that the hijacker struck soon after the aircraft took off from Maputo, Mozambique, en route to Swaziland at about 6.30 pm.

Earlier, Transport Minister Piet Welgemoed rushed to Jan Smuts Airport where he was joined by Botha.

The man, a Mozambican "wanted in his country" and later described by SAP negotiators as "under the influ-

ence of alcohol and very aggressive", threatened the captain with an AK-47 and demanded to be taken to Australia. He also demanded alcohol on the flight.

The captain said he had enough fuel. They were to land at Maseru in Lesotho but were not granted permission because of problems with the landing lights.

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Smuggling not difficult at Maputo's lax airport

By Hans-Peter Bakker
Star Africa Service

How was it possible for a drunken, wanted man, brandishing an AK-47, to get through customs and immigration in Maputo to hijack a Royal Swazi aircraft?

Actually it is not so difficult.

Everybody in Maputo is aware that it is not what you know, but who you know that counts.

As one young Mozambican boy who wanted to sell me a rhino horn assured me: "Customs . . . no problem." He explained that his brother's girlfriend's sister was a customs official and as long as he gave her the word, I could take whatever I wanted out of the country.

I suppose an assault rifle or two packed into my hand-luggage would also have

with a sophisticated, modern airport.

Hours before the departure, passengers start elbowing for the check-in counter. Having a confirmed ticket is no guarantee of getting a seat.

With the prized boarding pass in hand, a sweaty struggle to get through immigration and customs begins.

It is generally accepted that customs officials also need to make a living and are expected to squeeze out of you whatever they can — unless of course you know the right people.

Once through that, another scrum to get on to the plane begins. Sometimes even having a boarding pass is no guarantee of getting a seat on the plane.

If you make it on to the plane you can never know what lethal hand-luggage

'Treated like mushrooms'

Staff Reporters

Confused passengers and spectators were fobbed off with three different untrue stories as the Royal Swazi Air hijack drama unfolded on a distant runway at Jan Smuts Airport last night.

Impatient passengers were told that:

- Strong winds had made it impossible to land.
- There was an obstruction on the runway.
- Oil on the runway had made landing impossible.

Irate passengers converged on the airport's information desk demanding to know when flights were expected. First they were told that the Mauritius flight had to be sent back to Durban.

This was later revised and passengers were told that the plane was expected to land soon.

"They treat us like mush-



Declaration of Independence was signed 217 years ago, to receive the liberty medals from Clinton and Philadelphia mayor Ed Rendell.

After receiving the medals and a \$100 000 cheque they shook hands.

'US has not abandoned.
FW' — Page 5

Although he did not issue the call for the lifting of sanctions which once seemed possible, Mandela did call upon Americans to invest in the new South Africa.

Clinton replied by saying the US was ready to help with voter education and alleviating poverty.

In his acceptance speech, Mandela said it might seem strange that he as a freedom fighter should be sharing the honour of the award with someone who had been a custodian of apartheid. But he reminded America that their forefathers, who had written the US constitution 200 years ago, had permitted the system of slavery.

In his speech, De Klerk highlighted the importance of the question of federalism and appropriate balance between the State and the central government in South Africa, Sapa reports.

He said there should be a Bill of Rights to protect individuals and minorities, and checks and balances to prevent the misuse of power.

"It is symbolic that we, who are so greatly honoured today represent two powerful political forces which have decided to break out of the cycle of conflict and join hands in the quest for peace and democracy."

Both men received standing ovations from the crowd of several thousand people.

Clinton pledged to go to the G7 summit this week and strive to have a democratic South Africa included in the world economy. He paid tribute to Mandela for his courage and dignity and said he remained "unbowed, unbroken and unembittered" by his 27 years in jail.

He saluted De Klerk for his wisdom and courage in asking his people to give up something that was not theirs in the interests of peace and freedom.

The Rev Leon Sullivan, the black cleric who instituted the code of conduct for American investors in South Africa, spoke for at least some of the crowd when he said "the main reason we are here is Nelson Mandela".

Several hundred people staged a march to protest against De Klerk receiving the award but did not disrupt

● To Page 3

Leaders Star 5/1/93 in ugly clash

● From Page 1

the ceremony.

The earlier clash between the two leaders followed remarks by Mandela taking exception to De Klerk's forecast that sanctions could be lifted in a matter of weeks and to his announcement that the International Monetary Fund was ready to lend South Africa \$850 million (R2,8 billion).

Mandela had snapped back that the lifting of sanctions and the granting of IMF loans was not the Government's prerogative, but the ANC's.

Yesterday Mandela said the ANC was ready to lift sanctions — possibly within weeks — once a transitional executive council had been installed but that it would first check De Klerk's Government very carefully to ensure it did not interfere as it had with the appointment of a new SABC board.

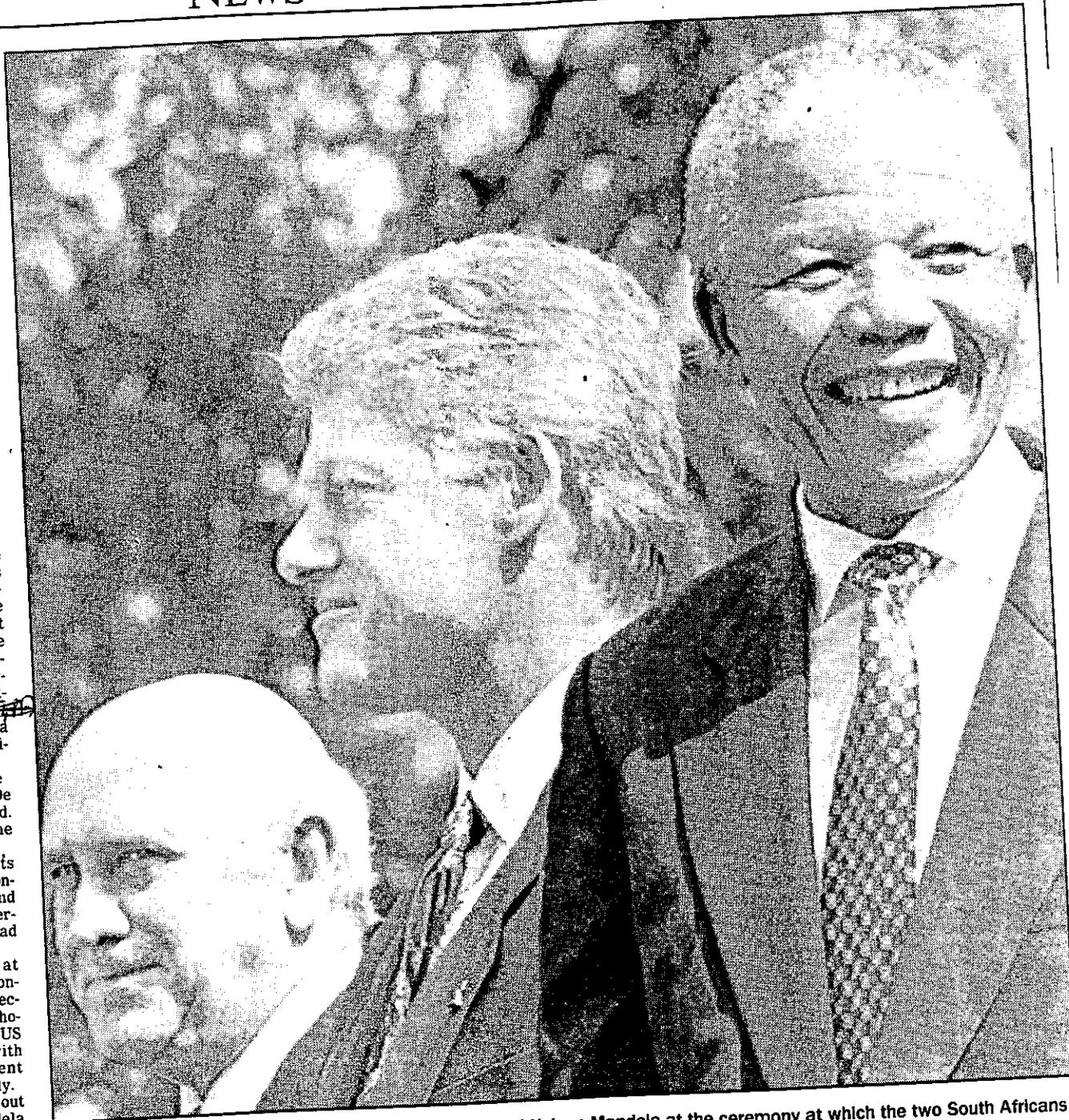
The SABC appointment saga had been a "very painful experience" with De Klerk, he said.

After Mandela's attack, the press conference ended and De Klerk was unable to respond. But he vowed to take up the issue again once at home.

Kaizer Nyatumba reports that there was widespread consternation in Government and National Party circles yesterday at news that Mandela had repeatedly snubbed De Klerk.

They expressed dismay at Mandela's behaviour, and contrasted it with that by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa when he travelled to the US to receive a joint award with Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer recently.

● President de Klerk flew out of the US last night. Mandela will stay on until July 12 to raise funds for the ANC election campaign, reports Sapa.



All smiles . . . President de Klerk, President Clinton and Nelson Mandela at the ceremony at which the two South Africans were presented with Philadelphia Liberty Medals yesterday.

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ET 1793
'Poll must end
ANC alliance'

JOHANNESBURG.
The ANC-led alliance
must be terminated after
elections next year, ac-
cording to the National
Union of Metalworkers
of South Africa. (L.A.)

In a resolution adopt-
ed at Numsa's fourth
national congress which
ended yesterday, the
union said it would sever
formal ties with the
ANC after the election.

It said it would then
deal with the ANC
through groups such as
the National Economic
Forum. — Sapa

'Kill the Boer' must go, says ANC leader

□ Never an official slogan — ^{ARG 5/1/93} We need farmers' ~~(1A)~~ ~~(21A)~~

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE controversial slogan "Kill the Farmer, Kill the Boer" had never been official ANC policy and should be discouraged because it was of no benefit to the movement.

This was said in Hanover Park yesterday by ANC national executive member and election strategist Mr Patrick "Terror" Lekhota.

"It's wrong to use this slogan. We need farmers on our farms. Farmers are part of our people and we must convince them that we need their help to rebuild South Africa."

The slogan would never become ANC policy, he told about 350 people at an ANC meeting in the Hanover Park civic centre.

"Using it is of no benefit to us."

During the time when the movement was engaged in armed struggle it had insisted

that civilians should not become military targets.

Some farmers, especially those in the Northern Transvaal, became embroiled in the conflict because they had been drawn into the SADF.

He said the ANC suspended the armed struggle in 1990 and was committed to peace and reconciliation.

"Any ANC member using this slogan is in conflict with our policies. We are not planning to kill Boers."

He said the ANC leadership had dismissed the slogan as unacceptable.

"We want to win next year's democratic elections. Once we've done this we want to assure all South Africans, including the Boers on farms, they have a future in South Africa."

But the slogan did nothing to allay the fears of farmers.

"This slogan must be kicked out because when farmers look around them and see they are being killed what chance do we give them to move to us from

the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging and Conservative Party?"

ANC members should not allow or encourage colleagues to chant the slogan.

"We need stability if we are to address the problems of our people by providing housing and employment.

"Stability will be ensured if the majority of people in South Africa feel secure after next year's elections."

He said it was important for black South Africans not to forget the past.

"We'll never understand or value our freedom if we forget the past and the price we've paid to be free."

But the future was important as well.

Apartheid had hurt blacks, but it also scarred many whites.

"I say it in all humility. It's important that we say these things, but it is also important that it is said in humility. It could have been worse."

We'll never hand in guns, says Yengeni

Political Staff

(11A) ARG 5/7/93
DURBAN. — War-talk was the order of the day at an African National Congress electioneering rally at which Western Cape leader Tony Yengeni called for all ANC supporters, including women, to be taught how to shoot to prepare for war.

His call echoed another by Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala, that "everyone should be taught how to shoot because there is going to be war."

As a guest speaker addressing more than 500 supporters at Kwaximba near Cato Ridge, Mr Yengeni called on members

to defy the recent call by the government for people to hand in unlicensed firearms. Instead, ANC members should teach people how to shoot so that they could defend their communities.

"We will never hand in our guns because there's still going to be war," said Mr Yengeni.

The days of mothers huddling in fear when their communities were attacked were over: "We must teach our mothers to shoot so that when the Boers and Inkatha come they can be able to defend themselves.

"Take your gun even when

you go to the toilet so that you can defend yourselves," he said.

● The slogan, "Kill the Boer, Kill the Farmer" was heard again after Mr Yengeni defied the organisation's recent banning of the slogan.

He said those calling for ANC youth leader Peter Mokaba to be charged for chanting the slogan were victimising him because the slogan "does not belong to Peter Mokaba, but to us all".

He said: "If the police want to charge Mr Mokaba then they should charge us all."

Western Cape cops' plea for help

Azapo 57 arrested

Sowetan 5/7/93

By Musa Zondi and Sapa

■ **BOP PROTEST** Demonstration was

to 'dismantle bantustans':

FIFTY-SEVEN members of the Azanian Peoples' Organisation were arrested on Friday during a lunchtime protest in the foyer of the building in Johannesburg which houses the Bophuthatswana Consulate-General.

They were taken to John Vorster Square and are due to appear in court today. Fifteen were released on Saturday.

According to Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, deputy-president of Azapo, police at John Vorster Square police station refused to give the arrested people blankets because they were shouting the slogan about killing Boers. "In reality this is a campaign which we have decided on to

speed up the dismantling of the bantustans. We realise that it does not appear there is anybody from the other liberation movements in this country who is willing to engage in activities that will actualise the unitary state by causing the dismantling of the bantustans." Nefolovhodwe said.

Bophuthatswana was the first to be targeted because of the arrest of a priest at an Azapo rally on June 16 outside Rustenburg.

Police said the men would be charged under a section of the Internal Security Act, prohibiting expression

of feelings of hostility between different population groups.

The men would also be charged with public violence, malicious damage to property, resisting arrest and assault.

The protest had come after Azapo announced a campaign at a Press conference earlier in the day against homeland "stooges" who had representation at negotiations, rather than the people.

Mr Musa Mohammed, an official of the co-ordinating committee that announced the campaign, shouted: "Why am I being arrested?" as a policeman led him by the collar to a van.

NEWS FEATURES Court hears of 'very

Kei dissidents spied for CCB

Sowetan 11/7/93

By Patrick Goodenough

TRANSKEIAN policemen who fled prosecution for hit-squad activities against ANC members in the homeland were later used by CCB agents to inform on political organisations in Johannesburg.

A witness in the continuing Umtata treason trial has provided new insights into links between SA security force members and Transkeian dissidents, and into joint SAP-Transkei Police hit squad activity in the homeland in the late 1980s.

Former Transkei policeman Vulindlela Christopher Shologu has confessed to being a member of an assault force which bungled an attempt to overthrow the military government in 1990—the Duli coup, named after coup leader Craig Duli who died in the attempt.

Shologu is now a state witness in the treason trial of 18 men accused of involvement in the attempt.

He told the court now, two years before the coup attempt, he escaped from Transkei together with a colleague, Sergeant Pumelelo Gumengu, who is facing charges of murdering an ANC member, Mr Sithembele Zokwe.

Gumengu had later offered him work in Johannesburg, where he said he was working for the South African "national intelligence service". Shologu had been asked to provide "a CV" outlining his activities in the police force, including the Zokwe affair. This was passed on to Gumengu's employers. The two then worked together, passing on information gathered at ANC, PAC and Actstop meetings in the region to Gumengu's "boss" — CCB operative "Chappie" Maree.

Gumengu and Shologu were later recruited by rebel Transkei soldier Colonel Craig Duli, and participated in the abortive coup which cost Duli's life, Shologu testified. He described how four unidentified white men in a Kombi had accompanied the armed assault force to the Transkei border, where they wished them success.

When the coup attempt collapsed, Gumengu was arrested while Shologu escaped, to brief senior police officers — a

Colonel Venter, a Colonel Badenhorst and a Captain Viljoen — in Pretoria.

Major-General Bantu Holomisa has repeatedly asked the South African Government to allow his police to question various people in connection with the coup bid, including Foreign Affairs officials, SADF members and police officers.

Aside from his admission of involvement in the coup attempt, Shologu has also been linked to anti-ANC hit squad activities. Since his detention late last year he has identified other former colleagues in the

Transkei police implicated in two killings:

● Gumengu and Sergeant Aron Tyani, of the Butterworth security police, allegedly killed Zokwe in early 1988. He had been targeted because "he had hidden arms in Butterworth and was a former ANC member". The two were later charged but escaped in November 1988, two days before their trial was to begin.

Shologu himself had been "present" during an earlier attempt on Zokwe's life.

● Sergeant Bongani Wana was allegedly involved in the killing of ANC guerrilla Mr Lizo

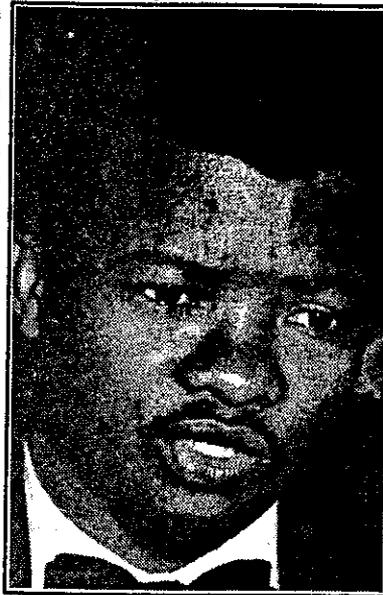
Macanda in Umtata in 1988. Sergeant Mpumelelo Madliwa, of the South African security police, confessed to having collaborated with Wana in the killing.

He later told an inquest court he was sent to Umtata to meet Wana. They changed number plates on their vehicle, were issued with an AK-47 and other weapons, and then gunned down Macanda and two other people. In apparent retaliation, Madliwa himself was gunned down — allegedly by MK cadres — after briefly returning to his Mdantsane home for Christmas 1990.

After the coup attempt, Shologu, Wana and Tyani worked at various times for Ciskei's military intelligence agency.

Shologu was arrested in Transkei last November and turned state witness. The homeland's attorney-general, Mr Chris Nel, has confirmed he is now awaiting the court decision on indemnity in return for testifying.

Tyani and Wana are both lying low in the Border, where Wana has in recent months survived two apparent attempts to abduct him to Transkei. — *Ecn*.



Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa.

506244 5/7/93

Leaders clash

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

CONTROVERSY swirled around the visit to America of Mr Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk where they were expected to jointly receive the Philadelphia Liberty Award last night. (3333) (11A)

De Klerk's visit was greeted with malignant reviews and comments from Washington through New York to London.

Mandela, on the other hand, reportedly refused to be photographed with De Klerk after their separate successive meetings with US President Bill Clinton.

According to *Associated Press* reports, Mandela refused to be photographed with De Klerk beyond last night's joint award ceremony in Philadelphia where they received the Liberty Medal from Clinton "in recognition of their efforts to end apartheid".

The influential London newspaper, *The Sunday Times*, said in an editorial yesterday that De

Klerk was rudely overshadowed by Mandela with whom, White House aides made it very clear, Clinton wanted to forge a lasting relationship. De Klerk's visit was also described as a public relations disaster.

The New York Times and *Washington Post* — America's most influential dailies — referred to De Klerk as a "lame duck president".

Besides avoiding being photographed together during the days before yesterday's award ceremony in Philadelphia, Mandela and De Klerk clashed heavily, through the media, on crucial issues in South Africa.

In their public clash, De Klerk said that sanctions were "unnecessary" and should be lifted when a transitional executive council was agreed upon.

Mandela, on the other hand, said he believed that sanctions should remain until after legislation for the TEC had been passed by Parliament and he was satisfied with the composition of an interim government.

African-American leaders have protested against De Klerk's sharing the medal.



'US has not Star 5/7/93 abandoned De Klerk'

By Peter Fabricius
Star Bureau

PHILADELPHIA — Reports in the London Sunday Times that the United States administration has abandoned President de Klerk and thrown its weight behind the ANC are being dismissed in the US.

The British report follows the separate meetings between US President Bill Clinton and De Klerk and ANC President Nelson Mandela on Friday when Mandela apparently snubbed De Klerk by refusing to be photographed with him and Clinton.

Sources of the US administration, SA Government and ANC pooh-poohed the report yesterday.

US ambassador to South Africa Princeton Lyman, who is in America for the visits of the two South Africans attended both meetings and indicated that neither was consistent with the interpretation that De Klerk had been dropped.

He said both meetings had gone well: "The whole tone and substance of the meetings was to commend both men for the negotiation process and to sup-

port the process."

ANC sources also dismissed the report and said that nothing in Mandela's meeting with Clinton supported it.

They pointed out that the White House had wanted Clinton to be photographed with De Klerk and Mandela to reinforce its view that both were equally important to the process.

A Democratic Party White House would probably be naturally more inclined to be sympathetic to the ANC than the Government but would not show it, the sources said.

South African Government sources also dismissed the report and said that the meeting with Clinton had gone well.

Apart from the business side, the two leaders had swapped professional politicians' observations about the difficulties of elections, and the atmosphere had generally been good.

Commenting on a report in the South African Sunday Times that the White House had snubbed De Klerk's wife Marike — by ignoring her request to meet First Lady Hillary Clinton — Lyman said he did not know if there had been such a request.

It was possible it might have gone directly from De Klerk's office to the White House.

Star 5/7/93

All-in election 'now urgent'

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

Negotiators heaved a sigh of relief at the weekend following the Negotiating Forum's confirmation of April 27 1994 as the date for the country's first all-in elections, but warned that urgency would have to be the catchword.

Negotiators said it was now incumbent on the 26 parties and organisations in the talks to ensure that progress on remaining issues was swift. The Negotiating Forum also ratified agreements on the drafting of legislation for a transitional executive council and discussed how to tackle the ques-

tion of violence.

For the second time in three weeks, the IFP and the CP walked out towards the end of the talks, but this time without the backing of the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), who stayed behind. (FFS)

Political observers believe the two parties will return to negotiations when the Negotiating Council (NC) sits in two weeks' time. (SAP)

The formal setting of the election date has been welcomed abroad, with Canadian External Affairs Minister Perrin Beatty saying his country will lift remaining sanctions as soon as agreement has been reached "on the out-

standing issues".

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer have expressed the hope that the constitution could be adopted by the NC and be ready to be passed in Parliament by August. (IA)

SACP chairman Joe Slovo, yesterday said negotiations had to come to an end soon so that the different parties could prepare for elections.

"The filibustering must stop now that we are 10 months away from an election. There is still some fine-tuning to do, but it looks as though the people will finally have their say," Slovo said.

ANC 'aware of economic situation'

Formula to end sanctions in pipeline

BlDay 5/7/93



ALAN FINE

THE ANC national working committee is to devise "over the next week or two" a new formula to determine the timing of an ANC call for the lifting of financial and other sanctions.

Secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa made this disclosure at a media conference after the multiparty negotiating forum adjourned on Friday.

It followed mixed signals from ANC president Nelson Mandela, who said on his trip abroad that lifting sanctions would have to await legislation establishing a transitional executive council.

Ramaphosa said the working committee would, on instruction from the national executive, assess the ANC's sanctions stance. The ANC was aware of the difficult economic situation.

He said one possibility for the working committee to consider was a formula in which transitional executive committee structures were set up before legislation establishing them was passed.

Ramaphosa said the ANC did not expect the transitional structures to replace the existing government. "But it must have teeth when it comes to levelling the playing field" in the period leading up to the proposed April 27 1994 election.

Meanwhile, Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) members appear to have decided that the election date resolution, passed by "sufficient consensus" on Friday, is not a sufficiently important issue on which to risk a deadlock.

Unhappy at the idea that other parties might seek to "bulldoze" decisions through the negotiating forum without their agree-

ment, Cosag members challenged the ruling and said they did not consider themselves bound by the resolution.

They argued that it was premature to set an election date before full agreement had been reached on all other issues — such as an interim constitution.

The ANC and government blocs concede that agreement on these issues is a prerequisite for an election. However, they argue that setting a date "focuses the mind" on the need for haste in resolving outstanding issues.

Asked about the low-key reaction of his delegation, Bophuthatswana government representative and Cosag strategist Rowan Cronje said a negotiating council subcommittee was investigating the sufficient consensus issue. He was content to await the outcome of this investigation.

Cronje, who is also one of the rotating chairmen of the negotiating council and forum, declined to say what ruling he would have made on the election date resolution had he been in the chair at the time.

Delegates at Friday's negotiating forum meeting confirmed council resolutions on issues including violence; the drafting by a technical committee of an interim constitution; a transitional Bill of Rights; the establishment of an independent electoral commission; an independent media commission; the repeal of discriminatory legislation and laws impeding free political activity; and to establish transitional executive committee structures.

ANC 'catching Nats' as campaign gathers pace

ARG 6/7/93

(11A)

□ Interest growing among whites, says election mastermind

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

THE first phase of the African National Congress's election campaign culminates at the end of the month with the movement well satisfied it is catching up with the National Party, its main rival in the Western Cape.

Next month, it will move on to phase two and early next year into the third and final phases.

The Western Cape region stretches from Alexander Bay to Plettenberg Bay and to Britstown and Richmond in the Karoo.

Mr Cameron Dugmore, head of the ANC organising department, said that while polls showed the movement was still behind the National Party, he was confident it could catch up and draw more than 50 per cent of the vote in the Western Cape — likely to be the country's most hotly contested area.

One poll had shown that ANC support had risen sharply in the coloured community in greater Cape Town, said Mr Dugmore.

It enjoyed overwhelming support among blacks and there were increasing signs of interest among whites, where until now support had been extremely low.

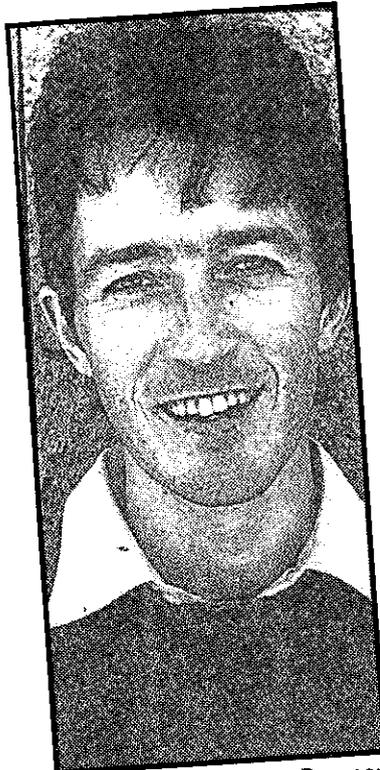
This was apparent from the membership applications that had been received after the distribution of pamphlets setting out what the ANC stood for.

There was also an increasing number of inquiries from public servants.

Given the liberal tradition of the Western Cape, many more whites could be expected to support the ANC, said Mr Dugmore.

Victory in the region would be a special prize for the movement as it would confirm its approach of non-racialism.

The main aim of the campaign's



CONFIDENT: Cameron Dugmore

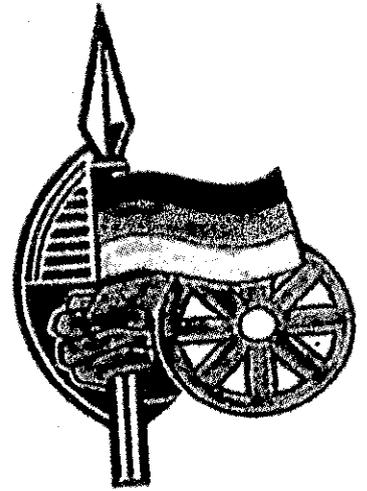
first phase was to put election structures in place at all levels.

An initial canvassing campaign aimed at communicating with all voters was one of the features. This had included house meetings, door-to-door canvassing, information meetings and rallies.

There was an all-out effort, often in co-operation with the Department of Home Affairs and through mobile offices, to issue identity books to all possible voters — a move that had been met with great enthusiasm in squatter communities.

A voter education programme and the training of canvassers were continuing.

Mr Dugmore said the ANC's aim was to have one volunteer worker for



every 100 voters. This meant about 23 000 volunteers would be needed for 2,3 million voters in the region.

A special course for officials on canvassing, campaigning and fundraising had drawn 700 people in one day.

Recently 250 000 pamphlets were distributed.

So far 120 branches with at least 100 members each, and 65 interim branches, had been established.

The second phase of the campaign, from August 31 to December 10, would concentrate on the consolidation and expansion of infrastructure and the finalising of a candidate list and an election manifesto.

In phase three, from mid-January until the end of March, the theme would be "mobilising for victory".

There would be further contact with voters to make sure they knew how and where to vote.

The fourth phase, up to polling day on April 27, would be stepped-up voter contact and final preparations to get the organisation into top gear.

Agreement on steps to end violence as leaders plan peace meeting

Biday 8/7/93

meeting

THE ANC, Inkatha, union federations, security forces and business organisations last night agreed on initial steps to end the violence that has claimed 92 lives in six days in East Rand townships.

In terms of the agreement, a centralised operations room has been established at the Natalspruit Hospital in Katlehong, manned by the Wit/Vaal peace secretariat, which brokered the arrangement, and police.

Delegates to yesterday's meeting in Johannesburg agreed to the opening of commuter routes and security for commuters

in Katlehong and Thokoza.

Secretariat director Peter Harris said the agreement would be communicated to residents through civic associations. Peace accord structures would provide monitors and relief work would be co-ordinated through regional structures.

The ANC and Inkatha also announced that their regional leaderships would meet urgently today in an attempt to defuse the situation. (11A) (11A)

Police, meanwhile, have laid the blame for the violence in Katlehong and Thokoza squarely at the door of the ANC.

ERICA JANKOWITZ and STEPHANE BOTHMA

SAP public relations spokesman Col Johan Mostert said police were "in the process of arresting people responsible" and intended to prove that the violence was being perpetrated by "some ANC-aligned self-defence units which are completely out of control". He said police had evidence of an influx of Umkhonto we Sizwe members, over whom leaders had "no real control", into the area. (11A) (11A)

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said self-

defence units had broader membership than the ANC.

"The police are very quick to collapse the units into the ANC which is not a true reflection of the situation," Niehaus said.

This was no time to trade allegations as both the ANC and Inkatha were involved in investigating the underlying reasons for the conflict. "We are prepared to make every possible contribution to the investigation and are doing so right now."

Inkatha Transvaal leader Themba Khoza said an attempt would be made today "to find joint methods of addressing

and ending the violence" on the East Rand.

He said the Inkatha leadership was involved at grassroots level in Katlehong and Thokoza. "Reports indicate that the level of violence in the area has decreased but that the area is still unstable."

Meanwhile, peace monitors claimed yesterday that feuding parties had abandoned firearms in favour of pangas, spears and petrol bombs in an attempt to avoid police detection. Police sources confirmed that the majority of bodies found in Katlehong and Thokoza yesterday had stab, hack

• To Page 2

Violence

Biday 8/7/93

From Page 1

and burn wounds.

Ten bodies were found by police on Tuesday night, and another 12 by family members after daybreak yesterday, police spokesman Lt Janine Smith said. (11A)

JONATHAN DAVIS reports that the national conference of the SA Council of Churches yesterday broke from its schedule to pray for the victims of this week's outbreak of violence, and to discuss an appropriate response. (11A) (11A)

The Midrand conference decided on a two-phase plan of action, which included an aid programme for victims, and a committee to deal with problems of violence in the area and nationwide.

The national peace committee said it was considering a national peace campaign to be held in September to coincide with the anniversary of the signing of the peace accord on September 14 1991.

• Comment: Page 6

Star 6/7/93

People

flee from marchers

By Justice Malala

At least 35 chanting Azanian People's Organisation members had white people scurrying for cover in the city centre yesterday as they marched from the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court to the organisation's headquarters in Von Wielligh Street.

People hid in shops in the crowded Smal Street Mall as the marchers chanted "One settler, one bullet" and made threatening gestures towards whites. (1A)

The marchers were part of a group that had been to the Magistrate's Court to hear the case of 28 of the 57 Azapo members arrested in connection with a march on the Bophuthatswana Consulate last Friday. They were released on bail of R200 each, the organisation said.

ANC steps in to help teachers

Education Reporter

THE African National Congress is to help teachers to settle differences with their House of Representatives employers.

ANC regional education head Mr Ben Wright said there appeared to be communication problems between the Department of Education and Culture and teacher organisations.

Because of this the ANC had decided to agree to teachers' requests for help in negotiating with the department.

Three teachers have already been helped in this way after "encouraging" talks between the ANC and the department.

Mr Wright said Mr D Mentoer and Mr N Fataar were to have left Voorbrug Secondary School on June 30, but their appointments had now been extended until December.

The department also agreed to allow another teacher, Mr Muavie Gallie, to take study leave in spite of turning down his initial request.

The decisions were made after talks on the teachers' cases between Mr Wright and the department.

ARC 6/7/93

11A

C

Crossroads 'campaign of terror'

Staff Reporter

CROSSROADS leader and ANC member Mr Jeffrey Nongwe allegedly instigated a campaign of terror in Section 2 of Crossroads earlier this year to force residents unwilling to move to Lower Crossroads to flee from the area.

This evidence was given by 29-year-old SA Communist Party member and Section 2 resident known only as "Ms AC" who testified in camera yesterday before

the Goldstone Commission's inquiry into violence in Crossroads.

The commission is being chaired by former attorney-general Mr Niel Ros-souw.

Evidence by the woman was also that police had allegedly transported residents of Section 4 to Section 2 in Casspirs to set squatter shacks on fire.

The woman said her mother's home and her sister's home had also been de-

stroyed during the violence.

The incidents allegedly took place in March and was allegedly Mr Nongwe's response to Section 2 residents' unwillingness to move to Lower Crossroads on his instructions.

The woman said she had left the ANC and joined SACP as Mr Nongwe was not carrying out his duties as an ANC official and branch chairman.

The hearing continues.

CT 6/7/93

CT 6/7/93

Change signal soon

Sowetan 6/7/93

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

A TRANSITIONAL Executive Council will have political power when it is legally instituted after the short session of Parliament later this year. ~~(Sowetan)~~

While elements of the TEC could be in place within weeks, draft legislation will go before Parliament to give legal standing to the body. This would signal the first real shedding of power by the ruling National Party to a more democratic, multiparty force.

A controversy was started when the Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, said in Parliament last month that legislation for the TEC was not necessary.

Meyer did, however, agree at the Negotiating Forum last Friday that legislation would be necessary for the TEC. The secretary of the ANC's negotiations commission, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, said yesterday: "They (Government) were party to decision on Friday that legislation should now be drafted for

the TEC so that it can be empowered by Parliament."

There appear to still be slight differences between the main protagonists, the ANC, and Government, on the exact powers of the TEC. (IIA)

It is understood that the Government does not expect to abdicate after the installation of the TEC and that it is not prepared to shed much executive power.

The ANC and PAC feel, however, that effective political power has to be entrenched in the legislation for the TEC. "Its main task would be to ensure that the playing field is levelled," Moosa said yesterday.

The PAC, while not married to the wording, also has the idea that a Transitional Authority should have effective political power.

The TEC is expected to have sub-councils in law and order, defence, foreign affairs and home affairs.

The ANC wants the IEC to have absolute power.

ANC 'wages war'

Sowetan 6/7/93

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday accused the ANC of mounting a "vicious military offensive" in the Natal Midlands and warned of a showdown.

The IFP warning, dismissed by the ANC as nonsense, came after 43 people were killed in Ntala townships between Thursday and yesterday. The ANC's Midlands region claims many of those killed were its members. The IFP statement yesterday said a showdown was looming between it and ANC representatives on the Natal-KwaZulu Regional Dispute Resolution Committee because of the upsurge in violence.

"The escalating violence in the Natal Midlands coincides with attempts by the ANC to seize contested territory by force," the IFP stated.

It claimed the ANC "offensive" was advancing eastwards from Maritzburg and was linked to

a pattern of territorial expansionism to gain an electoral footing in the region.

In reaction, an ANC Midlands spokesman said: "There is no territory we want to seize. There is no point in doing so. We are in a campaign for free political activity, not only for us but for everyone." He said a military offensive was "out of the question" and "nonsense".

"We are engaged in consolidating ourselves in the region and that has nothing to do with violence.

Both the IFP and ANC have sharply criticised police for the lack of arrests in the wake of daily killings throughout Natal.

June's toll was about 150 — the highest monthly figure this year — and an estimated 800 people have died in Natal so far this year. — Sapa (11A)

PAC 'deal' on white farmers

DURBAN. — The Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army (Apla) would not have to resort to force to gain land for black people if unproductive elderly white farmers occupying vast tracts of land vacated them, according to the Transkei's central region Pan-Africanist Congress vice-chairman, Mr Gilbert Sineke, at

a weekend homeland rally. Mr Sineke said PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu would be requested to advise elderly farmers to "move to old-age homes so that this land is made available to the African people without the use of force by Apla".

He said Apla members had

found lonely, unproductive white farmers occupying vast tracts of land.

"The PAC is fighting for the return of the land and we are happy to learn that white farmers are leaving their farms because of Apla, a move which will facilitate land distribution in our country," he added. — Sapa

THE theory was that President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela should have come here as a neat package symbolising all the kinds of nice and uplifting things that the 4th of July ideally stands for. It was a silly theory, proving yet again the amazing capacity of Americans — especially the worthy sort who hand out medals, prizes, honorary doctorates and other such wall hangings — to view the world in cartoon terms.

Sunday's Freedom Medal extravaganza may have been a splendid way to inaugurate (and help justify) Philadelphia's new multimillion-dollar convention centre. It also did wonders for the egos of sundry local potentates, including mayor Ed Rendell. The Rev Leon Sullivan got to exercise his lungs. And one could not but feel happy for the US Park Service official who introduced Mandela to the media at Independence Hall on Saturday. Turned out in her spiffy Baden-Powell hat and uniform, she looked as she was about to burst with pride. This was surely the high point of her life.

The same could not be said of the honorees. All the massed choirs, laser *son et lumiere* shows and superheated oratory in the world could not have made this an ennobling day for either man. The script called for them to be SA's George Washington, James Madison and Thomas Jefferson rolled into one. In reality, and to put it kindly, they were not quite there yet. Strain as they might for appearances sake, there was no mistaking that these were two very mortal politicians. Theirs was the embrace less of reconciliation than of sumo wrestlers looking to butt each other out of the ring.

Of the two, De Klerk proved himself the cannier competitor, making up for what he lacked in electoral muscle and US crowd appeal with a practised infighter's guile and patience. His boldest stroke was to announce, on Thursday, that the IMF stood ready to advance SA an \$850m loan — up front and in cash — by

Mandela and FW refuse to dance to the American tune

BiDay 6/7/93

SIMON BARBER in Philadelphia

November if only (and the condition did not have to be openly articulated) the ANC would get its act together.

This rocked Mandela on his heels. Simply by agreeing to share the Freedom Medal, he had granted his opponent a new lease of legitimacy and international prestige. Now here was De Klerk pressing home the advantage by making it appear that all that stood between SA's poor, hungry and homeless and their material wellbeing was the ANC's desire for an unfashionably centralised state.

The obvious counterthrust would have been that the ANC had already been highly flexible on the federalism issue, and that it was the government's own intransigence which was holding up the formation of the transitional executive council, and thus the fulfilment of the ANC's already reduced terms for calling off remaining sanctions.

Even more sensible would have been to say that, sanctions or no sanctions, foreign loans and investment would not begin to flow again until those taking the risks saw a solid political consensus on the ground. Otherwise, De Klerk's flank was covered. It was not the government that was holding up the council, he could argue, but Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his Concerned South Africans Group partners, in contrast

especially since he made it seem (which in the end it probably is) a largely partisan operation.

This led to an invidious comparison between De Klerk, the statesman looking out for his country, and Mandela, the party hack, shaking the trees at every opportunity, however inappropriate, for campaign cash. Perhaps, after so many years of struggle, the ANC has grown too used to expediency to care or even recognise how it can look to others. At all events, Mandela seemed never fully to regain his composure. This did not matter to the ANC's US cheering section who would declare him the winner under almost any circumstance. In other quarters, however, his reputation suffered.

The Clinton administration had hoped to seize upon Mandela's and De Klerk's visits as a defining moment. The photos would have said it all: Bill Clinton officiates as two bitter racial antagonists sweep aside the past in a dramatic gesture of reconciliation and head off to build democracy. SA rejoins the community of nations. Clinton unveils new and imaginative policy, perhaps even a doctrine.

Of course, things did not quite turn out that way, and it was probably fanciful to have thought that they would. But it was Mandela who suf-

fered the most from the deflated expectations. De Klerk — and, also, let it be said Buthelezi, who had surely seen the chance of setting the ANC leader up by stalling the negotiations — cornered him into taking the stand that wrecked the show.

De Klerk kept his composure, and said all the right things throughout (well almost — accepting the medal on behalf of the likes of Lucas Mangope was certainly a lapse). Mandela allowed himself to be seen as petty, sanctimonious and not too astute.

His grumpy assertion outside the White House that De Klerk had no right even to predict when sanctions might be removed, and indeed was "totally irrelevant" on that score, was not the rhetoric of a statesman. His insistence the following day that De Klerk had no business dealing with the IMF, for that was the ANC's job, smacked of arrogance.

Nonetheless, one had to sympathise with his outburst at Sunday's joint media conference. Trapped into the contradiction of having to continue to insist on sanctions while at the same time pleading for massive foreign investment and aid to ensure that the new order delivered more than just empty rights, he finally blurted the truth that made the whole medal affair a charade. He could not trust his co-recipient.



Clinton and Mandela at the Philadelphia medal ceremony. Picture: AP

to whom the government was all sweet reason.

Mandela's position was not improved by the stated purpose of his US visit. Understandably, he wanted to play down the importance of the Freedom Medal, since its glory could only reflect on his opponent too. But he erred in emphasising the fundraising aspect to the extent he did,

And out his frustrations tumbled. However much he might decry De Klerk as "illegitimate", the man still held the real reins of power. He might have been elected by only 15% of the population, but he was still president in the world's eyes and could still use the authority and prestige that came with the title to outflank the ANC. At home, he could still use the law to put his own people on the SABC board despite agreeing to be bound by an independent panel of jurists. And what was to stop him doing the same with the transitional executive council unless a law was passed to prevent him?

Only sanctions, a weapon now so self-defeating and contradictory that its possession and use diminished the ANC's stature. Mandela neither needed nor deserved to be put in this position, least all to make Americans feel good on Independence Day.

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PAC eyes 'unproductive land'

DURBAN — Apla would not have to resort to force to gain land for black people if unproductive elderly white farmers occupying vast tracts of land vacated them, said PAC Transkei central region vice-chairman Gilbert Sineke at a weekend homeland rally, Sapa reports.

In a speech, Sineke said PAC president Clarence Makwetu would be requested to advise elderly farmers to "move so that this land is made available to the African people without the use of force by Apla".

He said Apla members had found unproductive white farmers occupying vast tracts of land.

This was disturbing and was an issue Makwetu should take up in his proposed meeting with white farmers, said Sineke.

He went on to criticise multiparty negotiations at the World Trade Centre, charging they would not bring true democracy.

"We do not believe the parties presently represented at the World Trade Centre are willing to put pressure on the regime to accept democratic rule in the country."

ERICA JANKOWITZ reports the PAC yesterday expressed its support for a National Union of Metalworkers of SA

(Numsa) resolution to dissolve Cosatu's alliance with the ANC and SACP after next year's election. (11A)

The PAC said in a statement it had always advocated autonomy of the labour movement "as a matter of policy".

The PAC said it was no secret that workers' aspirations would never be accommodated in the constitution being drawn up by multiparty negotiators.

The PAC strongly supported Numsa's stand on nationalisation.

"Under the racist regime, the SA economy has been the most socialist for the benefit of the minority whites," the statement said.

On the same issue, NP media director Marthinus van Schalkwyk said Numsa's call for nationalisation clearly showed a rift developing between the alliance partners. "This is a clear indication that the struggle for the soul of the ANC has begun.

"At a time when the ANC endeavours to project itself as an organisation moving to the centre of the political and economic spectrum, this decision is hardly good news," he said in a statement.

'PAC faction within ANC'

JOHANNESBURG. —
The National Party
charged yesterday that
there was a faction with-
in the ANC that be-
longed to the PAC.

NP spokesman Mr
Marthinus van Schalk-
wyk was commenting on
Western Cape secretary-
general Mr Tony Yen-
geni's call on the ANC
leadership not to hand
in their weapons and to
prepare for war.

Mr Van Schalkwyk
said this faction in the
ANC had not accepted
yet that a democratic
South Africa would not
tolerate this type of radi-
calism. — Sap. (11A)

US media ignores SA leaders' feud

By Peter Fabricius
Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The American media have enthusiastically applauded the receipt by ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk of the Philadelphia Liberty Medal, hardly placing any stress on the clash between the two leaders which preoccupied the South African press.

It thus appears that the public spat between De Klerk and Mandela just before the ceremony, and the general squabbling that has marked their visits, has not detracted greatly from the positive impact of their joint award.

The story of the award ceremony — presided over by President Bill Clinton — was top news in the Philadelphia news-

papers but less prominent in the national press.

The Philadelphia Enquirer devoted the top two-thirds of its front page to the story, under the headline "City hails Mandela, De Klerk", and used a picture of the medal presentation.

The Enquirer also gave a large amount of space inside the paper to the story and carried the full text of both De Klerk's and Mandela's acceptance speeches.

The New York Times had a picture of Clinton, Mandela and De Klerk on the front page and a small story on page three which called their sharing of the award "something of an incongruous association", but noted that both had been praised by Clinton. (IA)

The Washington Post relegated the story to page three with a photograph and report which observed that although the two South Africans had been "decidedly cool" to each other ear-

lier, they had singled each other out for praise at the ceremony.

The Washington Times also took a positive line with a front-page headline: "Clinton applauds S Africa".

In an editorial, the influential Washington Post called the award ceremony a "moment of deep resonance" and defended the decision to give the award to De Klerk as well as Mandela.

● Leaders of the American Jewish Committee honoured Mandela with an award yesterday in recognition of his contribution to human rights, reports Sapa-Reuter. (20/11/93)

At a meeting in his New York hotel the Jewish leaders also expressed their concerns to Mandela about extremist right-wing groups in South Africa.

Later in the day, Mandela held another private meeting with the Council of Churches before attending a private dinner held by billionaire banker David Rockefeller.

Ideas for new regions pour in

Biday 6/7/93

THE debate on a new regional dispensation has shifted into top gear with the ANC proposing eight new provinces, the DP proposing nine and various other groups suggesting widely differing ideas. (1A) (3/4)

There was so much interest in the debate that the regional delimitation commission established by the negotiations forum yesterday extended the deadline on proposals from today until Friday. (3/4)

Both government and the ANC will publish their submissions today.

It is reliably understood that the ANC intends proposing that SA be divided into eight regions. This would constitute a departure from earlier ANC plans which suggested 10.

The ANC's proposals are broadly based on the nine regions outlined by the SA Development Bank, which in turn were based on the development regions established after the Good Hope and Carlton conferences between government and business in 1981.

Discussion documents published by the ANC last year suggested only one significant departure from the bank's proposal, making provision for a Xhosa homeland including Transkei and Ciskei.

The bank's proposals would broadly maintain the Free State and Natal, divide the Cape into northern, eastern and western sections and the Transvaal into four sections with the PWV at the core.

TIM COHEN

The DP proposed that the Cape be divided into two parts; Ciskei, Transkei and surrounds become Keiland; and Bophuthatswana and surrounding areas become the Kalahari.

It suggests the northern Transvaal area be known as Bushveld, the Free State, Natal and Transvaal retain their names and much of their existing land and the PWV become known as the Witwatersrand.

The DP's proposal uses as its criteria language, functionality, traditional or historical boundaries, demographic characteristics, a meaningful resource base and the proposed region's development potential.

"The DP believes that the gerrymandering with political boundaries which has characterised our past should not be perpetuated," it says.

The official government advisory body, the National Regional Development Advisory Council, also published its proposals yesterday. It suggested seven instead of the present nine development regions, on the grounds that economic viability demanded that there be as few regions as possible.

The council suggests merging the northern and western Cape development regions, and the Free State and western Transvaal.

It also proposes the border of the eastern Cape region be extended to include Transkei.

IFP warmly loyal to 'firm' Buthelezi

CF 6/7/93 (11B)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Inkatha Freedom Party's central committee has reaffirmed its loyalty to its president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in stirring terms.

In a resolution passed on Sunday, the committee said: "We profoundly respect our president ... for the courage he displayed over decades in opposing apartheid."

Chief Buthelezi had a deep conviction of what was right and wrong. "Now that the government and the ANC have come together to sell South Africa down the river, we thank God our president stands firm."

It said President F W de Klerk had retreated "into the ANC camp" and would fail to usher in democracy as promised.

It also expressed disappointment in ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela for taking a course that divided the country and could push it to "the brink of war".

Mandela like 'bull in china shop' (11A)

Political Staff

CT 6/7/93

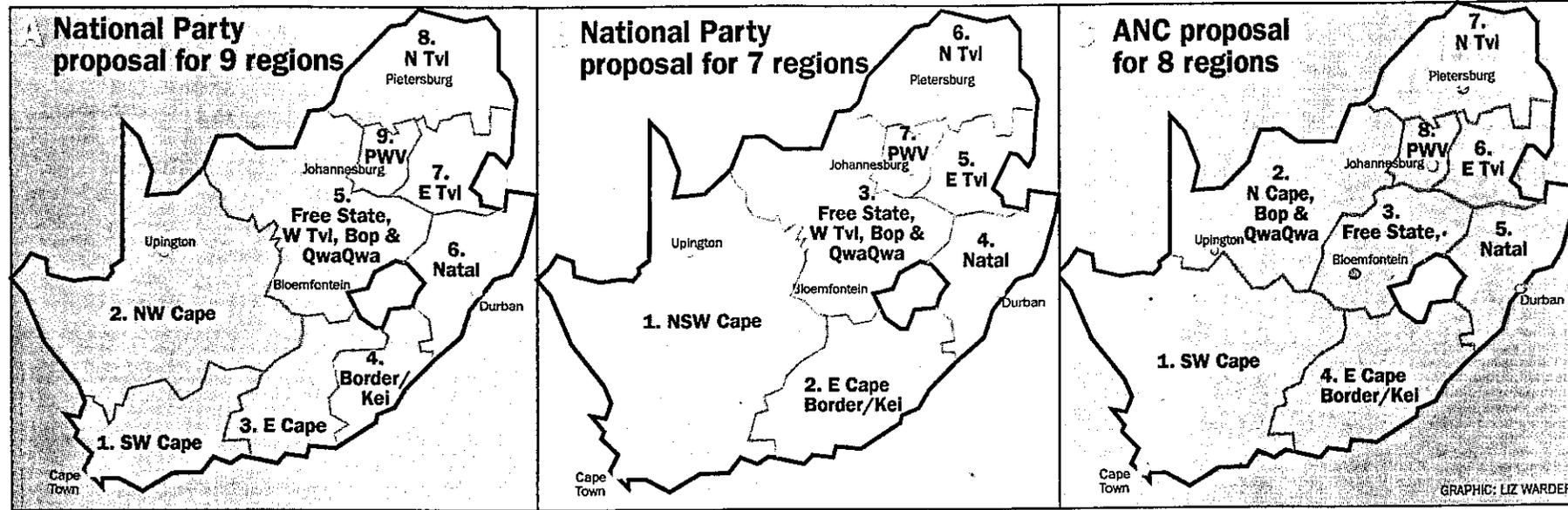
ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's conduct in the US was reminiscent of the "proverbial bull in a china shop", the NP director of media liaison, Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk, said yesterday.

Reacting to Mr Mandela's outburst against President F W de Klerk at a ceremony in Philadelphia where both received liberty medals, Mr Van Schalkwyk said the Mr Mandela's behaviour "is definitely no credit to our country and definitely doesn't credit himself and the ANC".

He said the remarks would definitely not contribute to South Africa's international standing and the respect that all South African leaders should enjoy when visiting foreign countries.

"It is clear Mr Mandela fired the first salvo in the election campaign, but he did so at a totally inappropriate forum."

● See Page 6



Planning for future at Argus

Staff Reporter

The only truly independent press is one which can stand on its own feet financially and politically, Argus Holdings chief executive Doug Band said in an address at the Grahamstown Festival today.

He said recent changes within Argus had and would occur under the broad ambit of "unbundling".

It had to be recognised if the group was to accommodate newspapers under its control and prevent outside intervention, it was necessary to alter some attitudes and structures within the English language newspaper groups themselves.

The unbundling programme extended from spreading the Argus's shareholding, to including a wider representation of the community at board level.

All levels of newspaper staff would be given a stake in the business, and participation of the black community in Argus and black newspapers ownership would be improved.

Cross-shareholdings between the two major English-language newspaper groups, Argus and Times Media Limited would be eliminated and legal changes would be urged to prevent freedom of information ever coming under attack in South Africa again.

Band said there was no point in simply transferring ownership to one or other of the large conglomerates dominating the local business environment.

"Our most fundamental consideration must be the protection of the tradition of editorial integrity. This means any transfer of ownership cannot be given to political parties or parties with political agendas."

ANC, Govt unveil maps for new SA

By Norman Chandler
Pretoria Bureau

The Government and the African National Congress yesterday presented their views of what South Africa should look like in the future.

The Government blueprint calls for either seven or nine regions, and that of the ANC for eight. The familiar provinces — Cape, Natal, Free State and Transvaal — as well as the TBVC states and the independent national states — will disappear.

Both the Government and the ANC agree to a large extent on regions for parts of the eastern Cape, Natal, eastern Transvaal, the PWV, and northern Trans-

vaal, while areas of the western Cape, Free State, Border and northern Cape are points of contention.

"We believe it is desirable and in their own interests for the TBVC states to be incorporated now, to be partners in the transitional executive council, and have a say in the new constitution," said Andre Fourie, Minister for Regional and Land Affairs, in Pretoria yesterday.

The ANC says in a paper to be submitted to the delimitation commission: "All Bantustans must be reincorporated into South Africa." Fourie told a media conference that the Government's view was that there was room for consensus with the ANC on the recommendations.

The Government's blueprints make provision for:

Scenario A: south-western Cape (including Cape Town); north-western Cape (most of Bophuthatswana); eastern Cape; Border/Kei; Free State, western Transvaal, Vryburg Bophuthatswana area and QwaQwa; Natal/KwaZulu; eastern Transvaal/Kangwane, northern Transvaal, Venda, Lebowa and Gazankulu; PWV, remaining portion of Bophuthatswana and KwaNdebele.

Scenario B: northern, southern and western Cape; eastern Cape, Border/Kei; Free State, QwaQwa, most of Bophuthatswana; Natal/KwaZulu; northern Transvaal, Venda, Lebowa and Gazankulu; PWV, portion of Bophuthatswana and KwaNde-

bele; eastern Transvaal and Kangwane.

The ANC's recommendations are: western Cape; eastern Cape, Border/Kei; Free State and QwaQwa; northern Cape and western Transvaal; PWV; eastern Transvaal Kangwane; northern Transvaal and homelands; Natal/KwaZulu. Bophuthatswana is included with the northern Cape.

Fourie said most people had their own ideas as to how the country should be divided.

"It is, however, surprising how similarities develop between the various parties," he added.

The Government's proposal is guided by a maximum devolution of power and functions, entrenched legislative powers

for regions, simultaneous elections for regional and parliamentary legislators and regional representation in the transitional parliament.

The Government had attempted to take into consideration all points of view, particularly in regard to the Free State and eastern Cape areas.

"There is a lot of unhappiness, particularly in areas bordering on Transkei. In addition there have been other responses such as from the northern Cape where people say they are able to sustain themselves," Fourie said.

Various scenarios, based on existing development regions, had been looked at by the Government and the two views published yesterday are believed to be the best.

Fourie denied that proposals for the Free State and northern Cape were suitable for a volkstaat.

The ANC said there had been wide debate on its original discussion document relating to the proposed regions.

Stating that it believed the work of the delimitation commission would be extremely difficult, the ANC said care would have to be taken in determining boundaries. City states had to be avoided — a direct response to a suggestion published yesterday that Pretoria should be separated from the PWV.

The ANC also said that "gerrymandering in South Africa has reinforced a tendency for regions to be disjointed," and that account had to be taken of

Star 7/7/93

IIA

Cash rolls in as Americans fete Mandela

ARG 7/7/93

11A

☐ 'Batteries charged' by visit

CHICAGO. — African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela was the star attraction at a series of fundraising events yesterday aimed at pulling in millions of dollars for the organisation's election campaign.

"I will go back to my country full of strength like a battery that has been charged and I will always think of this occasion with very fond memories," said Mr Mandela during a whirlwind tour which at times recalled the style of the old-time politician on a hunt for campaign dollars.

Supporters at one \$100-a-plate lunch lined up to hand Mr Mandela cheques and cash, and some reports said the ANC leader may have received as much as \$100 000 (R334 000) at a single function.

Chicago Mayor Richard Daley urged residents at one event to "reach down in your pocket" and handed Mandela a symbolic key to the city.

Mr Daley said: "This is a great day for our city. A statesman, a freedom fighter and in-

ternational hero has honoured us with this visit."

Mr Mandela is in the United States on a two-week visit to raise funds for a voter registration drive and to educate the electorate ahead of next year's elections.

An election date of April 27, 1994, was agreed to last week by democracy negotiators. It was supported by the government and the ANC, but opposed by conservative groups.

Mr Mandela has said that of the 22 million voters eligible to take part in the elections to end 350 years of white domination, some 19 million would be voting for the first time.

He told one Chicago support group that "when you are in prison, especially a South African prison where all prisoners are black and all warders are white, then you have to live through that in order to understand how cruel human beings can be to others".

He added: "Friendship and support from friends is something which is a source of tremendous inspiration always and to everyone." — Sapa-Reuter.



DANCING IN THE STREETS: Democ protests against the annulmen

Mugabe warns of farm showdown

ROBIN DREW
Argus Africa News Service

HARARE. — A showdown threatens between the courts and the government of Zimbabwe over the land issue.

President Mugabe, speaking to parliamentarians, said he would "brook no interference"

from the courts over the acquisition of land from white farmers for resettlement.

If necessary, he declared with emotion, "we will have our own UDI". But he hoped to avoid this and to rely on the Land Acquisition Act.

The government intends tak-

ing about half the commercial farmland, amounting to some five million hectares.

Legal opinion has been given that acquisition under the Act may be an abuse of the owner's rights as set out in the Declaration of Rights in the constitution.

IT'S A

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focus on gender

Sowetan 7/1/93

Women delegates battle on at the multiparty talks to make men understand gender issues, says Baleka Kgosistile. She outlines to **Sizakele Kooma** the battle against sexism and the few gains made:



Baleka Kgosistile ... secretary-general of the ANC Women's League.

~~(SASA)~~ (IA) ~~(SASA)~~

"Our participation is important for the input we give on gender issues in guiding a process that will lay the basis for a constitution. But I also believe that our interaction with men is gradually opening their minds to gender issues. They will respect women and realise that they should be taken seriously.

"This will take us as a country forward as far as the role and place of women in decision making is concerned."

Kgosistile said there were limitations in the structure of the negotiations council as to the range of issues they could discuss. She said she believed, however, that a national machinery was needed to sensitise society on women's issues and intervene where there were still discrepancies.

Fully functional

One of the proposals made by the Gender Advisory Committee to the previous forum, Codesa, was for a gender structure to be set up and to be fully functional before a Transitional Executive

'I believe that our interaction with men is gradually opening their minds to gender issues. They will respect women and realise that they should be taken seriously'

Council was put in place.

The structure, which would ensure that gender issues were taken up and did not just end on paper, has not been established.

Said Kgosistile: "Progress at the talks has been very slow. The TEC was supposed to be set up by the end of June but it wasn't. Many changes can also not be made under the present Government."

The sluggish pace of the talks, she believes, should not be taken advantage of by the Government which earlier this year released a list of discriminatory laws that it said would be repealed. Five of the bills, she said, had been submitted to the technical committee on the repeal of discriminatory laws.

No right

"The Government has no right to unilaterally restructure laws. The negotiations forum must decide how the issues are to be addressed. They are not honest, their motive is to win people to their side and get votes when elections come."

What of the women's charter which the Women's National Coalition hopes will be ready by November? It must be given some place in the constitution-making body, Kgosistile said.

TWENTY-SIX political parties and organisations are currently working towards the establishment of equality among all races in South Africa. Among them are women who will also ensure that the new society will not elevate or denigrate its people on the basis of their sex.

Women make up 50 percent of the delegates of the negotiating council.

Despite some hindrances, being ignored by the Press and sometimes ridiculed by their male colleagues, they believe they have achieved a few significant successes on behalf of the female community.

The breakthroughs might not be major but they mean a lot, considering the deeply entrenched sexist views of our patriarchal society.

Guiding principles

Their victories include the reinstatement of what they thought was a guiding principle and an important clause to the negotiations process.

During Codesa the opening line of the declaration of intent stated that the process was moving towards a nonsexist and nonracial South Africa. The line was omitted from the documents of the present talks.

"We fought for its reinstatement because we believe the words reinforce the reasons for the whole process. Our end picture, what we are fighting for, is a nonsexist and nonracist society," ANC delegate Baleka Kgosistile said.

Fair climate

Kgosistile, who is also a member of the organisation's National Executive Council and secretary-general of the ANC Women's League, said women delegates had also drawn the Technical Committee on Violence's attention to the fact that ensuring a fair climate for free political activity during elections should not be discussed in the context of political organisations only.

"While we should ensure that intimidation by opposing political parties does not occur, we should not forget that violence also impacts on women and that this might interfere with their right to engage in free political activity.

"Women are exposed to violence outside and inside their homes, where some of them are prevented by their husbands from attending meetings. They must therefore be legally protected from situations that make them feel vulnerable and therefore unable to participate freely in politics," she said.

Influential crop

But what Kgosistile thinks is most important about women being in the negotiations, is the learning experience it affords the most influential crop of men in the country.

Call to drop
(117) (277)
'Boer' slogan

JOHANNESBURG. — Clerics attending the South African Council of Churches national conference were urged yesterday to condemn the "Kill the Boer, Kill the Farmer" slogan by SACC secretary-general the Rev Frank Chikane.

In his conference report Mr Chikane asked the SACC to condemn right-wing violence as well as all slogans perceived as racist, such as the ANC's "Kill the Farmer, Kill the Boer", and the PAC's "One Settler, One Bullet".

His report was carried by the conference, although a delegate asked why the slogan should be dropped when it had been chanted in the vernacular for years without problems. CJ 7/1/73

Mr Chikane conceded the chant was not new in the vernacular, but warned that it could incite bloodshed

PAC terror plan joy slated

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

THE DP condemned "with disgust" yesterday the PAC's rejoicing that its terror campaign involving the murder of elderly white farmers was succeeding in driving them off the land.

DP agriculture spokesman, Mr Errol Moorcroft, said: "Such a campaign is not only racist and brutal, but it is entirely unwarranted," adding that "there are many options other than murder

for the acquisition of land".

He said the DP stood for the acquisition of land through the rule of law rather than through the barrel of a gun. ^(11A) CT 7/7/73

Mr Moorcroft was reacting to a weekend speech by the PAC's Transkei central region vice-chairman Mr Gilbert Sineke in which he said: "The PAC is fighting for the return of the land and we are happy to learn that white farmers are leaving their farms

because of Apla — a move which will facilitate land distribution in our country."

A farmer in the Albany district, Mr Moorcroft said the PAC's statement would be music in the ears of right-wing whites who were itching to avenge the death of white farmers.

"What the PAC is doing is fueling the flames of a race war which will reduce South Africa to a wasteland," he said.

'Police helped Nongwe supporters with arson'

□ 'Miss AC' testifies to Goldstone Commission

JOHN VILJOEN
Staff Reporter

POLICE have been accused of helping supporters of Crossroads strongman Mr Jeffrey Nongwe in arson attacks on residents this year, in evidence before the Goldstone Commission.

The claims came from a woman, referred to only as "Miss AC" to protect her identity, who testified before the commission at the University of the Western Cape yesterday.

The commission is investigating the causes of the violence in Crossroads.

Miss AC said that as a resident of Section Two she witnessed Nongwe supporters from Section Four disembark from police Caspirs and petrol-bomb homes.

Asked to recall details, she said one of the attacks took place in daylight on a Thursday in March. She remembered that one of the Caspirs from which Nongwe sup-

porters alighted bore the number AC 30.

During the Easter weekend she saw Mr Nongwe's son, Toto, lead a group of more than 100 men who torched the home of her sister, who has testified as Miss AB.

Her sister's home was the only dwelling burnt that day, she said.

Miss AC said she knew Mr Toto Nongwe as they had been ANC youth league marshals together.

She left the ANC because of some of the actions of the leader of the branch, Mr Jeffrey Nongwe.

Mr Nongwe had asked for money to pay for the burial of a Section Four resident, and forced people to pay R5 toward attorney costs, she said.

Miss AC said she, like her sister, joined the SA Communist Party. Mr Nongwe "did not like people joining the SACP" and did not allow it in Section Four, she said.

Section Two residents had come under attack from Mr

Nongwe because they refused to move to Lower Crossroads as he had asked them.

Mr Nongwe had called a meeting and said he would build new houses for them in Section Two and that these would be rented for 75c a month. "He told us that if he did not do that, then the people must kill him," she said.

Section Two people refused to move because Section One residents who had been promised new homes earlier were still in Lower Crossroads.

Miss AC told how she saw her sister's 14-year-old son at a police station after men following Mr Nongwe's instructions had allegedly abducted and assaulted him in Section Four.

The boy, who has testified as Mr AA, had been hit. His face was swollen and his jacket torn and bloodied. He could not speak, she said.

The commission hears further evidence today.

Local Inkatha chairman elected

Political Staff

MR DANIE van der Heever has been elected regional Inkatha Freedom Party chairman.

He replaces Mr Nicolas Myburgh. Mr Van der Heever was elected at an IPF meeting at the weekend.

His executive committee will comprise vice-chairman Mr Alan Gibson, Mr Deon Nel (secretary) and treasurer Mr Bill Horwood.

Mr Myburgh said the IFP, which was going from strength to strength in the Western Cape, would "do its utmost to secure a safe and prosperous future for all South Africans".

'Lone Survivor' to be honoured

Municipal Reporter

DUBBED the Lone Survivor, a 1920s bathing box at Muizenberg which stood up to the Easter storm is to be restored and have a commemorative plaque fitted.

This was decided by the amenities and health committee yesterday.

Meanwhile, the boating pool at the sunken gardens at Muizenberg Pavilion could be restored.

Civic amenities director Jack Kloppers is to be asked to call for tenders for an operator for the boating pool and other "appropriate family-orientated activities".

NEWS Blueprint of future regions ● Desperation pushes former exiles to commit suicide

Sowetan 7/7/93
SA set to get a new look

Sowetan Correspondent

THE Government and the ANC yesterday presented their views on how South Africa should look like in the future.

The Government's blueprint calls for either seven or nine regions and that of the ANC for eight.

The familiar provinces — Cape, Natal, Free State and Transvaal — as well as the TBVC states and the independent national states will disappear.

Both the Government and ANC agree to a large extent on regions for parts of the Eastern Cape, Natal, Eastern Transvaal, the PWV region and Northern Transvaal while areas of the Western Cape, Free State, Border and Northern Cape are points of contention.

"We believe it is desirable and in their own interests for the TBVC states to be incorporated now, to be partners in the

transitional executive council, and have a say in the new constitution," Regional and Land Affairs Minister Mr Andre Fourie said in Pretoria yesterday.

The ANC says in a paper to be submitted to the delimitation commission: "All bantustans must be re-incorporated into South Africa and a united country created." ~~(SOWETA)~~

Fourie told a media conference that the Government's view was that there was room for consensus with the ANC on the recommendations.

He said most people had their own ideas as to how the country should be divided. ~~(IIA)~~

"It is, however, surprising how similarities develop between the various parties," he added.

In its submission, the South African Chamber of Business emphasised the importance of economic considerations.

Calling for a clear statement of basic economic rights of individuals, including corporates, Sacob said it would be a grave oversight to allow such fundamentals as individual property rights to go by default.

It also called for minimising the burden on taxpayers by having the minimum number of regions.

It said regions should be viable economic units.

The South African Association of Consulting Engineers, in its submission, said regional borders should follow watershed dividing lines to facilitate water resource management.

It also submitted that borders should be selected to locate all communities with common interests in "interdependent housing areas, work opportunities, recreational facilities and places of worship" within one region.

Sowetan 7/7/93
Sad plight of ex-exiles

HUNDREDS of jobless returnees are flooding into offices of the South African Council of Churches countrywide looking for food and assistance, the SACC's national conference heard yesterday. ~~(SOWETA)~~

Delegates were told of unacceptable conditions at exile reception centres, of foreign women who returned with their South African husbands only to be abandoned, and of suicides among those who returned and could not make ends meet.

Other delegates told of exiles who could not trace relatives or find jobs and who were streaming to SACC offices for food. A warning was sounded of the possible political ramifications of the problem and the need for urgent and dramatic intervention. ~~(SOWETA)~~

"This is tragic. People who fought for liberation should be enjoying what they fought for. Their situation is an indictment on us," commented SACC presi-

dent Dr Khoza Mgojo.

Facing high unemployment at home, the returnees' plight was aggravated when many did not receive all or part of promised grants due to fraud and irregularities in the now defunct National Coordinating Committee for Refugees.

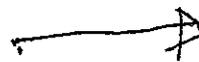
About R55 million intended for the reintegration of exiles was channelled through the NCCR by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees between 1991 and late 1992.

Fraud involving about R400 000 committed through a sophisticated network of computer and bank specialists was detected, while a network of purported returnees who claimed grants on the basis of false UN identification documents was discovered.

About R206 000 of the stolen money was recovered, and charges were brought against those involved, the conference was told. — *Sapa*.

Star 7/7/93

At last, the talks bring



results

IIA HB ~~HP~~ ~~SP~~

WIDESPREAD excitement has greeted the formal adoption by the Negotiating Forum of April 27 next year as the date for the country's first all-inclusive election. The reaction is understandable.

Multiparty negotiations have been going on since December 1991, and bilateral talks between the Government and the African National Congress (ANC) since May 1990, when the two groups discovered that neither side — to use ANC official Thabo Mbeki's phrase — "had horns". Throughout this period negotiators have had precious little to show for their efforts. Instead, a miscellany of factors conspired to make their task difficult.

Violence continued to sweep through the country and ravage largely impoverished communities, the economy showed no real improvement, unemployment soared and the crime rate skyrocketed. Although a few middle-class blacks — including those in the leadership of the ANC — took advantage of the changes and

moved to formerly whites-only suburbs, the overwhelming majority of blacks remained at the lowest rung of the social ladder. For some the situation even worsened.

Negotiations, and the individual interlocutors within the cosy confines of the World Trade Centre, began to be viewed with a degree of scepticism in certain quarters. People became impatient with the snail's pace of negotiations, and dissenting voices within the ANC began to be heard — questioning both the wisdom of remaining within a process which did not deliver, and some of the numerous concessions the organisation was making.

Viewed against this background, the declaration adopted by the Negotiating Council on May 7 — less than a month after popular ANC and South African Communist Party leader Chris Hani's assassination — was an important morale-booster. The negotiators were finally sending a strong message to South Africans that they were going somewhere, and that the process of negotia-

By
**Kaizer
Nyatumba**



tions would not go on endlessly after all.

Now that the date has finally been formally set for April 27 next year — despite vociferous objections from a handful of parties which publicly profess to want democracy but privately fear it — long-suffering South Africans can be forgiven for being a touch excited. Finally *they*, as opposed to the politicians, will get a chance to indicate their preferences.

But apart from the fact that we now know with some certainty when that watershed election will be held, it is questionable whether there is all that much to be excited about in the short term. Agreements reached in negotiations last week suggest strongly that the election will be more for a government of national unity with a five-year life-span, than for the much-vaunted and argued-about

constituent assembly.

As the name suggests, the function of an elected constituent assembly or constitution-making body is to write a constitution. But the Constituent Assembly (CA) to be elected next year will be effectively bound and fettered by the interim constitution to be agreed upon within the next two weeks at the multiparty talks, as well as a host of "constitutional principles".

It is no secret that the Government wants the interim constitution to be as close as possible to the final document to be produced by the CA.

The Inkatha Freedom Party and its fellow conservative allies in the Concerned South Africans Group, on the other hand, are unambiguous about the fact that they want the unelected Negotiating Council to write the constitution.

If, as the agreements reached in negotiations so far suggest, the interim constitution will not differ much from the final one, the powers and functions of regional governments will be determined by the council, and the delimita-

tion of those regions will be done by the council, then the question arises: why elect a constituent assembly?

Agreements reached say quite specifically that the constitutional principles will be *binding* on the CA. The CA will have very little room within which to manoeuvre, and will have to operate within the parameters of agreements fashioned at the World Trade Centre.

This leaves the CA vulnerable to being taken to court by some disgruntled party which might later feel that the body of elected representatives has gone beyond its scope of competence on some issues.

What we are heading for is a federal system — the Government has always insisted on "strong regional government" — whose nuts and bolts will have been finalised at Kempton Park. Unlike the IFP, the Government knew that one could call something by another name and still get it.

Although elections for a CA will be held next year, it can be argued that the Government and the IFP

— and not the ANC — have scored a major victory. The CA to be elected could be a toothless dog, redundant soon after its first sitting.

What next year's election will do, then, will be to separate "the men from the boys", as it were, and once and for all put many insignificant but big-talking parties in their place. Apart from the very small parties, which will disappear, one can imagine groups like the IFP and the Conservative

Party, presently chief proponents of "constructive filibustering" in negotiations, emerging from the election with far less clout than they enjoy at the moment.

It would be more honest to say the April 27 election is going to be for a government of national unity rather than for a constituent assembly, for that is what recent developments in negotiations suggest.

That would further explain the understanding between the Government and the ANC that the CA will not dissolve once the constitution has been written, but will continue as a government of national unity. □

**'Carnage is
to delay
democracy'**

CHICAGO — ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday denounced the latest round of violence in South Africa as the work of anti-democratic forces.

"A very few hours ago, there was a very bad breakdown of law and order," Mandela told an audience of Chicago religious leaders.

"This carnage, this massacre, is intended to divert the attention of the people from that date — from that election," Mandela said during his appearance, where he reportedly raised \$160 000 (about R545 000) for the ANC.

"There are some black leaders who come to political meetings armed to the teeth. They are working in league with sinister forces," he said in an apparent reference to white rightists and others who oppose the reform plans.

"South Africa belongs to all its people — black and white," he said, maintaining the ANC was the only organisation that was fighting for national unity.

Mandela was in Chicago on a two-day mission to raise funds to fight the April 27 elections. — Sapa-AP.



Seeking shelter . . . refugees from the war-torn East Rand on their way to the Palm Ridge Community Hall.

Picture: Gary Barnard

Hands join to end 'war'

By Bronwyn Wilkinson
and Helen Grange

IFP and ANC in combined operation

Star 7/1/93

Amid desperate moves to end the carnage raging in the East Rand townships of Katlehong and Tokoza since Friday, the ANC and IFP agreed yesterday to take part in a joint operation to monitor the latest surge of violence.

Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat director Peter Harris said the ANC wanted the centre — to be based at Natalspruit Hospital — set up immediately. The IFP and security forces have also notified the secretariat of their support.

SAP spokesman Captain

Wikus Weber said the joint operation centre would be manned by security forces, representatives of the warring parties and peace structures.

The peace breakthrough came after local peace committees from the East Rand failed to come to a constructive solution to the violence yesterday. They are meeting again today.

The PAC also announced yesterday that it would meet today to draw up a plan to end the war in East Rand townships. (IIF)

As violence continued, four people were killed last

night, bringing to 48 the number killed since 6 pm on Monday.

Police said four houses were gutted during the night. The townships were quiet, but tense this morning.

Peace monitors said the situation yesterday was "quiet but tense" — but they expected increased violence during the night.

About 50 peace monitors were operating in the two townships under dangerous conditions, a Peace Secretariat source said.

A group of United Nations observers came under heavy AK-47 fire yesterday.

Acting SAP commissioner Lieutenant-General L P E Malan said yesterday that additional SAP and SADF troops had been called into Katlehong and Tokoza.

Responding to charges by residents that police left the area at dusk only to return at dawn to recover bodies, SAP spokesman Colonel Johan Mostert said the SAP was doing "all we can" to patrol under extremely tense and difficult conditions.

Police reported last night that at least 69 people had been killed in East Rand townships since Friday.

Weber said it was difficult to establish the exact time of the deaths or to establish exactly how the people had died.

In one instance, the body of a man lay face-down in the dust across the street from the Tokoza hostel. He had been killed by a shot in the chest before dawn.

Residents throughout Katlehong and Tokoza were streaming out of their homes yesterday to find safety at the Natalspruit Hospital and the nearby Indian area of Palm Ridge.

There was no sound of gunfire yesterday. Monitors

reported that killers seemed to have swapped guns for spears and axes to avoid attracting police with the sound of gunfire.

Few taxis were operating and several businesses on the East Rand said hardly any of their employees were at work.

This was confirmed by police, who reported that several bodies with hack wounds had been recovered.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said in a statement that leaders of the ANC and IFP would have to take far-reaching steps to establish a culture of political tolerance to stop "the horrific violence".

● More reports
- Page 3

Star 7/7/93

Mandela recharges self, ANC coffers

CHICAGO — "I will go back to my country full of strength, like a battery that has been charged, and I will always think of this occasion with very fond memories," said Nelson Mandela during his whirlwind US tour to raise funds for the ANC for next April's all-in elections.

While supporters at one R335-a-plate lunch lined up to hand Mandela cheques and cash, local broadcast re-

ports said the ANC leader may have received as much as R335 000 at a single function.

Chicago mayor Richard Daley urged residents at one event to "reach down deep in your pockets". (11A)

Said Daley: "This is a great day for our city. A statesman, a freedom fighter and international hero has honoured us with this visit."

Mandela told one group in

Chicago: "When you are in prison, especially a South African prison where all prisoners are black and all warders are white, then you have to live through that in order to understand how cruel human beings can be to others."

"Friendship and support from friends is something which is a source of tremendous inspiration always and to everyone," he said.

ANC claims IFP has assassination plan

DURBAN — The ANC in Natal has alleged Inkatha leaders and "elements within the apartheid security forces" have planned to assassinate ANC leaders in the province in the run-up to elections. (11A)

Inkatha has rejected the allegations and said: "We disregard it completely." (11B)

Natal's three ANC regions claimed in a statement that intelligence sources had disclosed a recent meeting in Ulundi had discussed ways of countering the ANC in Natal before elections. 8/7/93

One was to assassinate ANC leaders.

Questioned on the statement, Natal ANC media co-ordinator Dumisani Makhaye said ANC intelligence sources had revealed the alleged plot. But Makhaye said the ANC was not sure who had been represented at the meeting.

Inkatha said its members were in fact the victims of assassinations, citing the death of 275 Inkatha officials over the past several years as proof.

Our Durban correspondent reports Inkatha challenged the ANC to submit evidence to the regional dispute resolution committee or the Goldstone commission.

"It is reliably learned that the meeting took a decision that by the elections there must be no ANC leader in Natal with a high profile still living," said Makhaye.

Inkatha spokesman Ed Tillet accused the ANC of making "dangerous claims" and said the organisation's propagandists were suffering from "delusions of grandeur".

Apla farm attacks legitimate, says PAC

11A

ARC 8/7/93

□ National organiser defends armed action

JOHN VILJOEN
Staff Reporter

APLA attacks on certain farmers are part of a legitimate campaign and not random acts as portrayed by the media, says Pan-Africanist Congress national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanami.

He was speaking to representatives of about 20 PAC Western Cape branches in Cape Town yesterday, with PAC director for publicity and information Mr Waters Toboti.

They also talked about PAC policy on land re-allocation and the organisation's possible withdrawal from the multi-party negotiations and responded to SA Council of Churches general secretary Rev Frank Chikane's condemnation of certain "racist" slogans.

Mr Toboti said PAC members had to be patient with whites, lead them and respond to their concerns.

"We must understand their fears and we must explain with humility — not anger."

The PAC wanted white members.

"You can be very white, but you can be an African by commitment," Mr Toboti said.

Mr Nemadzivhanami said certain farmers had "commit-

ted abuses against our people".

For example, some had dammed water in times of drought, denying neighbouring black farmers irrigation.

"We are entitled to respond to that," he said.

Farmers were resisting legislation guaranteeing a minimum wage for their labourers, while in the Cape the "tot system" which turned children into alcoholics was still evident.

"These are abuses one cannot tolerate. Apla has an historic mission."

When farmers joined commandos they could be considered military targets, he said. The SA Defence Force was arming white farmers while black farmers were denied security.

"If that is not declaring war against our people, I don't know what is. Yet Apla will be singled out," Mr Nemadzivhanami said.

Mr Toboti said Apla was said to be killing "a lot of policemen". But Apla was killing people in the battlefield — not while they were at home asleep with their families.

Mr Toboti said PAC President Mr Clarence Makwetu would make an announcement on the organisation's future involvement in the multi-party talks at a rally in Cape Town

on July 31.

The talks were almost "a political jamboree", a forum in which the PAC had no confidence, Mr Toboti said.

The PAC had legitimate grounds for wanting the talks held at a neutral venue. While the state controlled the security forces the party would be subjected to harassment, such as the recent arrest of leaders.

It would be "a miracle" if elections took place on April 27.

Turning to land re-allocation, Mr Toboti said the PAC would not "confiscate everyone's land".

It would consider compensating people for improvements to land "but we cannot buy it from the settler community".

The PAC was prepared to negotiate on the land issue.

Mr Toboti disagreed with Mr Chikane's rejection of the "One settler, one bullet", and "Kill the boer, kill the farmer" slogans as racist.

"Politics is not the concern of ministers," he said. "We will continue with our programme of liberation."

Mr Nemadzivhanami said slogans were intended to mobilise and educate the masses. In military terms, the settler-bullet slogan paid tribute to quality soldiers who could kill a settler with one shot.

NEWS Businessmen join regionalism debate ● Terre'Blanche sticks to his guns

IFP lauds Buthelezi stand

Sowetan 8/7/93

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's central committee has resolved that multiparty negotiations should stop and that the election date for a constituent assembly be revoked forthwith.

Lauding Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for his "courage", the IFP's central committee feels that their leader has been vindicated by the sell-out of black liberation by the ANC and the ruling National Party.

"We stand in awe of how again and again he (Buthelezi) is proved right. Now that the Government and the ANC have come together to sell South Africa down the river, we thank God that our president (Buthelezi) stands firm on the hallowed values for black liberation," says a statement containing the resolutions of the IFP central committee. The IFP says that, having reviewed the negotiations process, it applauded its negotiators' stand in rejecting the setting of an election date before the country even had a constitution. ~~HB~~ ~~3/2/93~~
The IFP called on President FW de Klerk to

withdraw his support for a constituent assembly and "that the negotiating process now be halted".
"We, the members of the central committee of the IFP, stand appalled at the sudden betrayal of trust on the part of the South African Government when it put the full might of the state behind the ANC-SACP alliance's determination to establish a constituent assembly which any major party could dominate and which will specifically be established to act as both the Parliament and the constitution-making body for the country," the statement says. **(11A)**



By Bronwyn Wilkinson

Star 8/7/93

ANC and IFP talks spark peace hopes

ANC and IFP regional leaders are to meet today for crucial talks to find a solution to the crisis in East Rand townships, sparking hopes that peace will return to the troubled area.

The meeting, brokered by the Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat, comes after five days of intense conflict which has claimed at least 91 lives in Tokoza and adjoining Katle-

hong.

Police blame the warfare on power struggles between ANC and IFP supporters.

An IFP statement yesterday said the respective leaders would meet today "to find joint methods in addressing and ending the violence on the East Rand".

ANC PWV spokesman

Vusi Gunene confirmed that PWV deputy secretary-general Obed Bapela and others would meet their counterparts today.

In another positive development towards peace, a joint control centre manned by the IFP, ANC, security forces and peace structures was set up at Natalspruit

Hospital yesterday.

The townships were uneasily quiet yesterday afternoon, with people returning to the streets for the first time since the weekend.

But barricades still blocked some streets and in others, boulders lay ready to block the road if necessary.

Police conducted a house-

to-house search in Tokoza's Twala section — one of the few areas virtually untouched by killers this week. No weapons were found.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale visited Natalspruit Hospital yesterday, shaking hands and patting the shoulders of

people who told of the terrifying attacks that landed them in the casualty wards.

Sexwale said he understood that people felt angry and vengeful. "But then you stop and think of the collective vision of peace. It will come to pass."

The two then toured Tokoza and Katlehong, but ANC

supporters near the Kwesine hostel prevented them from entering the IFP-dominated area nearby as it was too dangerous.

Police reported that 10 bodies were found early yesterday and another 12 brought in later. Police believed those 12 had been killed over the weekend and their bodies kept indoors by residents too terrified to venture out to hand them to the police.

● They never knew who shot them — Page 3

SA's regional diversity is now recognised to be such that few argue for either a political or developmental framework based exclusively on centralised control. Regionalism has become the political buzzword among almost all political parties.

What is striking about political shifts on the regional tier is just how rapid the shifts have been, and quite how closely aligned different parties' regional visions have become. This rapidly derived consensus appears to be linked to the perceived urgent political need to reincorporate the homelands into SA. A further point is the perception that at least a rudimentary level of institutional capacity and development competence lies in homeland and provincial bureaucracies.

One of the primary problems in the regional debate has been the conflation of regional issues with ethnicity and development issues. These inter-relationships were, of course, deliberately emphasised during the period of Verwoerdian apartheid.

Suspicion on the part of many opponents of the NP government, that regional-federalism would mean the perpetuation of the homeland divisions and "ethnic regionalism", has been considerable.

However, the NP's recent proposals do not have a strong ethnic format. In practice, there are few proposed regions which would have a clear ethno-linguistic identity. The principal exceptions are:

- The western Cape where Afrikaans is spoken by a clear majority;
- The Transkei/Border/eastern Cape region where Xhosa is dominant; and
- Natal, where Zulu is the obviously dominant language.

These three regions survive in basic form irrespective of the various border configurations envisaged by the ANC and NP. In the rest of SA, ethno-linguistic diversity makes it difficult to distinguish a clear majority identity in any one of them, although an Afrikaans/Tswana alliance in the NP's north-

Regionalism poses no threat to an ANC govt's hegemony

B/Day 8/7/93

JEFF McCARTHY

west region is possible.

One of the implicit assumptions of those critical of a regional-federal constitutional framework has been that such a framework would exacerbate SA's high levels of regional inequality in development. Samir Amin, writing in the socialist journal *Work In Progress*, has suggested that federalism seems to be part of Western capitalist strategy to divide the solidarity of the working classes, to believe that under regional-federalism much of the decision-making and financial responsibilities will be transferred from the central level to the "states" or "provinces".

In that case, even if no geographic area with a white majority can be drawn into existence, there will be "rich" and "poor" states. This division will enable the minimal concessions that are required to align a new black political bourgeoisie with the continuation of the system.

The association between race, region, and inequality is, however, by no means self-evident. As early as 1970, Prof Denis Fair of Wits University observed that areas of greatest prosperity were those with the highest percentage of black working class. In addition, SA's ethnic complexity has now been so thoroughly scrambled by urbanisation that it is hard to find a link between

ethnicity, race, and regional income inequality.

Nevertheless, regional income inequalities remain (see report below).

In terms of political allegiances, there are only three regions which could potentially fall outside ANC control on the basis of either the NP or ANC regional breakdowns — the western Cape, the northern Cape/northwest region and Natal.

The ANC's prospects appear weakest in the western Cape where 1992 HSRC surveys showed 54% of potential voters supported the NP and only 15% the ANC. In the northern Cape/northwest it would appear that ANC support is stronger but not sufficient for an outright majority. The NP and its allies could dominate regional government there.

In Natal, ANC support is estimated by the HSRC at only 21% and here, if the HSRC figures are correct, an Inkatha/NP combination could muster a majority of votes.

In all other regions the ANC is likely to dominate the regional tier. Fairly high levels of devolution of powers of revenue-raising and regional responsibility for spending, therefore, need not threaten the ANC's dominance of the national

economy. The ANC would almost certainly retain control in the vital economic heartland of the Transvaal, and would likely also control important peripheral and port regions, including the northern and eastern Transvaal and the Border/Kei area.

So, even if the pattern of events in the western Cape or Natal should not be to the liking of the ANC-controlled central government, it would have several options. It could, for example, strengthen infrastructural trading and port links between the PWV and Maputo, and/or the PWV and East London or Port Elizabeth. This, no doubt, would exert a strong "disciplinary" influence upon any regional "rebelliousness" in Natal and/or the western Cape.

In contrast, carefully constructed regional economic growth strategies designed by possibly more conservative regional regimes in Natal and the western Cape in particular, could provide important forms of economic competition. For example, if the ANC attempted strong redistributive measures, through the political centre and through its control over several regions, it might be possible for more market-oriented or conservative taxation policies in Natal or the western Cape to attract to those regions greater local and interna-

tional investment.

No party that strongly subscribes to a nationalist vision can easily contemplate regional-federalism — unless it is likely to lose the political centre. The NP's recent conversion to regionalism comes, ironically but predictably, in the twilight years of its national political abilities and ambitions, and during a period when it seeks to constrain the central powers of its main competitor — the ANC. That the ANC should be wary of regional-federalism and high levels of regional devolution under such circumstances is understandable.

The ANC's resistance becomes even more understandable in the context of a historical legacy of grand apartheid, and the perception that strong regional government can coincide with ethnic balkanisation and a political coalition-building strategy based upon the maximisation of the divisiveness of ethnicity.

However, given the extent to which regional economic inequalities and urbanisation processes have become disentangled from race and ethnicity, it seems unlikely that such problems could recur. Fiscal transfers will be necessary to offset regional economic inequalities under almost any boundary scenario.

Moreover, it will be necessary to decide how significant regional divisions really are to the reconstruction of the regional tier in comparison with pressing issues of the construction of metropolitan government and rural equivalents. These are the more salient scales at which developmental and regional institutions should operate in the future.

For this to occur, however, the debate on the regional tier will have to move away from political coalition building and servicing of constituencies, and move into a new phase informed by the practical developmental challenge of urban and rural reconstruction.

□ McCarthy is geography professor at the University of Natal, Maritzburg. This is an edited version of an article in the latest edition of the *Urban Foundation* publication, *Development and Democracy*, published today.

SA's regional diversity is now recognised to be such that few argue for either a political or developmental framework based exclusively on centralised control. Regionalism has become the political buzzword among almost all political parties.

What is striking about political shifts on the regional tier is just how rapid the shifts have been, and quite how closely aligned different parties' regional visions have become. This rapidly derived consensus appears to be linked to the perceived urgent political need to reincorporate the homelands into SA. A further point is the perception that at least a rudimentary level of institutional capacity and development competence lies in homeland and provincial bureaucracies.

One of the primary problems in the regional debate has been the conflation of regional issues with ethnicity and development issues. These inter-relationships were, of course, deliberately emphasised during the period of Verwoerdian apartheid.

Suspicion on the part of many opponents of the NP government, that regional-federalism would mean the perpetuation of the homeland divisions and "ethnic regionalism", has been considerable.

However, the NP's recent proposals do not have a strong ethnic format. In practice, there are few proposed regions which would have a clear ethno-linguistic identity. The principal exceptions are:

- The western Cape where Afrikaans is spoken by a clear majority;
- The Transkei/Border/eastern Cape region where Xhosa is dominant; and
- Natal, where Zulu is the obviously dominant language.

These three regions survive in basic form irrespective of the various border configurations envisaged by the ANC and NP. In the rest of SA, ethno-linguistic diversity makes it difficult to distinguish a clear majority identity in any one of them, although an Afrikaans/Tswana alliance in the NP's north-

Regionalism poses no threat to an ANC govt's hegemony

Bl Day 8/7/93

JEFF McCARTHY

west region is possible.

One of the implicit assumptions of those critical of a regional-federal constitutional framework has been that such a framework would exacerbate SA's high levels of regional inequality in development. Samir Amin, writing in the socialist journal *Work In Progress*, has suggested that federalism seems to be part of Western capitalist strategy to divide the solidarity of the working classes, to believe that under regional-federalism much of the decision-making and financial responsibilities will be transferred from the central level to the "states" or "provinces".

In that case, even if no geographic area with a white majority can be drawn into existence, there will be "rich" and "poor" states. This division will enable the minimal concessions that are required to align a new black political bourgeoisie with the continuation of the system.

The association between race, region, and inequality is, however, by no means self-evident. As early as 1970, Prof Denis Fair of Wits University observed that areas of greatest prosperity were those with the highest percentage of black working class. In addition, SA's ethnic complexity has now been so thoroughly scrambled by urbanisation that it is hard to find a link between

ethnicity, race, and regional income inequality.

Nevertheless, regional income inequalities remain (see report below).

In terms of political allegiances, there are only three regions which could potentially fall outside ANC control on the basis of either the NP or ANC regional breakdowns — the western Cape, the northern Cape/northwest region and Natal.

The ANC's prospects appear weakest in the western Cape where 1992 HSRC surveys showed 54% of potential voters supported the NP and only 15% the ANC. In the northern Cape/northwest it would appear that ANC support is stronger but not sufficient for an outright majority. The NP and its allies could dominate regional government there.

In Natal, ANC support is estimated by the HSRC at only 21% and here, if the HSRC figures are correct, an Inkatha/NP combination could muster a majority of votes.

In all other regions the ANC is likely to dominate the regional tier. Fairly high levels of devolution of powers of revenue-raising and regional responsibility for spending, therefore, need not threaten the ANC's dominance of the national

economy. The ANC would almost certainly retain control in the vital economic heartland of the Transvaal, and would likely also control important peripheral and port regions, including the northern and eastern Transvaal and the Border/Kei area.

So, even if the pattern of events in the western Cape or Natal should not be to the liking of the ANC-controlled central government, it would have several options. It could, for example, strengthen infrastructural, trading and port links between the PWV and Maputo, and/or the PWV and East London or Port Elizabeth. This, no doubt, would exert a strong "disciplinary" influence upon any regional "rebelliousness" in Natal and/or the western Cape.

In contrast, carefully constructed regional economic growth strategies designed by possibly more conservative regional regimes in Natal and the western Cape in particular, could provide important forms of economic competition. For example, if the ANC attempted strong redistributive measures, through the political centre and through its control over several regions, it might be possible for more market-oriented or conservative taxation policies in Natal or the western Cape to attract to those regions greater local and interna-

tional investment.

No party that strongly subscribes to a nationalist vision can easily contemplate regional-federalism — unless it is likely to lose the political centre. The NP's recent conversion to regionalism comes, ironically but predictably, in the twilight years of its national political abilities and ambitions, and during a period when it seeks to constrain the central powers of its main competitor — the ANC. That the ANC should be wary of regional-federalism and high levels of regional devolution under such circumstances is understandable.

The ANC's resistance becomes even more understandable in the context of a historical legacy of grand apartheid, and the perception that strong regional government can coincide with ethnic balkanisation and a political coalition-building strategy based upon the maximisation of the divisiveness of ethnicity.

However, given the extent to which regional economic inequalities and urbanisation processes have become disentangled from race and ethnicity, it seems unlikely that such problems could recur. Fiscal transfers will be necessary to offset regional economic inequalities under almost any boundary scenario.

Moreover, it will be necessary to decide how significant regional divisions really are to the reconstruction of the regional tier in comparison with pressing issues of the construction of metropolitan government and rural equivalents. These are the more salient scales at which developmental and regional institutions should operate in the future.

For this to occur, however, the debate on the regional tier will have to move away from political coalition building and servicing of constituencies, and move into a new phase informed by the practical developmental challenge of urban and rural reconstruction.

McCarthy is geography professor at the University of Natal, Maritzburg. This is an edited version of an article in the latest edition of the *Urban Foundation* publication, *Development and Democracy*, published today.

Security scare for Star 8/7/93 Mandela

By Peter Fabricius

CHICAGO — There was a scare in the ANC camp here last night when police discovered an armed man using binoculars to scan a building where ANC president Nelson Mandela was about to speak.

The Star was unable to confirm whether the man had been arrested as one television network reported, but security around Mandela, already stringent, was tightened further.

It is understood he cancelled his usual exercise walk today as a precaution. (IA) SA

The incident occurred at the Plumbers Union Hall where Mandela addressed a rally of about 1 000 workers organised by the Illinois Labour Network Against Apartheid.

The rally was one of the many fundraising engagements in Mandela's American tour to collect money for the ANC's election campaign.

It is understood that police sharpshooters, posted on the roof of a nearby building, noticed a man in the window of an apartment block opposite the hall gazing through binoculars at the spot where Mandela was due to arrive.

Police knocked on his door and discovered he had a rifle.

But it was not clear last night if police suspected that he intended using it against the ANC leader.

The Chicago Tribune is expected to publish a report today suggesting there was no suspicion of foul play and that the man's rifle was unloaded and under his bed.

Holiday schools stuttering

Star 8/7/93
 The Congress of South African Students (Cosas) yesterday urged teachers to throw their weight behind the winter vacation catch-up programme as attendances dropped sharply in most schools. The programme, initiated by the National Education Co-ordinating Committee to help township pupils make up for time lost as a result of disruptions earlier this year, got off to a shaky start on Monday with most schools in the PWV reporting an average 60 percent student attendance rate. — Staff Reporter.

Honorary professors named

Star 8/7/93
 The council of the University of Pretoria has nominated Professor L Schlemmer and Dr H S Hofmeyr to serve as honorary professors, the university announced on Tuesday. Schlemmer will serve in the sociology department, and Hofmeyr in the animal science faculty. The chairman of Momentum Assurers Limited, Laurie Dippenaar (44), has been appointed to the council of the university. — Sapa, Pretoria Bureau.

Reporter is acquitted

A Sunday Star reporter was acquitted in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday on charges of unlawfully and intentionally obstructing a policeman at a student march on May 7. Sibusiso Mabaso (31) thought he overheard Captain Paul Botha (29) ask his men if their weapons were ready. He approached Botha for an explanation and the officer replied: "That's bullshit". An argument ensued and the reporter was arrested. — Staff Reporter.

'Violence drops in June'

Star 8/7/93
 The Human Rights Commission said yesterday it had recorded 352 incidents of political violence during June, well down from more than 500 in May or April. The commission said the figure was nevertheless "alarmingly high". The total number of deaths recorded in the first six months of the year was 1387, 23 percent less than in the same period last year. — Sapa.

'Children taken to morgue'

A policeman who allegedly took four children to a morgue to show them mutilated bodies in an effort to extract information from them appeared in the Stellenbosch Magistrate's Court yesterday. Lance-Sergeant Albertus Hendrick Jacob le Roux (22) was not asked to plead and no charges were put to him. — Sapa

Workers' party on agenda

Star 8/7/93
 The Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa) will hold a conference in Johannesburg on Saturday to discuss the formation of a workers' party, says Wosa spokesman Daniel Solomans. He said Wosa was encouraged by reports that metalworkers had also called for a workers' party. — Political Correspondent.

ANC slams Goldstone

W/MAIL 917-157793
By FAROUK CHOTHIA

THE African National Congress in northern Natal said it was unlikely to make further submissions to the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry as it had failed to investigate violence in the strife-torn region.

In a hard-hitting attack, ANC regional secretary, Senzo Mchunu said the regional executive committee and its grassroots members had become very disillusioned with the commission.

"If we go and take statements from people, they ask us: 'What has happened to statement one, two and three that we gave you?' We have concluded that the commission is useless as far as northern Natal is concerned."

The chairman of the region, Aaron Ndlovu, added: "It's not worth maintaining ties with Mr Justice Richard Goldstone. He started with good intentions but he has been overwhelmed by the weight of the exercise. He has become completely paralysed."

The University of Natal-based violence monitor Mary de Haas said she understood the ANC's frustrations. "When it comes to Transkei and to Apla, Goldstone is quick to act. When it comes to northern Natal, nothing happens."

In response, Judge Goldstone said: "The commission has in no way been less concerned about violence in northern Natal than elsewhere in South Africa."

Ndlovu was also scathing in his criticism of the commission's special investigation unit in Natal, headed by Major Frank Dutton — even though it has earned the respect of ANC militants like Harry Gwala.

Goldstone said that Dutton's unit — which is assisted by European Community police experts and four attorneys — had "ceaselessly" investigated the many incidents of violence referred to it.

ANC, IFP vow to control supporters



ARG 9/7/93

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Regional leaders of the ANC and IFP have committed themselves to controlling their supporters on the East Rand and have agreed to a series of bilateral meetings to end the violence in the area.

The breakthrough came after a meeting yesterday of regional leaders brokered by the Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat.

The leaders endorsed agreements reached at a local level on Wednesday, including the deployment of security forces, the removal of barricades and the resumption of taxi and train services to Katlehong and Tokoza.

At least 95 people have died in violence in the area in the past week.

Both ANC PWV chairman Mr Obed Bapela and IFP Transvaal leader Mr Themba Khoza acknowledged that similar peace initiatives in the area in May had not prevented the latest outbreak.

But they said that this time was "different" as they were now determined to get their followers talking on grassroots level and they had also agreed to increased security force deployment in the townships.

The Wits/Vaal Peace Secretariat agreed to co-ordinate relief aid for people displaced by the violence.

A joint control centre to monitor violence has been set up at Natalspruit Hospital and began to operate yesterday. It is being run by representatives of peace structures, security forces, the ANC and IFP.

A series of regional bilateral meetings had also been set up, with the first set for Tuesday.

Meanwhile, the ANC held an urgent meeting with police generals in Pretoria yesterday to demand swift action to bring the carnage to an end.

ANC national executive committee member Mr Matthew Phosa said the meeting — which was "very frank and sharp" and was attended by 10 police generals and a brigadier — focused on the latest spiral of violence in Natal and the East Rand.

Police Deputy Commissioner Lieutenant-General S J Smit led the police delegation.

● The ANC is to hold a major peace summit in Natal on July 24, ANC Southern Natal chairman Mr Jeff Radebe said yesterday.

Speaking at a Johannesburg Press conference after an ANC delegation met senior police generals in Pretoria, he said the ANC was committed to implementing the programme of joint ANC-Inkatha rallies agreed on during talks between leaders Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

All ANC regions affected by violence would meet on July 19 to discuss the implementation of decisions reached at the summit between Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi.

Slicing up SA's cake

Sowetan 9/1/93

THE MULTIPARTY COMMISSION on the Demarcation of Regions over the past week received various oral and written submissions on a new regional dispensation for South Africa.

The commission on Monday extended the deadline for recommendations to today, as it was overwhelmed with proposals on how South Africa should be restructured in a new regional dispensation, and expected a lot more to flow in this past week.

Among the significant submissions this week were those from the ANC, the Government, the Democratic Party, the AVU and the National Regional Development Advisory Council.

The ANC and the Government appear to be reaching a confluence in their ideas on a new regional dispensation for the country while the AVU, understandably, included an Afrikaner homeland in its proposals.

Both the ANC and the Government used the nine economic regions of the Development Bank of South Africa as the departure point for their recommendations.

The Government has proposed two scenarios (A & B) which provide for seven and nine regions respectively while the ANC has proposed eight regions.

Divided in 10

In its document submitted to the commission on Tuesday, the ANC said its recommendations were based on a decision taken at its May 1992 policy conference where it was resolved that the country should be divided in 10 regions or fewer.

In this regard it proposed the following eight regions:

- The Western Cape, which will include as its northern and eastern boundaries, the magisterial districts of Namaqualand, Kenhardt, Prieska, Hopetown, Philipstown, Colesberg, Noupoot, Richmond, Murraysburg, Beaufort West, Prince Albert, Oudtshoorn, Uniondale and Knysna;
- The Northern Cape, including the western districts of Bophuthatswana, and the Western Transvaal including the rest of Bophuthatswana not within the Orange Free State or PWV regions;
- The OFS including QwaQwa and the ThabaNchu district of Bophuthatswana following 1910 boundaries;
- The Eastern Cape and Border including Ciskei and Transkei and East Griqualand following 1910 boundaries;
- Natal including KwaZulu;
- The Eastern Transvaal including KaNgwane;
- The Northern Transvaal including Lebowa, GaZankulu and Venda; and
- The PWV region including KwaNdebele and the Odi 1 and Moretele districts of

focus on regionalism

Here's how the ANC, the Government, the Democratic Party, the AVU and the National Regional Development Advisory Council see the composition of South Africa in the new dispensation.

Political Correspondent **Ismail Lagardien** reports:



Bophuthatswana.

The ANC stressed that the boundaries of the electoral regions should remain flexible "until finally adopted by the Constituent Assembly".

"We must urge that the Constituent Assembly should be the vehicle to act on any recommendations in respect of proposed regional delimitations," the ANC said.

The Government's preferred scenario is:

- The Western Cape including the Boland, the West Coast, the Southern Cape and the Little Karoo;
- The North Western Cape.
- Eastern Cape excluding Ciskei and Transkei.
- The majority of Ciskei and Transkei.
- OFS, including Western Transvaal, as much of Bophuthatswana as possible and including the Vryburg district.
- KwaZulu-Natal area which includes the so-called Pongola finger, formerly forming part of the Eastern Transvaal development region.
- Eastern Transvaal.
- Northern Transvaal.
- The PWV area, excluding Sasolburg, which will fall under region 5.

Second choice

The basic difference between Government's preferred Scenario A and its second choice, Scenario B is that in the first, regions 1 and 2 (the Western and North Western Cape) are combined to form a single region.

The same principle is applied to regions 3 and 4 (the Eastern Cape and Kei area), thus reducing the total number of regions to seven.

The Minister of Regional and Land Affairs, Mr Andre Fourie, said on Tuesday, when the Government announced its preferences, that the TBVC states could be accommodated in this delimitation with the Transkei and Ciskei being accommodated in the proposed region 4, Bophuthatswana in region 5 and Venda in re-

gion 8.

Fourie said that, while the Government preferred Scenario A, it was not inflexibly tied to it if the commission chose its second scenario.

Fourie pointed out that Scenario A complied with the criteria laid down by the commission, in that four of the proposed regions were more or less identical to the original development regions identified in the 1980s.

"Although Scenario A remains our preference, we will not have sleepless nights if (the commission) removes the boundaries between regions 3 and 4 and regions 1 and 2," Fourie said.

Afrikaans influence

The submission that the AVU made contained a proposal for eight regions, two of which retained a strong Afrikaans influence.

They are Afrikanerland, which includes the Pretoria-Verwoerdburg-Akasia metropolitan area as well as the Eastern Transvaal, and Oranje, which consists of most of the present Cape Province.

This is reportedly where Afrikaans is the predominant language.

The AVU stressed that there would be no forced removals in any of its regions for the sake of ethnic purity.

Its regions are: ● The Kaap die Goeie Hoop (Cape of Good Hope) which includes the Cape Town metropolitan area and Southern Cape coastal region; ● The Kei, made up of the Transkei, Ciskei and Border; ● Satswa which includes the Orange Free State, Western Transvaal and Bophuthatswana; ● Capricorn, which comprises most of the Northern Transvaal; ● KwaZulu, the present Natal province; and ● Egoli, the Witwatersrand and Vaal Triangle region; and 7 and 8. Afrikanerland.

The DP proposed nine regions.

They are: ● Western Cape; ● Eastern Cape;

● Continued on facing page

P.T.O. pg

NEWS Goldstone Comm**Socialist body**
Sowetan 9/11/93
plans own code**By Ismail Lagardien**
Political Correspondent

THE Workers Organisation for Socialist Action enters a decisive conference this weekend to review the negotiation process and forthcoming elections.

Wosa has very serious and fundamental differences with the present process and is expected to emerge from the conference with a detailed programme.

The conference comes after three months of intense deliberations in Wosa's branches around the country as well as with other Leftist groups in a bid to formulate a position on the elections. While Wosa is firmly against participation in the present negotiation process it has left itself open to participation in the election "as a component part of a mass workers' party". (UFA)

and ANC president is tightened up

Mandela US scare

Sowetan 9/7/93

Peter Fabricius
Sowetan Correspondent

CHICAGO — There was a scare in the ANC camp here on Wednesday night when police discovered an armed man using binoculars to scan a building where ANC president Nelson Mandela was about to speak.

It was not clear whether the police suspected foul play and *Sowetan's* sister newspaper, *The Star*, was unable to confirm whether the man had been arrested as one television network reported.

But security around Mandela, which is already stringent, was tightened further and it is understood he cancelled his usual exercise walk as a precaution.

The incident occurred at the

Plumbers Union Hall in downtown Chicago where Mandela addressed a fund raising rally of about 1 000 workers organised by the Illinois Labour Network Against Apartheid — an anti-apartheid group.

It is understood that police sharpshooters, posted on the roof of a nearby building, noticed a man in the window of an apartment block opposite the hall gazing through binoculars at the spot where Mandela was due to arrive.

Police knocked on his door and discovered he had a rifle.

But it was not clear if police suspected that he intended using it against Mandela.

Mandela was due to leave Chicago yesterday for Los Angeles to continue his fund raising drive.



Nelson Mandela



ANC

FM 9/7/93

11A

Uneasy lie the heads

The ANC leadership looks under increasing internal strain as the broad umbrella organisation prepares for the switch from resistance politics to governance.

Latest manifestation of this is the irreverent picture painted by ANC western Cape regional secretary and MK commander Tony Yengeni, who described secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and others as "hiding under tables instead of confronting the boers" when rightwing thugs invaded the negotiating council at the World Trade Centre. Yengeni urged supporters at a Maritzburg rally last Sunday not to surrender their arms.

Not long ago, ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba blatantly ignored the leadership's injunction not to use the "kill the boer, kill the farmer" slogan, which also contravened the ANC's Peace Accord undertaking.

Then there is the thorn in the leadership's side represented by Winnie Mandela's not unsuccessful attempts to build a base for herself among the unorganised masses in squatter camps such as Phola Park, which has reputedly irked ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Concern at being outflanked by the militant Left seems partly to explain Mandela's ungracious attitude to State President FW de Klerk in the US last week, where they jointly received the Liberty Medal from President Bill Clinton (who nevertheless lauded their ability to sink differences and pursue a negotiated solution). After all, with the April general election in sight, the leadership will have been acutely aware of the symbolic downside of appearing to be in bed with "the regime."

"It is clear," said the NP in reaction to Mandela's behaviour, "that Mandela fired the first salvo in the election campaign. The problem is that he did so in a totally inappropriate forum ... The temptation for De Klerk to match Mandela tit-for-tat must have been almost irresistible, but good sense prevailed."

UCT political scientist Robert Schrire observes: "There's no doubt that we've not seen the real realignment in politics, which must come." At the moment, things remain frozen in the old pattern of struggle politics. Yen-

geni, Mokaba and others of their kind hope to capture the core of the movement still dominated by the old guard.

Schrire's remarks seem borne out by this week's announcement by Cosatu's biggest affiliate, the National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa), that it intends to pull out of the ANC-led tripartite alliance, which includes Cosatu and the SA Communist Party, after the general election.

"Once an interim government of national unity is in place, we should not have a formal alliance with the ANC and should rather deal with it through forums such as the National Economic Forum and National

Manpower Commission," Numsa resolved at its fourth congress.

"Cosatu must remain independent of political parties and government both now and in future," the resolution adds, echoing remarks made at the conference by Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo.

The main problem facing Numsa, which wants key industries nationalised, is how to look after unionised workers, a labour aristocracy. Its stock could decline after the election as a notional ANC government feels obliged to uplift non-unionised workers and the poor and may prefer to pursue increased employ-

ment at the expense of higher wages.

The big question, says Schrire, is what happens after the ANC splits. Will moderates retain the core with militants consigned to the periphery, or the other way round?

"This is the worst moment for the moderates, with Ramaphosa and others so engaged in negotiations. But if negotiations succeed we will see a change in the balance of power, with moderates at the helm and able to drive out radicals." (Significantly, Yengeni says that numbers at ANC rallies are declining because supporters are "confused" by the leadership.)

Whether there will be a drift from the ANC to the more militant PAC in this political hiatus is difficult to tell.

The PAC's planned "mass demonstration" against the Right at the World Trade Centre last week was a pretty sorry sight of a handful of chanting cadres. But, says Schrire, there is a gap between the PAC's potential and actual support. Africanist

ideals are bigger than the organisation, which is hobbled by its leadership.

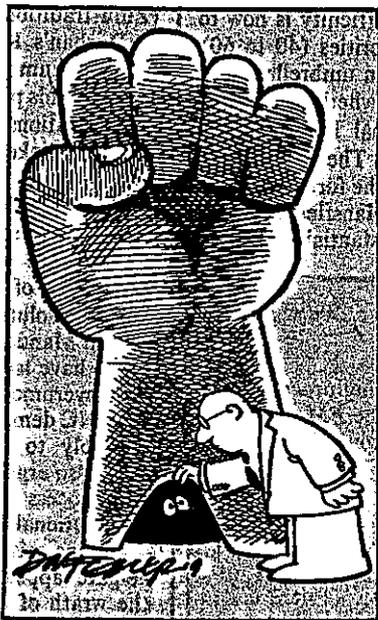
Schrire thinks black politics will split into three camps: the ethnic, predominantly Inkatha camp, which could include the Bophuthatswana status quo and Zionist Christian Church (which this week rejected attempts by the SA Council of Churches to forge links); radical Africanists, comprising hardline economic dissidents, including some from Cosatu, as well as a black consciousness wing; and third, moderate centrists, among whom are Ramaphosa and ANC international affairs chief Thabo Mbeki, who are likely to predominate at least for a few years.

This brings into relief the Youth League's surprising recent promotion of Mbeki for the leadership, an obvious shot across the bows of Ramaphosa, who is thought to have sidelined Mbeki from the ANC negotiations team. After the death of Chris Hanu and given the present aged leadership, they are the only contenders.

According to one insider, the league's move is not so much in spite of Mbeki's elitist image as because of it. While the league does not dislike Ramaphosa and is, of course, populist and militant, there is an African reverence for status and a black elite.

Mbeki epitomises this quality, which includes the tradition of eastern Cape (dare one say Xhosa?) resistance, Lovedale and Fort Hare. The obverse of this undercurrent, it is suggested, is that "Cyril's handicap is that he is only the son of a policeman" whereas Mbeki (who has apparently begun courting the Youth League) is the son of Govan Mbeki — one of the big four alongside Mandela, the deceased Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu. The underdogs, the explanation continues, need someone to look up to, which is why Mandela is so important to all Africans — and blacks in general.

Egalitarianism, it seems, has its limits. ■



LOCAL GOVERNMENT FM 9/7/93

Ringling the changes

The 50:50 power-sharing solution hammered out by local government negotiators is a compromise that clears the way for the replacement of racially elected town and city councils by more representative structures. The process should begin within months, as soon as enabling legislation is passed, possibly in September, as part of the proposed Local Government Reform Initiative Act. But there are doubts whether complete transition can be achieved by the ambitious year-end target.

The format for the dispensation was

MK feels trauma of war

W/maill 9/7-15/7/93

11A

By ALEX DODD

NEARLY three quarters of 180 recently returned Umkhonto weSizwe fighters surveyed by a Wits University professor show signs of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD).

The research, by Jacklyn Cock, came to light at a Military Research Group seminar this week. Cock argued there was a pressing need for the compensation of MK cadres, about 5 000 of whom have returned to South Africa.

Of the 180 ex-MK combatants interviewed by Cock, 72 percent reported suffering from emotional, physical or social problems. Depression and drinking were frequently cited.

PTSD, "the psychological complex of war trauma", had not been sufficiently recognised in South Africa, said Cock. There were no rehabilitation programmes designed to address the psychological problems of ex-soldiers, though many South Africans involved

in conflict on all sides suffered from this debilitating mental illness.

Cock stressed that disease affected not only the sufferers, but also their families. Survival guilt and self-punishment, severe rage and violent impulses towards indiscriminate targets were all symptoms of the condition.

She said demilitarisation did not only involve defence budget cuts. Also necessary were effective social integration and the well-being of demobilised soldiers. MK returnees surveyed by Cock said they had received very little assistance — most had had to rely heavily on the support of their families for food, accommodation and cash.

An MK official commented: "Life in MK did little to equip men and women to face the responsibilities of family, managing money, work and a routine existence ... In exile everything was provided."

PATRICIA DE LILLE'S words are fluent and direct. "They're just using the process to rubber-stamp decisions taken at their bilateral meetings," she says, referring to the African National Congress and the government.

De Lille, the Pan Africanist Congress' new chief negotiator, is briefing PAC leaders on whether to endorse the deal entrenching power-sharing for five years, agreed to by most of the 26 parties at the World Trade Centre.

Long a force within the PAC, De Lille has suddenly exploded on to the wider political scene after replacing PAC general secretary Benny Alexander at the negotiating table a few weeks ago. In a forum where most female delegates seem more like their male colleagues' escorts, she has emerged as a no-nonsense, straight-talking bargainer, impressing many with "a coherence Alexander lacks", as one negotiator put it.

Negotiation is no novelty to this former unionist. Like the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa, she cut her bargaining teeth in the union struggles of the turbulent 1980s, winding her way up the ranks of the PAC-sympathetic South African Chemical Workers' Union. In 1988 she became vice-president of the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu), at a congress where Africanists triumphed over the Black Consciousness wing of the fledgling federation.

De Lille misses unionism, which she believes has degenerated into a "class-advance movement" for the employed.

"At that time we did not just deal with economic issues," she said in an interview at the World Trade Centre. "The union movement was very politicised. It dealt with substantive problems and tried to improve the whole livelihood of our people."

Improving the livelihood of people is something the 42-year-old Capetonian has tried to continue doing since taking a full-time position with the PAC after it was unbanned in 1990. As secretary for relief and aid, she has been involved in setting up projects ranging from primary health care clinics to drought relief.

When the PAC decided to join the negotiations, De Lille served under Alexander. She dismisses speculation that her recent elevation was the result of the sidelining of Alexander, whose brash pro-armed struggle stance was becoming an embarrassment for the PAC.

"Comrade Benny was having personal problems and asked to be temporarily relieved of the task," she says. "His father is very ill, he had the fraud trial hanging over him and his secretary general work was falling behind."

She blushingly concedes, however, that because of her performance at the negotiations, her position has now been made permanent. Accolades about her performance have not been confined to PAC ranks. Political analyst Eugene Nyathi rates her much higher than her predecessor: "She's certainly got much more finesse. She's smarter and more calculated than Alexander, who's more of a street fighter. If I were to give the PAC advice, I would tell them to keep her there."

PAC's tough horse trader

W/1 March 9/7-15/7/93.



Patricia de Lille ... Realistic approach

The PAC's new chief negotiator is certainly not a token woman at the World Trade Centre.

MONDLI MAKHANYA
interviews the no-nonsense, straight-talking bargainer

De Lille is irked by her characterisation as a "dove" and the perception that she is much less in favour of Azanian People's Liberation Army activities than PAC "hawks" such as Alexander. "If I knew what criteria people use, I'd be able to say whether I'm a dove or a hawk. If it's support of armed struggle, the PAC has a policy and no leader can speak out against it."

Whatever her personal views, De Lille has not deviated from the PAC line. The government has broken off bilateral talks with the organisation and tried to have it expelled from the talks because of its refusal to renounce armed struggle. This, she insists, will only happen once a transitional authority and constituent assembly are in place, and any ceasefire will have to bind both sides.

But it is not hard to see why De Lille has been painted a dovish grey. She is said to have been closely allied to former PAC vice-president Dikgang Moseneke, who pushed for the PAC to join the negotiations. She admits he is a role model. "He's a practical politician," she comments. And, as Moseneke is now negotiations

adviser, the two still work together closely.

De Lille also counts among her friends the PAC's information chief, Barney Desai, and constitutional commission head, Willie Seriti.

Groomed by her PAC-supporting school principal father in Beaufort West, De Lille joined the movement in Botswana while on union business there. She went on to organise PAC cells, and now recruits and organises in Mitchell's Plain, where she lives.

Wife to bus driver Edmund and mother of 18-year-old Alistair, she barely has time for family. "But they're very supportive. When they see something political on TV that they think might be of use to me, they record it."

De Lille seems realistic about what can be achieved at a forum effectively run by the government and the ANC. While she has often been in combat with opposing parties, she has been able to engineer strategic retreats for gains further down the line. This has proved important, as the PAC is isolated in the forum.

She blames the "cosy-cosy alignment" between the two major parties and their allies for stifling debate: "There is a master-servant relationship between the two and their junior partners. Some try to please their present masters, others try to please who they think will be their master tomorrow. The junior partners don't state their party lines, but follow those of the senior partner. People can't speak their minds."

She would like to see the current constitution remain in place while a constituent assembly deliberates for a maximum of 18 months, after which fresh elections would be held under the new constitution. "We've lived under this system for 300 years. Surely we can last another 18 months while we write the constitution properly and get it right the first time round," she quips. She sees the PAC fighting the election and then staying out of a government of national unity until the second election in 1999.

De Lille's impact at the World Trade Centre is not restricted to constitutional matters. Before her arrival, women delegates spoke rarely, and then only on gender issues. This has now begun to change. "She's created space for us," said one female delegate.

De Lille has strong feelings about the token presence of women in the talks. (Delegations in the negotiating council are required to have at least one woman member.) "When I joined the process, I made it clear that I was going there as a PAC delegate, not as a woman delegate. What is critical is not the presence or absence of women, but the quality of their participation."

Gazing into her crystal ball, she says the "real revolution" will come in 1997: "After a few years of the new government, the people will become more frustrated and revolt."

This explains her desire stay out of South Africa's emerging political elite. "I don't want to be in parliament. I would like to remain outside and stay in touch with ordinary people."

"The politicians will make a lot of promises to change the socio-economic condition of the masses, but they will not be able to deliver. We'll need a lot of pressure outside official structures to make sure we don't just replace white faces with black faces."

Biday 9/7/93

Govt outsmarted the rest

CONSTITUTIONAL Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa have expressed jubilation and huge optimism at the setting of an election date and the beginning of the drafting of an interim constitution. They believe that a transitional executive is just around the corner, and transformation to democracy is almost complete after three years of talks and talks about talks.

President F W de Klerk this week, too, said decisions at the negotiations last Friday proved conclusively that change was irreversible.

Others are less optimistic. A bank manager says he avoids reading the political news in the newspapers: "It is too manic. One day I am up in the clouds and the next I am down in the dumps. The political pressure just becomes dangerous to my health."

And he may be closer to the truth. Because only the first hurdle has been crossed. All parties (with the exception, perhaps, of the CP) are now talking a similar language and are agreed on the process ahead. But there is lots of negotiating still to do, with the hardest bargaining ahead.

Until now, the major power brokers were fighting to set the process on their specific course, leaving the detail of the crucial issues such as the constitutional principles, the

exact powers and functions of regions, and a Bill of fundamental human rights for later.

Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi implicitly recognised precisely this when he said on Monday that he was not yet prepared to accept the process until he had seen the draft constitution and it had been debated fully.

The ANC/government axis had determined at the beginning of these resumed talks that the major differences between parties on the process to be followed — a transitional executive leading to an interim government which would also draft the final constitution — would be tackled only once all the parties had been locked in with little chance of walking out and marginalising themselves.

They achieved exactly what they set out to do. They locked in key parties like Inkatha, and got broad agreement on the process to be followed. In the process they were condemned for having sealed a secret deal and bulldozing the other parties.

But there was no secret deal. All

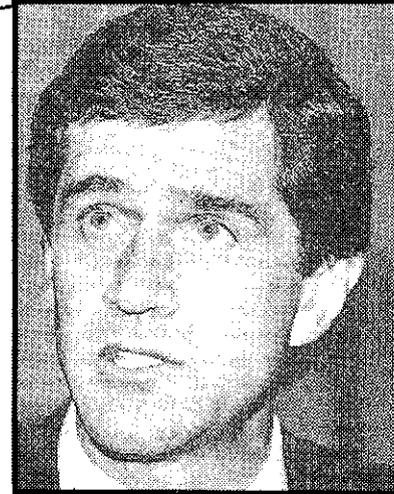
(~~scribble~~) (11A)

BILLY PADDOCK

the indications are that the "victors" were the government strategists and negotiators — who have outmanoeuvred the other parties, including the ANC. And there is a lesson there to be learned by Inkatha, if it wants to learn it.

Government negotiators have said all along that the ANC had to soften its stance and accept both a constitution primarily negotiated in an unselected, multiparty forum and one which gave regions strong powers. But they did not bludgeon the ANC with these demands at every turn, causing the organisation to become inflexible and harden its position.

Instead, they slowly and gently worked on the ANC in the name of inclusivity and legitimacy of the process. At the same time, they gave the ANC negotiators time to bring their constituency along with them in conceding ground on the elected constituent assembly — which is like a



□ MEYER

mantra to the organisation.

The point has now been reached where the ANC has accepted the idea of an interim constitution that is so comprehensive and complete that it will leave the constituent assembly almost no room to manoeuvre. Gov-

ernment has helped the ANC achieve one of its key demands, but this is of no concern because it will achieve little for the ANC.

Now a realignment of forces is about to take place. Government will find itself largely supporting Inkatha's constitutional proposals, simply because it has more in common with Inkatha on this score. And they will be joined by the DP which has always stood for federalism and spoken of a comprehensive "next" constitution.

The ANC will get its constituent assembly, but with the interim constitution's principles being binding on it and justiciable in a constitutional court, it will be shackled to such an extent that, essentially, the final constitution will have been drafted in the non-elected negotiating forum, as originally demanded by government and Inkatha.

The ANC has also accepted a government of national unity, and hence no majority rule and no full democracy, for the next five years at least.

Democracy, as the ANC has effectively conceded, is a luxury which has had to be sacrificed on the altar of peace, stability, reconciliation and economic growth.

We now watch with interest how the ANC will fare against De Klerk in the power-sharing debate.

Inkatha and ANC begin peace meetings

ANC and Inkatha regional leaders began a series of meetings in Johannesburg yesterday in an attempt to resolve the conflict in East Rand townships, where 95 people have died since Friday. (11A)

By yesterday, relative calm had returned to Katlehong and Thokoza, but police reported the death of an SAP sergeant who was abducted and beaten to death while handcuffed to a friend. (11B)

Police spokesman Lt Janine Smith said the second man was seriously injured and was "fighting for his life" in hospital. She said the sergeant and his friend were stopped at an intersection yesterday morning and dragged from their vehicle.

STEPHANE BOTHMA
and ERICA JANKOWITZ

"The two were later found in the veld on the outskirts of the township, handcuffed together. The sergeant was dead," she said.

Three other bodies were discovered in the township yesterday, Smith said.

Inkatha, ANC, Cosatu and SACP regional leaders yesterday announced the formation of a liaison structure to ensure regular meetings between the organisations.

They would meet again on Tuesday to discuss a 12-point plan aimed at ending East Rand violence. The agenda for the meeting would include conflict between

hostel dwellers and the community, the right to own property, the right to hold marches and demonstrations, the removal of impediments to transport, incitement and cultural weapons. (11A) (11B)

Inkatha Transvaal leader Themba Khoza and ANC regional leader Obed Baphela told a news conference yesterday their organisations fully endorsed an agreement aimed at curbing violence reached by political and civic organisations and security forces on Wednesday. Supporters would be addressed to ensure the agreements were adhered to.

In terms of the agreement, public trans-

□ To Page 2

Meetings

port would resume, troops would be deployed in the townships, barricades would be removed and flashpoints secured.

In a separate development, a delegation of senior ANC officials led by Matthew Phosa met senior police officers in Pretoria to discuss violence countrywide. (11A) (11B)

Police said afterwards that it had been decided it was vital to seek immediate solutions to end the strife "before it gets out of hand". Issues discussed included the alleged illegal occupation of homes and the alleged theft of property in certain areas. It was further agreed that outstanding is-

issues would be dealt with on a regional level between the ANC and the SAP as a matter of urgency. (11A) (11B)

Phosa described the meeting as "sharp and frank", saying police denied a lack of policing in the affected areas.

On the issue of self-defence units, Phosa said the ANC would prosecute any members using ANC weapons to perpetrate violence. "Members are armed but, since the suspension of the armed struggle, they would be acting in defiance of orders if they use these weapons," he said.

□ From Page 1

BILLY PADDOCK

Biday 9/7/93
THE fragile reconciliation between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi may come undone after "provocative statements" made in the US.

Buthelezi yesterday reacted angrily to statements attributed to Mandela during his tour of Chicago this week. Mandela was quoted as saying: "Black surrogate organisations in SA are allowed to operate. ... Chief Buthelezi has allowed himself to be used by sinister forces."

Buthelezi said: "One wonders why Mr Mandela has chosen to once again seek to viciously smear both myself and Inkatha and, in so doing, blatantly renege on agreements reached by us at our meeting on

Buthelezi slams Mandela's 'smear'

June 23." (HB) (IA)

When Mandela called Inkatha a surrogate organisation at the UN last year, it led to a standoff between the two leaders that scuppered all attempts by the peace committee to get binding agreements from them to help stop the violence.

Buthelezi said the latest remarks were "untruthful provocation which will further exacerbate tensions between our two parties and hinder the peace process". Mandela had to be aware that the statements were "inflammatory and an explicit contravention of the code of conduct for politi-

□ To Page 2

Buthelezi

Biday 9/7/93

□ From Page 1

cal parties contained in the peace accord

While he believed their recent meeting had gone a long way towards resolving their differences so they could work for peace, Mandela's statements had "again imperilled this process" (IA) (HB)

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the organisation's view was that violence was orchestrated by sinister forces and the recent violence was timed to coincide with the announcement of an election date and

advances in the negotiations process.

The problem of violence was not for just the two leaders to resolve but for the whole political leadership. He said instead of using the media, Buthelezi could have used the joint preparatory committee set up by the two organisations to raise the issue.

Buthelezi said linking the violence to those wanting to block the elections was "cheap party-political rhetoric"

Skatings on firm ice

11th ARG 10/7/93

Patricia de Lille, a key cog in the PAC machinery, no longer keeps her political involvement cocooned

WUYO BAVUMA
Weekend Argus Reporter

MRS PATRICIA de Lille no longer hides her political involvement by telling her family she is going ice-skating.

Neither does she hide the fact that she is an important cog in the Pan Africanist Congress machinery, striving to liberate the African masses.

In her early days of political involvement, Mrs De Lille used to tell her husband, Edwin, that she was attending meetings of her ice-skating club when attending political events.

Today, although she is not your average comrade whose political CV reflects stints in "apartheid" jails, Mrs De Lille's credentials are solid. She has positions on at least seven developmental projects aimed at redressing socio-economic anomalies in South African society.

She believes the situation on the ground is so bad it needs to be addressed immediately — before a new government comes into power.

In her sparsely-furnished city office, decorated with three black and white pictures of PAC stalwarts — current President Clarence Makwetu and former leaders Robert Sobukwe and Zeph Mothopeng —

■ Patricia de Lille, leader of the PAC delegation at the constitutional talks in Kempton Park, is keen to support development projects at grassroots level.

the 42-year-old mother of one of her dual roles as a housewife and globe-trotting political activist.

Recently, Ms De Lille, who lives in Mitchell's Plain, was called on to lead the PAC delegation at the constitutional talks at the World Trade Centre in place of Benny Alexander, who was on leave for three weeks.

Explaining the essence of her movement's case, she said the PAC favoured an elected Constituent Assembly to draw up the country's first democratic constitution, instead of the present "unelected representatives".

It also objected to the prospect of an interim government because that meant "cutting a deal with the regime".

Mrs De Lille is unperturbed to be working in the male-dominated environment of politics, but says she is engaged in a constant battle to assert herself.

"After some time, the men will accept you when they see you are capable of reasoning like them."

But, she and fellow negotiators from 26 other parties were "not assertive enough" to face the onslaught of the rightwingers who gatecrashed the Kempton Park centre.

Mrs De Lille said: "It was a very scary experience. About 100 delegates from various parties rushed into the office of National Party MP Dawie de Villiers and barricaded the doors with chairs and tables.

To her, the three-hour ordeal vindicated the PAC's call that the talks should be held in a neutral venue.

Mrs De Lille's ascent on the PAC ladder began when she was elected as a secretary for foreign affairs after the movement was unbanned in March 1990.

Last year, she became the secretary for relief and aid, which saw her travelling to countries like Iran, the United States, Germany and parts of Eastern Europe.

Like the PAC's general secretary, Mr Alexander, Mrs De Lille cut her political teeth mainly in trade union circles. In 1983, she became general

secretary of the South African Chemical Workers Union, an affiliate of the PAC-aligned trade union organisation, the Council of Unions of South Africa (Cusa). Two years later, she was voted onto the unions' national executive.

Ironically, her first stint with unionism began when she served on a "toothless" liaison committee at a factory where she worked as a laboratory technician.

"The liaison committee merely acted as a link with the workers and management. We talked about wages only," she said.

In 1989, she left her job because she could no longer "justify taking time off" to do voluntary work for the Pan Africanist movement that was established in Johannesburg.

Earlier, Mrs De Lille joined the underground cells of the PAC in Athlone and debated the policies and aims of the movement.

"My family was not aware of my political involvement. It was difficult to justify taking time off but I covered up my

schedule by joining the Eoan drama group and ice-skating club.

Today, she is involved with several developmental projects like Community Resource, South African Drought Relief Task Force, National Children's Rights Committee which deals with UNICEF's "Day of the African" and vaccination programmes for all by 2 000.

Mrs De Lille is concerned that some non-governmental organisations are involved only in their own interests.

"Others impose their programmes on the masses, which are of a handout nature. Some raise funds for the victims of apartheid, but spend just 15 to 20 percent on the needy.

"The rest goes into buying cars, furnishing offices and making jobs for pals they don't even advertise.

"It's pity that billions of rands are streaming into the country in the name of development, yet if you work on the ground you seldom see it."

How does she manage to be a housewife?

"It takes a lot of discipline and good planning, but I have a lot of support from my child and husband."



□ **BIG WHEEL:** Ms Patricia de Lille, PAC leader of the constitutional talks, at her city office. Picture: BRENTON GEACH

**Eikenhof case:
Court adjourns**

0107193
JOHANNESBURG.
The Heidelberg Circuit Court trial of three men accused of killing three people in an ambush at Eikenhof, south of Johannesburg, on March 19 was yesterday adjourned to Monday.

No evidence was led against Mr Boy Ndweni, 19, of Sebokeng, and Mr Siphwe Bholo, 24, and Mr Siphu Gavin, 22, both of Evaton.

They have pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice D J Curlewis and two assessors to 43 charges.

Quo Vadis Afrikaner?
(Dr. D.F. Malan, 16 Desember 1948)

Afrikaners staan weer voor 'n kruispad in die geskiedenis. oplossing vir Suid-Afrika se probleme. Ons reik die hand van vriendskap na u. Die verskeidenheid tale en kulture in 'n Oopregte soeke na vryheid en selfverantwoordelike ons land het die volste reg om te groei en te ontwikkel.

NO-NONSENSE: The ANC's latest ad focuses on a topical issue.

ANC ads 'as newsy as day's headlines'

Star 10/7/93
 (11A)

THE ANC's advertising strategy is one of speedy response, hard-hitting copy and focus on issues, according to AM-C creative director Louis Gavin.

Its latest ad, "Quo Vadis Afrikaner", is an example of the advertising strategy adopted by the ANC. The ad appeared in Beeld just days after the AWB forcibly occupied the World Trade Centre.

Due acknowledgement is given to the fact that all language and cultural groups have a right to grow and develop. The ad expresses the ANC's willingness to work with Afrikaners in search of democratic solutions.

Previously, AM-C has produced ads reacting to

the budget and education crisis for the ANC.

"These advertising campaigns exemplify the no-nonsense, goal-directed approach of AM-C. The ads are distinguished by the speed of response, the quality of craftsmanship and insistence on issues," he says.

"The Quo Vadis ad with its visual of a masked member of the Ystergarde is as newsy as the day's headlines," he notes. "The simple, hard-hitting copy strikes an instant chord with the reader. There is no sloganeering. And the focus is on issues, not personalities."

More of these types of ads can be expected in future, he says.

Star 10/7/93

ANC-supporting daily set to launch

THE New Nation is to launch an ANC-supporting daily later this year in the run-up to the country's first democratic elections, according to its deputy editor, Gabu Tugwana.

At the same time, independent sources claim the liberation movement has approached publishing giant Times Media Limited for advice on starting a daily newspaper of its own.

"We have been advising the ANC over technical issues and logistics on the running of a daily newspaper," TML director Roy Paulsen commented last night.

"We do not believe that we are the

STAFF REPORTERS and ECNA

only publishing organisation the ANC is consulting," he said.

Asked whether British tycoon Tiny Rowland and his multinational conglomerate Lonrho would be backing the proposed paper, Paulsen replied: "It is rumoured he is connected with funding a newspaper for the ANC, which is all we know at this stage."

"Mr Mandela is currently campaigning for funds in American. It is not inconceivable that the issue of funding for an ANC newspaper will be raised as

well," he added.

Paulsen believes that the ANC would like to have its paper in place before the April 27 election date so that it would "have some voice to talk to its people".

The ANC has for some time been mooting the idea of launching a newspaper to counter perceived bias against it in the established media.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC would welcome more newspapers in what he described as the "democratic environment", but confirmed that the organisation was contin-

● TO PAGE 2.

Daily

● FROM PAGE 1.

uing with its efforts to launch its own daily newspaper. (11A)

"If the New Nation becomes a daily it would be fantastic, because they could then respond to issues on a daily basis," he said.

Tugwana said the re-launch of New Nation would have the support and "goodwill", but not the financial backing of the ANC. Local and foreign investors have

given financial support for the venture but Tugwana would not identify the backers.

The name of the title was still under discussion, he said, as was a launch date. But he said it would be well before next April, when the country's first non-racial, democratic elections will be held.

In its present form, the New Nation will print its last edition next Friday before becoming a Sunday paper in August. The paper will then convert to a daily paper.

'NP will play election dirty'

SOUTH 10/7-14/93
by Christelle Terreblanche

THE ANC has punched holes in a National Party (NP) statement that accuses the ANC of tribalism.

The NP had commented on the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) proposal that Mr Thabo Mbeki instead of Mr Cyril Ramaphosa replace Mr Walter Sisulu as the movement's next vice-president.

The NP described the proposal as "embarrassing" because it shows up "ethnic" discrimination and a lack of democracy within the ANC.

"It is well-known that Ramaphosa is a Venda and not a Xhosa," the statement reads. (SOUTH) (11A)

"The fact that Mr Peter Mokaba (ANCYL national leader) and the ANCYL suddenly has problems with the leadership of Ramaphosa could not be explained in any other way."

The statement says that Mbeki, the ANC Foreign Affairs director, would ordinarily be too moderate for the youth, but that he has been proposed because he is a Xhosa.

However, Mr Tony Yengeni, ANC Western Cape secretary, pointed out Mokaba himself was a Venda-speaking person.

"I am disgusted with the NP's dishonesty," Yengeni told SOUTH. "The ANC has for decades been the champions of non-racialism while the NP has brought only death and destruction to this country with its ethnic and racial policies."

"This is a cheap propaganda trick in the wake of the NP rally in Northern Transvaal to win the hearts and minds of Venda. It shows up the Nats approach to the election campaign. They are going to play dirty."

ANC exclusion bodes ill for economic policy

S Times (Bus) 11/7/93

By CIARAN RYAN

THE ANC's exclusion from the National Economic Forum (NEF) threatens to undermine economic policy formulation, say delegates.

Fears that the ANC would refuse to bind itself to NEF policy decisions were raised this week after the first plenary session.

Delegates were treated to the rare spectacle of the ANC attending as an observer while the Government, labour and business presented agreements on issues ranging from collective bargaining to job security and public works programmes.

ANC economics co-ordinator Trevor Manuel objected to the Government's part in economic policy determination.

Seat

Privately, delegates were worried that the ANC might seek to spoil the party, or renegotiate agreements once the transitional executive council had been formed, at which point the ANC would be entitled to a seat on the NEF.

A delegate says: "Differences between labour and the ANC are emerging. You have the unusual situation of Cosatu distancing itself from the ANC."

Cosatu insists that it will have to be consulted about economic policy now and in the future, an issue which could become the first chink in the patriotic front armour.

There are even reports that Cosatu might form a labour party if there is any attempt by a future government to reject its participation in economic policy determination. (IA)

Positive proposals emerged this week from the NEF short-term working group.

There was a defensive tenor in some recommendations, more emphasis on job security and retrenchment policy than on job creation, for example. Other recommendations appear contrary to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

A breakthrough for labour was the agreement on the co-ordination of bargaining at economy, industry and plant levels. Rules for retrenchment were established and a commitment made to establish work security funds in each industry. The money would pay retrenched workers during training. A database of retrenched workers would be compiled.

The Unemployment Insurance Fund is to be restructured to ensure that temporarily laid off workers receive compensation.

Finance Minister Derek Keys sounded a strong warning to protected industries:

"We cannot run a capitalist economy on the assumption that every business that exists will continue to exist and that there will be no re-

trenchments. This is not the way a market economy works.

"One has to operate on the basis that certain businesses which have missed their opportunities are going to die and will be replaced by other businesses that are created, and one has to minimise the cost of these transitions."

The forum highlighted the low funding for job creation.

The Development Bank of SA is to report on proposed short-term public works and training programmes soon.

Customs and excise is to be tightened up to stop the fraudulent import of manufactured goods to avoid payment of tariffs. The offenders have cost many jobs.

Check

Five percent of all consignments will be checked, particularly where employment-sensitive sectors are affected.

Customs staff will be rotated between posts and companies found guilty of fraud will have their names publicised.

In spite of commitment by the Government to reduce the preference for local content in the public tender system, the NEF agreed that "within reasonable financial boundaries" State procurement policies should promote the purchase of SA goods.

Labour-intensive industries are to be given price preference in the State tender system.

The long-term working group outlined four areas of investigation: the investment gap, finance gap, foreign trade gap and labour markets, employment creation and productivity.

Mr Keys' suggestion that the normative economic model would be used as the basis of negotiation was regarded as "presumptuous" by labour delegates who objected to its position on collective bargaining. Labour is preparing two economic models of its own.

The agreed framework for foreign direct investment calls for a stable democracy, consistent and credible economic policies, and "a clear message to foreign investors that SA will welcome foreign investment".

A member of the NEF says: "The real test now is to implement the short-term recommendations and get consensus on the longer-term economic issues."

"This could become a problem unless the ANC lends its support."

The real question is whether an ANC government would want the NEF to restrict its power to implementing policies of its own.

FW hits at ANC, SACP ties

SA MUST never again make the mistakes of practising racial discrimination and injustice, State President FW de Klerk said yesterday.

Addressing a Durban NP youth congress, De Klerk also hit at ANC-SACP ties, claiming a "handful" of communists had wedged their way into the ANC's leadership in an attempt to become part of a future government without traveling the democratic route. (SAPA) (IA)

■ Reports by CP Reporters, Ecna, Sapa.

From 'tea boy' to ANC head of local government

ST Times (C) Metro 11/7/93

By KURT SWART
SOUTH Africans, both black and white, will have to dig slightly deeper into their pockets to help finance the reform of local government.

This was the warning this week from ANC head of local government Thozamile Botha, 45, who is involved in negotiating a new and more democratic system for both rate and rent payers.

Mr Botha, stocky, with a pleasant face and disposition, lives in Rustdal, near Kuils River.

But his work in local government negotiating forums, keeps him based at a Hillbrow hotel for long periods away from his wife and two chil-

dren.
Born in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth on June 15, 1948, Mr Botha's life story is one of academic study, frequently interrupted in the early days by having to work to help support his family, and in later times by political upheaval.

In the turbulent days of the late '70s and early '80s Mr Botha was drawn inexorably into the forefront of the struggle against apartheid because of his intellect and leadership qualities.

His high schooling was interrupted by the need to work at a timber company as a "tea boy" before resuming his studies.

Frustrated

A stint at Fort Hare university studying for law degree ended when the Soweto uprising spread to the Eastern Cape and the university was closed indefinitely following class boycotts.

Mr Botha's first experience of local government was in 1978 when he moved to the new Zwide township, characterised by incomplete houses of poor quality and high rents. By then he was working for the Ford motor company as a workstudy technician.

"In 1979 we formed the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Association (Pebco) of which murdered activist Matthew

Goniwe was a member." Ford management began expressing unhappiness about the number of times one of their workstudy technicians was appearing in the local press. "I was asked to choose between Ford and Pebco, so I walked out of the plant."

But so did 700 workers in protest and Botha was taken back by management. Emboldened, the Ford workers listed 14 demands including equal pay for equal work, the scrapping of job reservation and other discriminatory practices.

When their demands were not met workers downed tools but refused to leave the plant.

"Ford agreed to reinstate the workers after the American consul-general intervened, but I was arrested and was the only one not reinstated."

On his release Botha was slapped with a three-year banning order.

"I couldn't move from my house and could not meet more than one person at a time. Curtailed from pursuing any activity I decided to leave the country for Lesotho."

He studied public administration and political science at the University of Lesotho for two years, and then came the SADF raid on Maseru in 1982.



ON THE CUTTING EDGE: Thozamile Botha
PICTURE: CHRISTINE NESBITT

"Our lives were in danger and we were advised to leave Lesotho. In Lusaka I worked for three years with SA Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) as their admin-

istrative secretary and in 1986 I went to study at the Glasgow College of Education in Scotland where I attained a diploma with distinction in public administration

and management."

Moving on to Strathclyde University in Glasgow he attained a Master of Philosophy (M Phil) degree in political science.

In 1990 he returned to SA. "The ANC asked me to organise a centre on local government to develop policy and strategy for local government negotiations. I registered for my PhD at UWC where I was appointed co-ordinator of the Local Government and Planning Policy Research project."

Transition

In 1991 he was elected onto the ANC National Executive and appointed head of the ANC Local and Regional Government and Housing department. Last year he was elected to serve on the executive of the SA National Civic Association (Sanco).

"The major challenge facing us is the transition of 40 years of apartheid local government to democratic, non-racial structures. The problems include how to integrate towns and cities that have been physically separated and unify the budgets to make them single cities and towns.

"The second major challenge is to change the attitude of those enjoying the benefits of

apartheid policies to one of sharing, and to transform a culture of non-payment in the black townships and teach people to pay the rent and to pay for services rendered.

"These require major public education for both the black and the white communities. The third challenge is how to allay the fear of the white community, especially the right wing, that whites will have to pay

for these reforms."

Property rates were bound to go up, and the rates, rents and service charges in the townships would have to go up as well.

"So reform of local government is going to cost both black and white and if we want to maintain the present level of service provision and the quality of life for all South Africans, we will have to pay a little more."

Foul weather

From page 1

time in a decade shipping in Table Bay Harbour was severely hampered by foul weather and at least five ships were asked to move out to sea to ride out the storm.

At least four people have already been killed as a result of weather-related accidents.

The body of Mr Zennox Vejha was discovered in a canal near the Epping market yesterday morning and the body of Mr J van Wyk, who had apparently drowned, was found close to the N1 near Guguletu.

The local Regional Services Council (RSC) has warned people to stay out of the Faure area after families were evacuated yesterday

morning from houses waist-deep in water, a RSC spokesman said.

At Maccassar low-lying areas were severely flooded, with some houses knee-deep in water forcing residents to abandon their homes. Police in the area rescued hundreds of cattle and sheep trapped by the rising floodwaters.

The ANC in Mitchells Plain appealed to the public on Friday night to donate blankets, warm clothes and non-perishable foods for the destitute squatters.

Over 1 000 squatters were left homeless at the Marconi Beam site in Milnerton, Noordhoek and Crossroads.

In the Boland, the storm was described as the worst since 1984.

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Thebe Corp clears air

By ZB MOLEFE

SOME of the companies in the ANC-linked Thebe Investment Corporation are already profitable while others are about to break even, the corporation said on Friday in response to reports that three of its companies face cash crises.

A prominent report carried by a weekly newspaper reported, among other things, that three Thebe companies were in fact insolvent. The newspaper also reported that

the ANC is said to be so embarrassed by these revelations that Nelson Mandela has personally stepped in to get to the problems facing the corporation sorted out. (11A)

Said the statement: "Thebe is a private company which is battling to empower black people in a hostile social and economic environment. Like any fledgling company, it has its share of successes and failures. (11B)

"Thebe believes that certain organisations have

a vested interest in seeing it fail - witness the bugging incidents and the many unfounded accusations which have been levelled against it.

"Despite this, Thebe remains dedicated to pursuing its vision of black empowerment based on sound business principles." (11C)

The corporation - which includes on its board of directors prominent personalities like Tokyo Sexwale, Vusi Khanyile and businessman

Moss Nxumalo - admits that it has strong links with the ANC "but not the type of links reported in the media".

It points out that its current sole shareholder is the Batho-Batho Trust, whose founding trustees are Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu. Any profits it makes now or in the future, until shareholding is broadened, are at the disposal of this Trust.

Thebe also disputes the newspaper's report on its subsidiary companies' finances as "misleading".

Elphred 11/7/93

ABOUT THA

11A 11/7/93

By SEKOLA SELLO

FOLLOWING this week's release of proposed regional boundaries for a future SA by various political organisations, the issue of federalism has now forced its way into the open.

Now ordinary people will have a chance to scrutinise the proposals – not just lawyers and constitutional experts.

With the ANC, the National Party and the rightwing Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) having gone public with their views on what the new SA should look like – including an Afrikaner homeland – regionalism/federalism is likely to dominate political discussions in the run-up to the country's first democratic elections.

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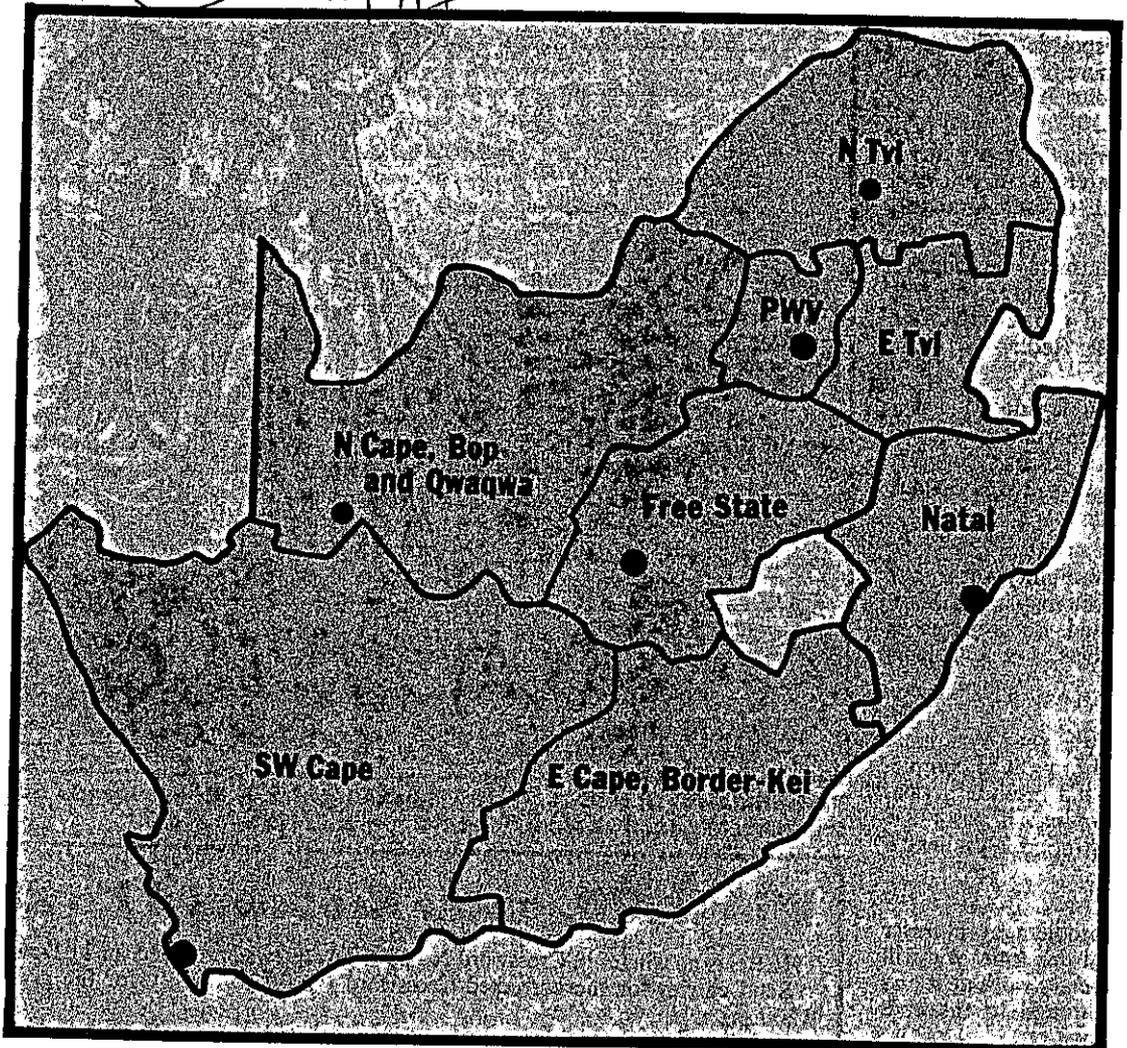
What powers should the regions that will ultimately emerge have? What will be their relation to central government? These are among the sticky questions that will tax the minds of politicians and citizens in the coming months.

However, some experts warn about the danger of focusing on constitutional principles only while ignoring socio-economic development; the rights and responsibilities of individuals and the kind of constitution that would best serve citizens and communities.

Engineers have also waded into the subject and advised that water catchments, commuter transport, resources and the seat of government are major factors to be considered when boundaries are being drawn up for future regions.

According to the South African Association of Consulting Engineers, in terms of water resource development there would be enormous advantages if regional borders were chosen to follow watersheds rather than river courses.

As far as other resources such as mineral deposits, natural forests and conservation areas were



concerned, the association said it was important not to divide resources unnecessarily.

Such is the sensitive nature of regionalism/federalism that Inkatha, the CP, AVU, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments have intimated that they will not take part in future elections unless this issue is resolved before any hustings.

Some development experts argue that regionalism/federalism issues could well determine whether the country emerges as a true democratic and non-racial society.

It is also argued that the manner in which this issue is addressed will fundamentally affect the country's chances of dealing successfully with what

Ann Bernstein of the Urban Foundation (UF) describes as the "three great national challenges facing the country".

These are:

- Massive socio-economic development;
- Building a democracy; and
- Returning to sustained and inclusive economic growth.

By finally making public their draft proposals on the delimitation of regional boundaries, the ANC, government and AVU have placed before the masses an issue which has been vigorously debated behind closed doors.

It is interesting to note that to a large extent the government's two proposed regions and those of the ANC are not dissimilar.

Such is the convergence of views between the two that the government has completely moved away from the Verwoerdian dream of defining regions along ethnic/linguistic/cultural lines.

Two of the AVU's eight regions are to all practical purposes based on ethnic/linguistic/cultural considerations.

The two regions with a strong Afrikaans influence are Afrikanerland, which includes the Pretoria/Verwoerdburg/Akasia metropolitan area as well as the eastern Transvaal.

The second is Oranje which comprises most of the present Cape province.

According to the AVU, the two regions are respectively the

AT 'F' WORD

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areas where the highest density of Afrikaners are to be found and where the most Afrikaans-speaking people resided.

Interestingly enough, both regions are dominated by people who are not white.

Blacks are in the majority in the Afrikanerland and the Oranje region is dominated by coloured people.

The moderate rightwing party stressed that no forced removals would take place from the regions and that the recommendations were based on strong regional government.

Although serious efforts were made to steer away from boundaries with echoes of the discredited homeland system or on areas based on ethnic considerations, most regions are still dominated by blacks with the exception of the western Cape where Afrikaans-speaking people are in the majority.

But, it seems drawing up these boundaries was comparatively easier than addressing some of the other problems which go hand in hand with regionalism.

Difficulties with regionalism arise when trying to strike a balance between the powers given to federal states or regions and those retained by central government.

Inkatha's president and KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, a strong advocate of federalism, has in recent months expressed fears about what he calls "the tyranny of central government".

While the ANC is still committed to a unitary state, their thinking has shifted slightly and it appears they would opt for a federal alternative on condition this may not lay the basis of future secession.

Balkanisation of the country is their worst fear.

Most parties at the Multi-party Negotiating Forum agree on the need for central and regional governments to have original powers but there is serious disagreement on the nature of shared powers, their extent



FEDERAL OPTION ... KwaZulu chief minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

and how these powers will be determined.

Inkatha and members of the Concerned South Africans Group want these points cleared up and written into a constitution before elections.

In an interview in the UF's bulletin, *Development and Democracy*, the ANC's director of legal and constitutional affairs, Zola Skweyiya, comes into conflict with Inkatha and Cosag when he accepts the need for constitutional safeguards and constraints for regions but at the same time maintains that residual powers lie with central government.

The ANC has a deep mistrust of strong regional government as advocated by Inkatha and its alliance partners because of fears that should these entities have too much power (particularly Buthelezi), regional leaders may be tempted to secede or not to work in the national interest.

KwaZulu government chief spokesman at the negotiations, Ben Ngubane, has acknowledged in the UF bulletin that Inkatha's much vaunted model on regional government, the KwaZulu/Natal constitution, is a more confederal than federal document.

Although fears of secession

Issue of power

tops the agenda

are real, most analysts argue that whatever the final outcome of the boundaries, the ANC is likely to dominate most of the regions, fears of secession by Inkatha or any rightwing group may be exaggerated because of the economic costs this would entail for those breaking away.

It is pointed out that an ANC-led government would control the economic heartland of the country - the Witwatersrand - and also important peripheral and port regions like East London and Port Elizabeth, and could use this economic muscle to bring any rebellious groups to heel.

The ANC says the following principles should guide the drawing up of future regions:

- The regions should be economically and socially functional;
- The regions should allow for balanced urban and rural development;
- The regions should be compact;
- The regional boundaries should take into account population size and geographic product;
- The regional boundaries should, wherever possible, take

into account existing boundaries; and

■ Popular acceptance and a sense of rightness should be taken into account.

Proposal

The ANC's proposed regions are: western Cape; northern Cape (including the western districts of Bophuthatswana); Free State (including QwaQwa and Thaba Nchu); eastern Cape which is divided into Border, southern Transkei and Border-Kei (including Ciskei, Transkei and east Griqualand); Natal; eastern Transvaal including KaNgwane; northern Transvaal (including Lebowa, Gazankulu and Venda).

The government's proposals are: south western Cape (including Cape Town); north western Cape; eastern Cape; Border-Kei; Free State, western Transvaal, Vryburg and QwaQwa; Natal/Kwazulu; eastern Transvaal/Kangwane; northern Transvaal, Venda, Lebowa and Gazankulu; PWV; portion of Bophuthatswana and Kwandebele; eastern Transvaal and kaNgwane.

Egoli

The other government option is: northern, southern and western Cape; eastern Cape, Border-Kei; Free State, QwaQwa, most of Bophuthatswana; Natal/KwaZulu; northern Transvaal, Venda, Lebowa, Gazankulu; PWV; portion of Bophuthatswana and Kwandebele; eastern Transvaal and kaNgwane.

The AVU's recommended regions are: Kaap van Goeie Hoop (Cape of Good Hope) which includes the Cape Town metropolitan area and southern Cape coastal region; the Kei, made up of the Transkei, Ciskei and Border region; Satswa which includes the Free State, western Transvaal and Bophuthatswana; Capricorn, which comprises most of the northern Transvaal; KwaZulu and Egoli, the Witwatersrand and Vaal Triangle region.

NO EASY WALK

By MOSES MAMAILA

TWO ANC veterans who spent decades on Robben Island this week described their imprisonment as a waste of time and human resources.

Today, they are almost forgotten and far removed from the political limelight. However, they deny they have been sidelined.

In an exclusive interview, ANC stalwarts Wilton Mkwayi and Andrew Mlangeni told City Press: "It was a waste to keep us there for 26 solid years.

"The government had no business to keep us there because we have always wanted to resolve the problems of the country through negotiations."

But a third ANC veteran, Elias Motsoaledi, said although the government made a mistake by arresting ANC leaders who were committed to peaceful resolution of conflict, he would not say the long imprisonment was wasted because it advanced the cause of the struggle for liberation.

But who are these old men? What are they doing now? And why is it that they are not in the news anymore?

When City Press visited Motsoaledi's home in Mzimhlophe, we found the well-known former Robben Islander holding his grandchild in the small sitting room.

There were two small shacks in the yard to supplement the small house but Motsoaledi did not complain about that in our presence, saying "such problems should be resolved internally. You cannot wash your dirty linen in public".

Motsoaledi said he had just undergone surgery for throat cancer. He declined to comment on reports that the ANC had refused to pay for treatment at the Park Lane Clinic because it was "too expensive".

Mistakes

According to sources, the ANC ordered Motsoaledi to go to the cheaper Johannesburg Hospital.

Asked if he had been sidelined by young leaders in the ANC, Motsoaledi gave a categorical "no".

"I am a member of the National Executive Committee. What senior position can I still aspire to?" asked Motsoaledi, who is an organiser of the ANC in rural areas.

Motsoaledi, who was born in Phokwane village, Sekhukhuneland, on July 26 1924, was sentenced to life imprisonment on June 12 1964 after he was convicted on sabotage charges.

He was released on October 19 1989.

Wilton Mkwayi was jailed for life on December 18 1964.

He said the case should have ended on December 17 but the judge said he could not sentence somebody on his birthday. Mkwayi was born on December 17 1923

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Robben Island old guard out of limelight but not forgotten

in the Border region.

Commenting on the years he spent in prison, Mkwayi remained adamant that the period had been wasted.

"Had the government realised at the time that ours was just a peaceful transition to democracy as they do now, there would not have been the need to arrest us.

"The problem is that it took them a long time to realise their mistakes," explained Mkwayi.

However, Mkwayi also added that the dedicated ANC leaders were clever enough to make use of the time they spent on the Island.

"Some of us had only passed Std 4 when we went to the Island but we managed to pass matric there. Some who had money also made it to university," said Mkwayi.

Mkwayi, who like Motsoaledi is an ANC organiser in rural areas, said he had not been sidelined but he actually avoided the media.

He said some people who had been jailed or spent decades in exile thought that they would personally benefit for their contribution but that was all a fallacy.

Andrew Mlangeni, who still stays in the house he occupied before he was sentenced, said although he had no quarrel with those staying in town he would not move out of Soweto because that is where his power base was.

Mlangeni, who was also sentenced to life imprisonment, was released on October 15 1989. He heads the ANC transport department.

He maintained that had the NP government negotiated with black leaders a long time ago, there would have been no need to arrest the ANC leaders.

He added that the government had been forced to understand and accept that the ANC advocated a peaceful resolution of the political crisis because pressure had been exerted.

"Had the NP seen the truth early enough, we would not have been jailed."



WASTED YEARS ... Former Robben Islander Andrew Mlangeni says jail was a waste.



NOT SIDELINED ... Wilton Mkwayi spent 26 years in jail after being convicted of sabotage.



STRUGGLE CONTINUES ... Elias Motsoaledi is a member of the ANC's NEC.

US investors take on a no-risk policy with SA

Circles 11/19/93

By JOAO SANTA RITA

CORPORATE America has given a clear message to ANC leader Nelson Mandela: Don't expect a rush of investments in the new SA.

Business analysts say in the short term some US companies might return to SA (some already have), but they would concentrate on selling and servicing their products rather than investing in productive infrastructure.

While organisations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund will come forward with millions of dollars to help a democratic government, top US executives and analysts are now coming out in public to say what many already know: private capital is looking at SA and is having second thoughts about the country.

Mandela continues to have enormous prestige in the US and his American tour has shown that he is still capable of pulling crowds and raising money for his organisation.

But while many well-known American business personalities are ready to come out in support of fundraising for the ANC, they are much more cautious about investing their money in SA.

The *New York Times* this week warned in a business section headline that American companies are "awaiting more than Mandela".

"Executives of pension funds and endowments expressed excitement about the prospects of investing again in companies that do business in SA but it could take months if not years to gain approval to put their money back in the troubled nation," it said.

This week's violence brought the bloody images of unrest back to US television screens with commentators now under-



CROWD PULLER . . . ANC president Nelson Mandela continues to draw large crowds in the US.

lining the "black-on-black" and "tribal" aspects of the violence.

US officials and commentators have begun expressing doubts that free and fair elections will be possible because of the growing feud between Inkatha and ANC supporters. (11A)

Statements by the ANC's chief economist, Tito Mboweni, that an ANC government has plans for a special tax to finance "development, repatriation and compensation" were given prominence by some American newspapers - compounding suspicions that still linger on about the ANC's economic policies.

One newspaper said many business executives were still suspicious about the fact that the ANC had been very late in "kicking the Marxist habit".

Reports of a power struggle between Cyril Ramaphosa and Thabo Mbeki for control of the ANC in the post-Man-

dela era have also been reported.

Some business executives are saying that the business community will have to wait "a couple of years" to see if the turmoil in SA abates.

Ironically, while up to now it has been to the ANC's advantage that apartheid is part of America's own racial politics, this could soon become a burden. (S3A)

Lobbyists and organisations which have strived in the struggle against apartheid now want to impose their own moral codes on the post-apartheid SA.

Many potential investors are openly saying that they do not want to face criticism from local organisations and will therefore turn their attention to less controversial places.

They pointed out that while the ANC has said it will agree with the lifting of sanctions once a transitional executive council is in place, many local anti-

apartheid legislators and organisations are saying that investments should only go to SA AFTER the elections.

Hundred of local legislatures and city councils have sanctions against SA and it may take months to reverse them.

Companies are unlikely to violate those laws and ordinances even if the ANC gives the green light for investments.

US diplomats pointed out that Namibia had to fight huge bureaucratic battles with some US local authorities which had prohibited trade with the territory before the country's independence.

The laws remained in the books for months after Namibia's independence, forcing companies to cancel potential investment opportunities in Namibia.

William Moses, a senior analyst with the Investor Responsibility Research Centre, based in Washington, said a lot of investors had told him they did not want to be criticised for acting too quickly or prematurely.

"They don't want to be the first ones to take action." (S3B)

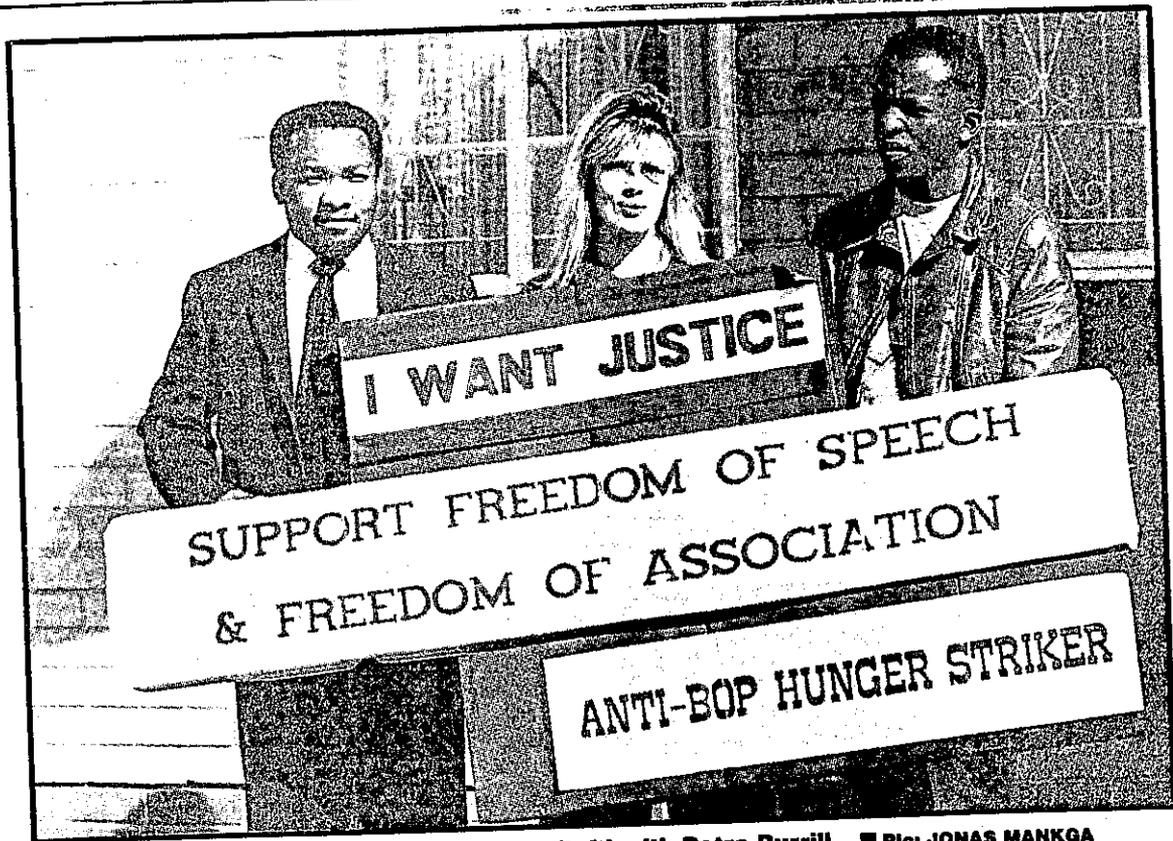
"They want to be second in going back to SA so they can assess the situation and maintain their integrity," he told the *New York Times*.

The newspaper said many universities which disinvested from companies with links with SA are now saying they want to see "tangible changes" before reversing their policies.

Jarrold Wilcox, director for international investments for a financial management company, said there were considerable risks for potential investors in SA.

He predicts economic and political turmoil after the elections.

"Those who act quickly could be hurt because of the turmoil and disruptions that will follow," he said.



STEADFAST ... Rocky Malebane-Metsing (left) with Petra Burrill. ■ Pic: JONAS MANKGA

Hunger strike in protest against Bop oppression

CIPress 11/11/93

By ELIAS MALULEKE

AN Afrikaner woman who has joined the ANC and the Bophuthatswana Anti-Repression Committee is continuing her hunger strike in protest against human rights violations.

When City Press spoke to her this week, former AWB member Petra Burrill had been on hunger strike for 23 days.

Burrill, 35, of Kempton Park, is protesting against the sacking of her husband by Bop-Air and against the lack of freedom of affiliation and expression in Bop.

Rocky Malebane-Metsing, head of the Bop Anti-Repression Committee and a member of organising committee in the ANC's NEC, said Burrill's hunger strike was the last resort by a desperate and troubled woman "to force the repressive Mangope to change his oppressive policies".

Burrill told City Press that her husband, Graham, a former member of the AWB, lost his job with the Bophuthatswana funded Bop-Air in January this year for speaking out for the "oppressed".

She said Graham —

a staunch member of the AWB who joined the organisation in 1987 — "saw the light and realized that black people were not different from whites and turned over a new leaf".

He resigned from the AWB and joined the ANC late last year. He also joined the South African Railways and Harbour Workers Union in November and recruited other workers to join the union, a move which she claimed "irked" the repressive, anti-ANC Bop authorities.

She said Graham was then victimised by

Bop-Air management, a move which culminated in his suspension and then dismissal in January.

"I believe that my husband is a victim of criminal victimisation. He was victimised and dismissed in the first place for exercising two of his fundamental and basic human rights: freedom of association and speech.

"I am on hunger strike in sympathy with all the oppressed people of Bophuthatswana and exhort the government to revise it's oppressive labour laws and political legislation to allow true democracy," she said.

Be ready for war — Yengeni

By SIPHO KHUMALO

CRIS of *Mayihlome* (To arms) reverberated through the KwaXimba valley in the Natal Midlands as two ANC hardliners — western Cape's Tony Yengeni and Natal Midlands' Harry Gwala — urged their members to be combat-ready.

The two hardliners were addressing a rally of about 3 000 people on how to respond to the threat of the rightwing in the aftermath of the World Trade Centre invasion.

Gwala and Yengeni were billed to appear with Winnie Mandela and ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba.

However, Mokaba and Mandela failed to appear because of other commitments.

Yengeni and Gwala were well received by both the youth and elders of this rural ANC

stronghold in Natal.

Addressing the crowd in his capacity as commander of MK, Yengeni urged all members of the ANC to prepare themselves for a long and drawn-out war.

"Afrikaners are still preparing themselves for a war and not a handover. There is no guarantee that Terre'Blanche and the AWB are not going to take over the Transitional Executive Council. Violence by elements which fear free and fair elections is going to intensify because democracy is a threat to them," said Yengeni.

He warned the crowd not to follow the example of ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer in the face of the AWB's invasion.

"We are not going to get our liberation by hiding under the tables or by being locked in safe

CIPress 11/7/93
rooms. Now I am talking to you as the commander of MK.

"I say from now on, not a single cadre must die without fighting. We must vow now that when the IFP and AWB come we must be ready to fight. We must be combat-ready 24 hours a day. Even if you are going to a movie house, carry your gun," he said amid ululations.

He advised the crowd not to hand over their arms to the police because war was imminent. Yengeni said all people must learn to shoot, including mothers.

(11A)
Yengeni said people should be ready to defend the democratic process.

On the subject of the controversial "Kill the boer, kill the farmer" slogan, Yengeni said it did not belong to Mokaba but to the masses.

"If the police want to charge Mokaba then they should charge

all of us," he said.

He invited those in the crowd who wanted to keep the slogan to identify themselves by a show of hands — with almost every hand being raised.

Later, in an interview with City Press, Yengeni dismissed outright the perception that the four of them — (Winnie) Mandela, Gwala and Mokaba — were attempting to form a radical faction within the ANC.

"Ours is a broad liberation movement allowing for diversity. And diversity does not have to be viewed as being antagonistic. We are thus not forming a radical faction to oppose the leadership.

"What we are trying to do is to take up with the leadership the feelings of people at grassroots level. So what we are doing is to articulate the aspirations of the poor and the homeless," he said.

Unions at odds over new workers' party

SI Times 11/7/93

By RAY HARTLEY
Political Reporter

SOUTH AFRICA's two largest unions are engaged in a battle over the formation of a working-class party to pressure the ANC into implementing socialist policies, including nationalisation, once an interim government is elected.

At its congress last week, the National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa), which has around 240 000 members, passed resolutions in favour of the new party and the breaking of Cosatu's alliance with the ANC once it is part of an interim government.

But the 300 000-strong National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), headed by James Motlatsi, is vociferously opposed to the party and supports the long-term continuation of the alliance with the ANC.

Numsa officials, including general-secre-

tary Moses Mayekiso and president Mthuthuzeli Tom, are in favour of the party. Mr Mayekiso, who is also a central committee member of the SACP, said this week the new party would provide a home for socialists within the SACP and those outside it such as ANC NEC member Pallo Jordan.

But senior SACP officials such as party chairman Joe Slovo, general-secretary Charles Nqakula and central committee members Jeremy Cronin and Ronnie Kasrils are known to be strong opponents of a new workers' party.

Cosatu general-secretary Jay Naidoo and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, who

attended a caucus meeting in May which agreed to "the long haul character of the alliance" between Cosatu, the ANC and SACP, are also believed to oppose the idea.

NUM publicity officer Jerry Majatladi said the NUM believed a workers' party would usurp the role of the SACP. "To talk of another revolutionary party smacks of a political anachronism which belongs to another era."

Innes Labour Brief manager Dr Duncan Innes said Numsa was likely to gain the support of the SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union, one of Cosatu's largest affiliates.

The SA Commercial and Catering and Allied Workers Union and the Chemical Workers Industrial Union could also support Numsa in its bid to form the new party, he said.

Mr Kasrils accused proponents of a workers' party of "weird thinking" and "snatching defeat from the jaws of victory".

Mr Mayekiso said the new workers' party would monitor the extent to which the ANC implemented socialism, including the nationalisation of the land and key industries once it was in government.

While Numsa would support the ANC in next year's elections, the party could challenge the ANC at the polls in the future if it was unhappy with its performance, he said.

A priority would be the nationalisation of the land, partly without compensation.

Mr Majatladi said NUM was opposed to any decision being taken on nationalisation at present because it was a sensitive issue, which needed further debate. Nationalisation without compensation was out of the question, he said.

All systems go for transition

St Times 11/6/93

MOHAMMED VALLI MOOSA says those opposed to agreements reached at the World Trade Centre last week are opposed to democracy itself

THE decisions adopted by the negotiating forum last week are far-reaching not only because the election date has been finalised, but because there is agreement on the entire scenario for the transition.

The following are the key elements of the scenario:

● Negotiators conclude their work by adopting a package on all the elements of the transition, including legislation for the Independent Electoral Commission, Independent Media Commission, Transitional Executive Council and an interim constitution.

● An Independent Electoral Commission, Independent Media Commission and Transitional Executive Council are established to level the playing fields.

● Elections are held on April 27 1994.

● An elected Constituent Assembly is established with both national and regional representatives. The assembly is bound by the constitutional principles adopted by the forum on July 2 and any others that may be agreed on by negotiators.

The elections will also result in the establishment of an interim government. It will operate in terms of an

interim constitution which will include justiciable fundamental rights.

At the same time, interim regional governments, provision for which will be made in the interim constitution, will replace all existing regional government structures.

● The final constitution, as drafted and adopted by the Constituent Assembly, is implemented.

Apart from the decision on the election date, all the other agreements were not challenged by any of the 26 participants to the negotiations.

The question that arises is: What compromises has the ANC made to secure such an agreement?

Before answering this question, it is useful to examine the two broad categories of concerns among the contending parties.

On the one hand, the ANC and the Patriotic Front insist that the central feature of the transition must be the drafting of the new constitution by democratically elected representatives of the people.

Some of the Cosag parties regard federalism as fundamental. The SA government regards both federalism and "power sharing" as fundamental.

In order to assist the pro-

cess, negotiators appointed a technical committee of experts to advise them and draft proposed agreements.

In a report tabled on May 19, the committee expressed the following view unanimously: "There is no universally accepted definition of federalism, and we are not convinced that, in a discussion on the form of state, it would be useful or indeed possible to use as a point of departure preconceived concepts such as unitary or federal states."

This made it possible for negotiators to drop the contest for labels and begin to discuss their real concerns.

On the crucial question of who should draft the constitution, the committee suggested, as a possible solution, "the careful and sensitive formulation of a mutually acceptable principle of regional government, adequate constitutional principles and provision for the democratic creation and adoption of the final constitution".

The Cosag parties opposed this approach until, on the eve of the July 2 forum, a bilateral meeting was held between them and the ANC/Patriotic Front.

At this meeting, the ANC spelt out the scenario for the

transition in its entirety, leading to common ground with at least some of the Cosag parties. The scenario, which was adopted by the forum, accommodates the basic positions of the ANC. The answer to the question posed above is found in the dictum "firm on principles, flexible on tactics".

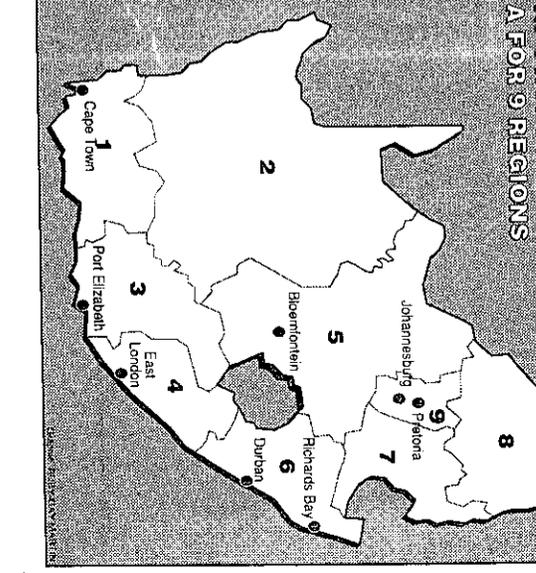
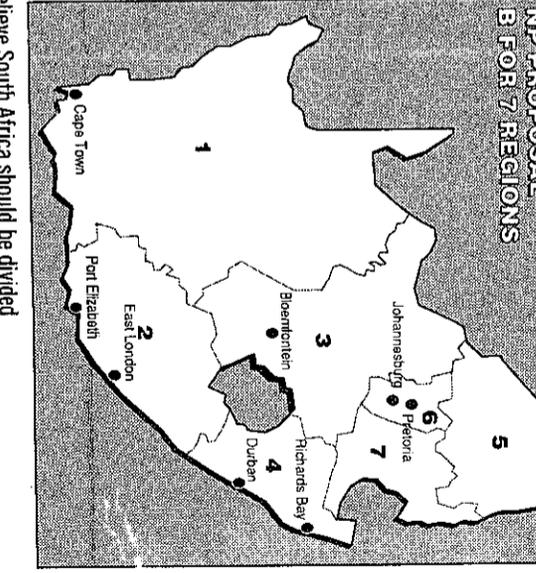
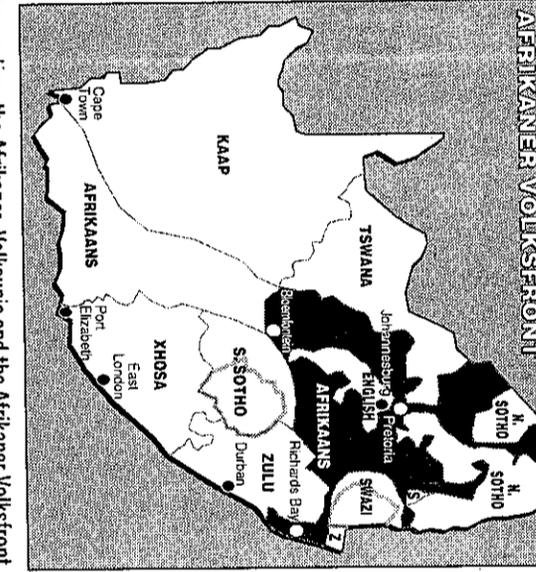
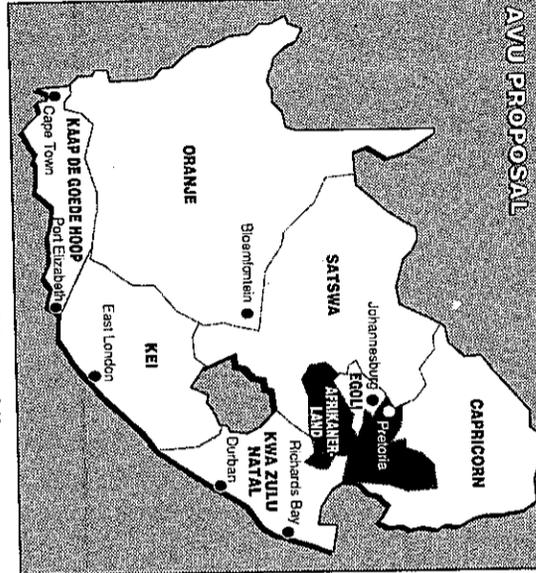
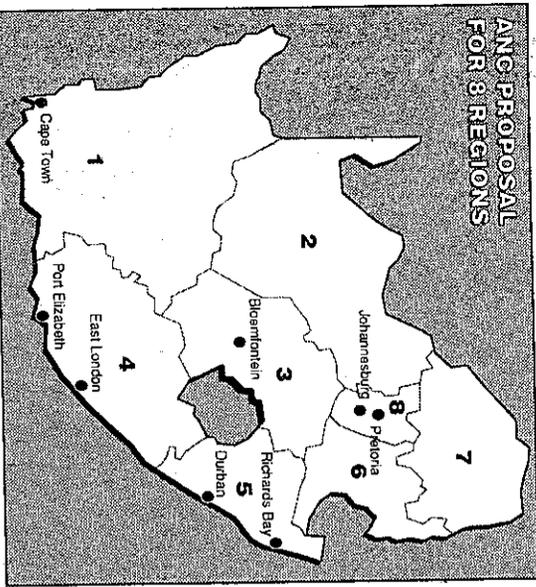
In exercising flexibility, the ANC has agreed to constitutional principles relating to regional government which are more detailed than it would have preferred. These principles, however, fall well within the ANC's policy framework.

The scenario for the transition, which is now the property of the multi-party negotiations process, is one which should be acceptable to all South Africans who are serious about change. The fact that arch-federalists like the DP and NP voted in favour of it speaks for itself.

At this stage of the negotiations process, the only conclusion one can draw is that those who still oppose the emerging consensus at the World Trade Centre stand opposed to democracy itself.

□ Mohammed Valli Moosa is secretary of the ANC's negotiations commission.

THE MAKING OF A NEW SOUTH AFRICA



CARTOGRAPHER'S NIGHTMARE... these maps reflect how the main players — the NP and the ANC — and the more conservative parties, the Afrikaner Volksunie and the Afrikaner Volkfront, believe South Africa should be divided

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

THEY have come in their scores to put their interests on the map — from politicians quoting "demographics" and "nodal influences" to sturdy farmers invoking the Bible and the principles of animal husbandry.

The commission on the demarcation of regions had set through more than 50 oral presentations in four cities and sifted through at least 119 written submissions when the deadline passed at noon on Friday.

But the most difficult part was yet to come as the 15 men and women sat down yesterday to begin the mammoth task of trying to make sense of the many and differing visions of how the country should be divided. These visions were based

on arguments based on carefully thought-out, scientifically based plans, to gut-felt pleas that things should be left as they are.

The commission will also have to play Solomon in battles over national treasures such as the Kruger National Park.

The Nats and the ANC propose dividing the park into two, but the two regions each promised a share — the northern and eastern Transvaal — have entered the fray, each to demand the whole park for themselves. The commission members have two weeks to submit a

LAYING CLAIM TO THEIR SLICE OF THE LAND

draft plan for the regions; though privately they agree that no final picture will emerge so soon.

The map will also have to be debated by the Negotiating Council, and with some parties already speaking of "bottom line" demands, it promises to be a heated exchange.

Beyond the commission offices, politicians involved in the regional issue are also being targeted by those who see riches in them that maps, with a slew of small towns desperately seeking regional capital status. ANC head of local and regional affairs Thozamile Botha

refused this week even to contemplate the squabble over regional capital status in the eastern Transvaal. He had just received demands from no fewer than five towns in another region — the eastern Cape — that they be declared the capital.

The interest in the divisions ranges from groups that place all their hopes on regions dominated by their own kind to the broader view of the ANC.

Comfortable in the belief that it will soon have most, if not all of the cake, the ANC is less concerned about where it

is cut. It only wants to ensure that the slices are equal and, as Mr Botha put it, "that party political considerations are not allowed to supersede the interests of the nation".

One of the last delegations to bring its submission to the mahogany tables of the commission at the World Trade Centre on Thursday afternoon was the Thabazimbi Agricultural Union.

Clutching briefcases and biblical texts, the Bommarra boere were given a polite hearing as they argued for the retention of the Transvaal's borders, the separation of tribes, and that each folk be granted its own share of land.

Not much is certain about the new map, except that none of these demands will be met.

Testing 'will of the people'

Sit Times 11/7/93

11A

PEOPLE living along the borders of proposed new regions in South Africa may be given the chance to decide which areas they will fall under.

The "will of the people" may have to be tested by referenda or other appropriate mechanisms to decide the more contentious regional borders, according to Thozamile Botha, ANC head of local and regional affairs.

This development follows a week in which a commission set up to report on the demarcation of new regions for the country was flooded with submissions from political parties, engineers, ecologists and members of the public.

A number of controversies came to light — from traditionally Xhosa areas balking at the prospect of being incorporated into predominantly Zulu Natal, to attempts to set up Pretoria as the capital of an Afrikaans-dominated region.

In areas such as the present southern Natal-Transkei border, the wrong decision "will create border wars", said Mr Botha.

Visit

"At the end of the day, the delimitation commission may have to visit these areas and find out the will of the people, by referenda or whatever other means they find appropriate."

Mr Botha also said the separation of the Eastern Cape into its own region — as sought by many in the area, and proposed by the NP this week — could well be viable.

The final regional boundaries would have to be decided by a constituent assembly after the elections, he said, but there seemed to be broad consensus on the eight or nine regions proposed by the ANC and coinciding in many respects with those of the NP.

It is believed the NP's nine-region proposal was partly a concession to parties which have long campaigned for a form of Afrikaner self-determination.

The main players have made it clear that a white Afrikaner homeland will not be tolerated, but it is understood the NP was prepared to suggest a region corresponding in part to the Orania "homeland" in the north-western Cape.

Contentious

This is on the understanding that should this "administrative" area be won, the Afrikaner Volkstuging and other conservative groups are on their own as far as the political struggle in the region is concerned.

Other Afrikaner aspirations for their own region are likely to be more contentious.

The most pressing is the demand that Pretoria, once the seat of government of the Transvaal Republic, regains its place as the capital of a predominantly Afrikaans region

SPECIAL REPORT by CLAIRE ROBERTSON

proposed by the Afrikaner Volksunie.

The AVU proposes the acceptance of a "geographical area the Afrikaner can call his own", but agrees to abide by the non-racial, democratic nature of the new South Africa; including the bill of rights.

The AVU envisages having to enter into election pacts with other parties in the area — Christian Democrats united against the Social Democrats, as AVU leader Andries Beyers put it.

The area it has chosen for "Afrikanerland" coincides to a degree with the Eastern Transvaal regions of the NP and ANC — but includes Pretoria.

Both the NP and ANC want Pretoria to remain part of the separate PWV region.

"We are not opposed to the AVU proposal, but it has to be tested against all the criteria for establish-

ing regions. A parochial, ethnic-based interest cannot be allowed to overrule economic interests," said Mr Botha.

"In terms of the economic cohesiveness of the area, Pretoria is very much a part of the PWV. People who live in Pretoria work in Johannesburg, and vice versa. Cutting Pretoria off into another region could create havoc with tax bases, for instance.

"But if this AVU region satisfies all of the other criteria, we'll look at it again."

Prize

Mr Beyers said this week that "Pretoria is the bottom line for the Afrikaner".

AVU member Schalk Burger said he recognised that "in any revolutionary struggle, the great prize is the capture of the regime's seat of power —

and this may be in the back of the ANC's mind. Pretoria really is a problem".

While not opposed to any group settling in and eventually dominating a region drawn up on a sound economic basis, Mr Botha is adamant that regional borders will not at the outset gerrymander their way around areas dominated by a particular group to scrape home with an ethnic majority and create artificial ethnic states.

The AVU proposal is guilty of this, cutting predominantly black Kwan-debele and Kangwane out of a region which otherwise shares important elements with that proposed by the DP.

The DP's and the AVU's submissions to the commission were based to an extent on a map drawn up "purely as an academic exercise" by Unisa senior lecturer in political geography Nols Pienaar in November.

Mr Pienaar concluded it was necessary to separate Pretoria from the rest of the PWV area, which otherwise generated 39 percent of the country's GDP.

With Pretoria removed, it still accounts for 29 percent.

The Eastern Transvaal region — known as the Transvaal or Afrikanerland in other maps — will produce a just-viable 17 percent if it gains Pretoria as its capital.

Without Pretoria, the region will produce just nine percent, and will join the far northern Transvaal, aka Bushveld, Capricornia or Capricorn, and Kei as beggar regions

relying on wealthier areas for handouts.

Although the Kempton Park negotiators have already accepted that a Fiscal Commission will be established to oversee the equitable redistribution of income among the regions, there are fears the body will be so politicised that dependence on these funds will need to be cut to the minimum by creating balanced regions.

Mr Pienaar argues that in its commercial orientation and cultural character, Pretoria is already very different to Johannesburg and the rest of the Witwatersrand area.

"The PWV was never a region, just a conglomerate of towns that developed near one another," he said.

Diverse

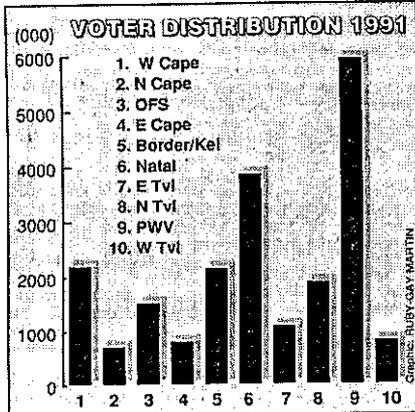
Pretoria is overwhelmingly Afrikaans and service-oriented (as opposed to Johannesburg's manufacturing and service east).

The Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry and the Johannesburg Afrikaanse Sakekamer both proposed that Pretoria and Johannesburg were too diverse to fall within one region.

The AVU's exclusion of Kangwane and Kwan-debele allows it to scrape home with a 51 percent "western language" majority.

Existing or fudged "Afrikaner majorities" in the area aside, the AVU's argument is overwhelmingly "cultural".

"Pretoria is very important to our people. Our history is there... the Ou Raadsaal is there," said Mr Beyers. "And Loftus Versveld."



VOTER POWER... the strength of the PWV region

'Take up arms' mourners told

Sowetan 12/7/93

By Abbey Makoe

PEOPLE who attended the funeral at the Sebokeng Stadium yesterday of 11 victims of attacks in the Vaal Triangle two weeks ago were called upon to "take up arms" to defend themselves.

The call was made by Pan Africanist Congress secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander and chairwoman of the South African National Civics Organisation Mrs Winnie Mandela.

"It is not wrong for us to arm and defend ourselves. Violence in the Vaal is part of

the regime's low intensity war against the residents," Alexander said.

He added: "One of the most amazing things about this violence is the silence being shown by the Western countries. We have noted their hypocrisy."

He said attacks on residents in Vaal townships "once again highlights the need for joint control of the security forces".

Alexander said residents should avoid engaging in senseless violence by killing the innocent. (IA) (S)

"You must first identify your enemies before confronting them," he said.

"Winnie is my comrade. We may differ on strategies but that does not give me any right to attack her." Alexander said.

Mandela took the stage and led the crowd in a war song, *Isibamo sa la bafana si nkhombuza eAngola* (These lads' machineguns remind me of Angola).

She warned that if the first democratic elections did not take place by April next year "that would be a very sorry day for South Africa". She said Sanco and the PAC shared a common factor when it came to the defence of the people. "Arm yourselves," she said to roar of approval.

More than words to end violence

By MOSES MAMAILA

CIPress

MORE than 200 people have been killed in politically-related violence since the crucial Mandela-Buthelezi summit on June 23 which was aimed at ending the carnage largely blamed on ANC and Inkatha supporters.

The meeting between the two leaders was seen by most political observers as the only hope for the restoration of peace between the warring factions.

While violence has engulfed various parts of the country, the worst terror operation was launched on the East Rand where at least 92 people were killed within five days.

The eruption of violence in Thokoza and Katlehong townships comes hard

on heels of inflammatory statements made by the Inkatha leadership. Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate said his organisation would mobilise two million of its members to protest against the setting of an election date.

ANC official Cyril Ramaphosa also blamed the recent violence on the statement made by Felgate.

But Inkatha's Themba Khoza said the violence on the East Rand started when many township residents joined his organisation.

Police spokesman Capt Craig Kotze said the police could only deal with the symptoms of violence and not with the causes, adding that the violence was a struggle for political turf.

From 'tea boy' to ANC head of local government

St Times (C) Metro 11/7/93

By KURT SWART
SOUTH Africans, both black and white, will have to dig slightly deeper into their pockets to help finance the reform of local government.

This was the warning this week from ANC head of local government Thozamile Botha, 45, who is involved in negotiating a new and more democratic system for both rate and rent payers.

Mr Botha, stocky, with a pleasant face and disposition, lives in Rustdal, near Kuils River.

But his work in local government negotiating forums, keeps him based at a Hillbrow hotel for long periods away from his wife and two chil-

dren.
Born in New Brighton, Port Elizabeth on June 15, 1948, Mr Botha's life story is one of academic study, frequently interrupted in the early days by having to work to help support his family, and in later times by political upheaval.

In the turbulent days of the late '70s and early '80s Mr Botha was drawn inexorably into the forefront of the struggle against apartheid because of his intellect and leadership qualities.

His high schooling was interrupted by the need to work at a timber company as a "tea boy" before resuming his studies.

Frustrated

A stint at Fort Hare university studying for law degree ended when the Soweto uprising spread to the Eastern Cape and the university was closed indefinitely following class boycotts.

Mr Botha's first experience of local government was in 1978 when he moved to the new Zwijde township, characterised by incomplete houses of poor quality and high rents. By then he was working for the Ford motor company as a workstudy technician.

"In 1979 we formed the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Association (Pebco) of which murdered activist Matthew

Goniwe was a member." Ford management began expressing unhappiness about the number of times one of their workstudy technicians was appearing in the local press. "I was asked to choose between Ford and Pebco, so I walked out of the plant."

But so did 700 workers in protest and Botha was taken back by management. Emboldened, the Ford workers listed 14 demands including equal pay for equal work, the scrapping of job reservation and other discriminatory practices.

When their demands were not met workers downed tools but refused to leave the plant.

"Ford agreed to reinstate the workers after the American consul-general intervened, but I was arrested and was the only one not reinstated."

On his release Botha was slapped with a three-year banning order.

"I couldn't move from my house and could not meet more than one person at a time. Curtailed from pursuing any activity I decided to leave the country for Lesotho."

He studied public administration and political science at the University of Lesotho for two years, and then came the SADF raid on Maseru in 1982.



ON THE CUTTING EDGE: Thozamile Botha
PICTURE: CHRISTINE NESBITT

"Our lives were in danger and we were advised to leave Lesotho. In Lusaka I worked for three years with SA Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu) as their adminis-

trative secretary and in 1986 I went to study at the Glasgow College of Education in Scotland where I attained a diploma with distinction in public administration

and management."

Moving to Strathclyde University in Glasgow he attained a Master of Philosophy (M Phil) degree in political science.

In 1990 he returned to SA. "The ANC asked me to organise a centre on local government to develop policy and strategy for local government negotiations. I registered for my PhD at UWC where I was appointed co-ordinator of the Local Government and Planning Policy Research project."

Transition

In 1991 he was elected onto the ANC National Executive and appointed head of the ANC Local and Regional Government and Housing department. Last year he was elected to serve on the executive of the SA National Civic Association (Sanco).

"The major challenge facing us is the transition of 40 years of apartheid local government to democratic, non-racial structures. The problems include how to integrate towns and cities that have been physically separated and unify the budgets to make them single cities and towns."

"The second major challenge is to change the attitude of those enjoying the benefits of

apartheid policies to one of sharing, and to transform a culture of non-payment in the black townships and teach people to pay the rent and to pay for services rendered.

"These require major public education for both the black and the white communities. The third challenge is how to allay the fear of the white community, especially the right wing, that whites will have to pay

for these reforms."

Property rates were bound to go up, and the rates, rents and service charges in the townships would have to go up as well.

"So reform of local government is going to cost both black and white and if we want to maintain the present level of service provision and the quality of life for all South Africans, we will have to pay a little more."

Foul weather

From page 1

time in a decade shipping in Table Bay Harbour was severely hampered by foul weather and at least five ships were asked to move out to sea to ride out the storm.

At least four people have already been killed as a result of weather-related accidents.

The body of Mr Zennox Vejha was discovered in a canal near the Epping market yesterday morning and the body of Mr J van Wyk, who had apparently drowned, was found close to the N1 near Guguletu.

The local Regional Services Council (RSC) has warned people to stay out of the Faure area after families were evacuated yesterday

morning from houses waist-deep in water, a RSC spokesman said.

At Maccassar low-lying areas were severely flooded, with some houses knee-deep in water forcing residents to abandon their homes. Police in the area rescued hundreds of cattle and sheep trapped by the rising floodwaters.

The ANC in Mitchells Plain appealed to the public on Friday night to donate blankets, warm clothes and non-perishable foods for the destitute squatters.

Over 1 000 squatters were left homeless at the Marconi Beam site in Milnerton, Noordhoek and Crossroads.

In the Boland, the storm was described as the worst since 1984.

NOVA

A COMPLETE BATHROOM RENOVATION (021) 761 9144

...without a group

...of National Party Ho

NO EASY WALK

By MOSES MAMAILA

TWO ANC veterans who spent decades on Robben Island this week described their imprisonment as a waste of time and human resources.

Today, they are almost forgotten and far removed from the political limelight. However, they deny they have been sidelined.

In an exclusive interview, ANC stalwarts Wilton Mkwayi and Andrew Mlangeni told City Press: "It was a waste to keep us there for 26 solid years."

"The government had no business to keep us there because we have always wanted to resolve the problems of the country through negotiations."

But a third ANC veteran, Elias Motsoaledi, said although the government made a mistake by arresting ANC leaders who were committed to peaceful resolution of conflict, he would not say the long imprisonment was wasted because it advanced the cause of the struggle for liberation.

But who are these old men? What are they doing now? And why is it that they are not in the news anymore?

When City Press visited Motsoaledi's home in Mzimhlophe, we found the well-known former Robben Islander holding his grandchild in the small sitting room.

There were two small shacks in the yard to supplement the small house but Motsoaledi did not complain about that in our presence, saying "such problems should be resolved internally. You cannot wash your dirty linen in public".

Motsoaledi said he had just undergone surgery for throat cancer. He declined to comment on reports that the ANC had refused to pay for treatment at the Park Lane Clinic because it was "too expensive".

Mistakes

According to sources, the ANC ordered Motsoaledi to go to the cheaper Johannesburg Hospital.

Asked if he had been sidelined by young leaders in the ANC, Motsoaledi gave a categorical "no".

"I am a member of the National Executive Committee. What senior position can I still aspire to?" asked Motsoaledi, who is an organiser of the ANC in rural areas.

Motsoaledi, who was born in Phokwane village, Sekhukhuneland, on July 26 1924, was sentenced to life imprisonment on June 12 1964 after he was convicted on sabotage charges.

He was released on October 19 1989.

Wilton Mkwayi was jailed for life on December 18 1964.

He said the case should have ended on December 17 but the judge said he could not sentence somebody on his birthday. Mkwayi was born on December 17 1923

C Press 11/7/93

Robben Island old guard out of limelight but not forgotten

in the Border region.

Commenting on the years he spent in prison, Mkwayi remained adamant that the period had been wasted.

"Had the government realised at the time that ours was just a peaceful transition to democracy as they do now, there would not have been the need to arrest us."

"The problem is that it took them a long time to realise their mistakes," explained Mkwayi.

However, Mkwayi also added that the dedicated ANC leaders were clever enough to make use of the time they spent on the Island.

"Some of us had only passed Std 4 when we went to the Island but we managed to pass matric there. Some who had money also made it to university," said Mkwayi.

Mkwayi, who like Motsoaledi is an ANC organiser in rural areas, said he had not been sidelined but he actually avoided the media.

He said some people who had been jailed or spent decades in exile thought that they would personally benefit for their contribution but that was all a fallacy.

Andrew Mlangeni, who still stays in the house he occupied before he was sentenced, said although he had no quarrel with those staying in town he would not move out of Soweto because that is where his power base was.

Mlangeni, who was also sentenced to life imprisonment, was released on October 15 1989. He heads the ANC transport department.

He maintained that had the NP government negotiated with black leaders a long time ago, there would have been no need to arrest the ANC leaders.

He added that the government had been forced to understand and accept that the ANC advocated a peaceful resolution of the political crisis because pressure had been exerted.

"Had the NP seen the truth early enough, we would not have been jailed."



WASTED YEARS ... Former Robben Islander Andrew Mlangeni says jail was a waste.



NOT SIDELINED ... Wilton Mkwayi spent 26 years in jail after being convicted of sabotage.



STRUGGLE CONTINUES ... Elias Motsoaledi is a member of the ANC's NEC.

ANC business wing may be facing a cash crisis

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Thebe Investment Corporation, the main multimillion-rand business wing of the ANC hierarchy, has become embroiled in new controversy over weekend reports that it has run into grave financial troubles.

The business world was throbbing with rumours of cash problems following reports that the office of ANC president Nelson Mandela had inter-

vened to try to sort out problems inside the company.

Mr Mandela and ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu are the ultimate sole shareholders of Thebe via the Batu-Batu Trust, which the two political leaders created to control millions of rands in donations from political supporters.

How much they invested in Thebe has never been disclosed.

Speculation over a possible cash crisis inside the corpora-

tion stemmed from The Weekly Mail newspaper, which claimed to be in possession of an internal financial report showing that three subsidiary companies had reached the point of insolvency.

But Thebe managing director Vusi Khanyile angrily refuted the allegations and said the information on which it was based was "both incorrect and misleading."

Even the main ANC office block, Shell House in Johannesburg, was drawn into the con-

trovery (119)

The newspaper reported that Thebe's financial woes were partly due to massive repayments on a foreign loan that was taken out to purchase the property.

It said Thebe subsidiary Dakawa Properties, owners of the block, was stated to have suffered net losses of more than R3 million in the financial year ended in January 1993, mainly because interest charges on the loan had

ARG 12/7/93
amounted to more than R1,3 million.

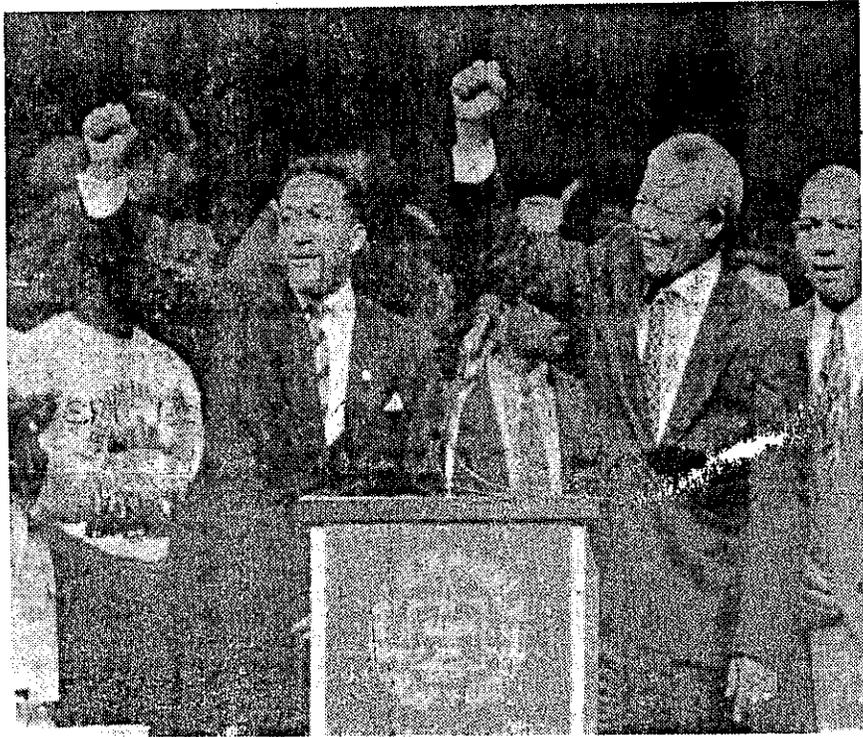
Major outstanding debtors were named as the ANC Youth League and the Thebe subsidiary Movement Marketing Enterprises (MME).

The newspaper added that Thebe Trading, an import-export company, was stated to be running at an operating loss of almost R200 000. Oriole Travel, with a monthly turnover of R678 000, was described as "the only healthy company" in the Thebe stable.

Bl Day 12-1-93

Mandela gets his 1986 award

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National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People executive director Benjamin Chavis, left, and ANC president Nelson Mandela give a salute at the association's convention in Indianapolis on Saturday. Picture: AP

INDIANAPOLIS — The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People named then-imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela winner of its W E B Du Bois medal in 1986. On Saturday, Mandela finally got to accept his award, at the association's national convention.

"To attend this convention is for us a homecoming," Mandela told about 4 000 people at the Indiana Convention Centre as another 8 000 watched on closed circuit television in a nearby room.

He linked the civil rights struggles of blacks in the US to those of blacks in SA, and urged Americans to help SA after its first nonracial elections.

Mandela said the ANC faced a major task in making sure next year's elections were fair. "They must inspire such confidence that their outcome is accepted by both South Africans and the rest of the world as legitimate."

He also urged the US government to continue economic sanctions against SA.

SIMON BARBER reports from Washington that ANC communications director Pallo Jordan has flatly rejected a suggestion that Mandela and President F W De Klerk campaign jointly on an American-style election ticket, with De Klerk run-

ning for vice-president.

The idea was punted in USA Today on the weekend by the newspaper's founder, Al Neuharth, after a meeting with Mandela last week.

Neuharth said it was "unfortunate" that the two leaders, who "both deserved the Freedom Medal they got in Philadelphia", were "running against each other".

Mandela was fundraising in Los Angeles at the weekend, where Sony Pictures chairman Peter Guber threw him a star-studded Hollywood dinner, with proceeds going to the SA Free Elections Fund.

Guests included Barbra Streisand, Tristar chairman Mike Medavoy, Whoopi Goldberg and Sidney Poitier.

In Britain, the ANC is to launch a fundraising campaign today to raise £1m for SA's elections.

An appeal by Mandela will be carried in a full-page open letter in the Guardian, the ANC's British branch said in a statement.

Mandela said the ruling NP had huge funding advantages.

"The NP represent a minority, but they have the money. These people have access to enormous wealth and still control the machinery of government in SA." — Sapa-Reuter.

Eikenhof killings: Car 'hijacked'

JOHANNESBURG. — The owner of the BMW used in the Eikenhof killings, Mr Nelson Mpunge, told the Heidelberg Circuit Court on Friday how his vehicle was hijacked by four men with AK-47 rifles early on March 19.

Mr Mpunge was testifying in the trial of Mr Boy Ndweni, 19, Mr Siphwe Bholo, 24, and Mr Siphso Gavin, 22.

The men have pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice DJ Curlewis and two assessors to 43 "special" offences.

They have been accused of murdering Mrs Zandra Mitchell, 35, her son Shaun Nel, 14, and a friend Clare Ann Silberbauer, 13.

They are also accused of attempting to kill six other

people, and of kidnapping Mr Mpunge and Mr Madoda Vayisi.

Mr Mpunge said he and Mr Vayisi were on their way to work on the Golden Highway when four armed men surrounded his car at a stop sign and got in.

One of the men had pulled out a plastic bag and taken out an AK-47 and three hand-grenades.

Mr Mpunge said he had been told to drive fast as they intended reaching their destination at 6.50am.

"We then proceeded along the Vereeniging/Johannesburg road and went looking for a bus full of whites," Mr Mpunge said.

The trial continues today.

Sapa

CT 12/7/93
(11A)

ANC-IFP pact 'to withstand strains'

Political Staff

AGREEMENTS reached last month between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi are likely to stand.

New strain was put on the relationship between the ANC president and the IFP leader after Mr Mandela made statements in the United States about Chief Buthelezi and the IFP last week.

Chief Buthelezi objected strenuously to Mr Mandela's statements, which he said did the quest for peace and reconciliation "a great disservice".

One of the main agreements bound the two to address joint rallies in violence-torn areas.

Mr Mandela was quoted as having told the US Press that Chief Buthelezi allowed himself "to be used by sinister forces" and that the IFP was "a surrogate" of the government.

The IFP leader said that by again seeking "to viciously smear" both him and the IFP, Mr Mandela had "blatantly reneged" on agreements reached at their meeting outside Johannesburg on June 23.

He said Mr Mandela's statements amounted to an "untruthful provocation which will further exacerbate tensions between our two parties and hinder the peace process".

However, the IFP leader lat-

er told The Argus's sister newspaper, The Star, that he had not repudiated the agreements reached at their meeting.

"The status of the agreements on my side is not in question," the IFP leader said.

ANC PWV and Southern Natal regional leaders Tokyo Sexwale and Jeff Radebe have denied that Mr Mandela had violated either the code of conduct for political parties contained in the Peace Accord or the spirit of agreements reached in the two leaders' June 23 meeting.

The ANC, they said, remained committed to both peace and the agreements reached. **ANC 12/7/93**

Mr Mandela first made his accusations about Chief Buthelezi and the IFP when he addressed the United Nations in New York about a year ago.

An angry Chief Buthelezi subsequently refused to hold talks with Mr Mandela, and laid a complaint with the National Peace Committee, which failed to resolve the dispute.

Chief Buthelezi said "provocative statements" specifically linking the recent spate of violence to those wishing to block or postpone the April 27 election were "a travesty of the truth and cheap party-political rhetoric at the expense of the on-going suffering of our people who deserve better".

WORLD NEWS ANC leader accepts award ● Malawi p

NAACP hails Mandela

Sowetan 12/7/93

INDIANAPOLIS — Seven years ago the NAACP honoured then-imprisoned ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela. On Saturday, Mandela finally got to accept his award.

Mandela was named winner of the NAACP's WEB du Bois medal in 1986 for his fight against oppression of blacks in South Africa. He accepted it at the opening of the group's national convention.

"To attend a convention of the NAACP is for us a homecoming," Mandela told about 4 000 people at the Indiana Convention Centre as another 8 000 watched on closed-circuit television in a nearby room.

Outside, 20 to 30 members of Con-

cerned Citizens for Traditional Family Values picketed the group over its recent support of homosexual rights.

Mandela linked the civil rights struggles of blacks in the United States to those in his nation and urged Americans to help his country after South Africa's April 27 1994 elections, which will include the participation of blacks for the first time. (IA)

"We stand here not as people from another land but as part of you, part of the great family of black people that is found in many parts of the world," Mandela said.

"Our common struggle for the termination of the apartheid crime against humanity and the transformation of

South Africa into a united, democratic, nonracial and nonsexist country has reached a decisive point."

Mandela said the ANC faced a major task in making sure next year's elections were fair.

"The results they produce must be a genuine and correct reflection of the feelings and aspirations of the people of our country. They must inspire such confidence that their outcome is accepted by South Africans and the world as legitimate."

While Mandela called the scheduled elections a positive step, he also urged the US government to continue economic sanctions against South Africa. — Sapa-AP.

Winnie: Attack killers

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela and the PAC yesterday called on people in Sebokeng to arm themselves against "faceless" attackers responsible for mass killings in Vaal Triangle townships.

Mrs Mandela, an executive member of the SA National Civics Organisation in the PWV region, was speaking at the funeral of 11 people shot dead by unidentified attackers in Sebokeng's Zone 8 on June 26.

"You should arm yourselves and attack the people who are killing you," with immediate effect," she urged about 1 000 mourners at a Zone 17 stadium.

If elections did not take place as agreed at the World Trade Centre, it would "be a dark day for all South Africans", she said.

Elections would have to take place next year, she said.

PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander told the crowd liberation movements should make no further concessions at multi-party negotiations.

Whites shift to IFP from NP

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — Whites and Indians in Natal are turning their backs on the National Party and the Democratic Party as they swing to the IFP and ANC.

CT 19/7/92

According to a poll, the NP and President F W de Klerk remain the most popular of parties and leaders but, since a similar poll in 1992, there has been a shift of whites to the IFP and Indians to the ANC.

While in 1992 white support for the NP was 47% and Indian support 70%, today it has dropped to 31% and 36%.

ANC seeks R5m in UK

LONDON. — The ANC today launches a campaign to raise R5 million in Britain to help equip it for next year's election — with a full-page advertisement in the Guardian newspaper.

An open letter, signed by Mr Nelson Mandela, labels the National Party the “wealthy

masters” of “manipulation” and “dirty tricks”, and says “they are a minority, but they have the money”.

The UK-raised funds will be used to help train 210 000 ANC volunteers, equip 94 regional offices and set up a proper communications network, the advertisement says.

At the weekend Mr Mandela completed a two-week American fund-raising tour that took him to New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and Los Angeles. It was not known how much was raised, but Mr Mandela said the Chicago stop alone netted \$1 million (about R3,3m). — Own Correspondent, UPI, Sapa-Reuter

11A

CT12/7/93

Star 12/7/93
**Compromise
by Mandela**

- US paper

ATLANTA — Nelson Mandela has offered a compromise deal to whites who are demanding a white homeland. The Atlanta Journal noted, however, that Mandela aides said his remarks did not represent official ANC policy.

An Atlanta Journal reporter asked Mandela whether regionalism could hold together the demands by white Afrikaners for separatism.

It quoted Mandela as saying he had told rightists they should stop talking about Afrikaner self-determination because they would not get it. "But you must quietly work out a map. Tell us what region you would like ... without making noises about self-determination and we will see whether we cannot compromise with you ..."
Mandela was quoted as saying. — Star Bureau.

● Mandela works US
crowds for cash — Page 7

Mandela offers deal on white homeland

PETER FABRICIUS
The Argus Foreign Service

ATLANTA. — African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela has offered a compromise deal to whites demanding their own homeland, says an Atlanta newspaper. (11A)

In a front-page report under the headline "ANC may OK white homeland", the Atlanta Journal reported on remarks made by Mr Mandela in an interview. But the newspaper noted that Mr Mandela's aides had told it that his remarks did not represent official ANC policy. ARG 13/7/93

In a verbatim report of its interview with Mr Mandela, an Atlanta Journal reporter asked him whether regionalism could accommodate the demands by Afrikaners for separatism.

It quoted Mr Mandela as

saying that he had told white rightists that they should stop talking about Afrikaner self-determination because they were not going to get it.

"But you must quietly work out a map. Tell us what region you would like and give it to us without making noises about self-determination and we will see whether we cannot compromise with you on that," Mr

ANC leader heads for home

PETER FABRICIUS
The Argus Foreign Service

ATLANTA. — African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela has left for South Africa after a 10-day low-key, high-profit fund-raising tour of the United States.

Compared with his debut tour in 1990, when he was mobbed by crowds, this was a

Mandela is quoted as saying.

"Because, in any case, regions ... are going to be created. We would like, therefore, within that policy, to accommodate them.

"But they have not yet responded to that suggestion, which to me is the best."

Mr Mandela put his suggestion in context by observing that the "ultra-right" controlled

much more professional and businesslike affair.

The aim was to raise as much as possible of the R130 million the ANC estimates it will need to win the elections on April 27.

And so instead of the crowds, Mr Mandela concentrated on working the corporations and the entertainment stars.

large numbers of votes — 800 000 in the referendum last year.

Mr Mandela said the ANC sympathised with the rightwing demand for a region "because we consider it to be quite reasonable for a minority that has been in power for more than three centuries and that has enjoyed a high standard of living and opportunities denied to the majority of the population".

He added: "But we have said to them that we don't want to address this demand in a way which is going to create more problems that it's going to solve.

"Because if we accept that demand, then Buthelezi is going to come up with his demand that he wants his own region, and then somebody else is going to put forward the same demand."

Workers aim at new party

Star 13/7/93
By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

The Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa) will hold "an internal referendum" to decide whether or not to contest next year's April 27 election.

Wosa chairman Neville Alexander said Wosa and its allies would use the election campaign to promote the formation of a workers' party and "expose the unprincipled pro-middle class compromises now being hatched at the World Trade Centre". (IA)

He said the platform for such a party would revolve around "basic working class demands" such as jobs for all, a living wage, no retrenchment, free education, health care and decent housing.

Alexander said that while Wosa believed the negotiations process to be "a deception", many others looked to the April 27 election "to address their concrete problems". He said Wosa would decide whether to contest the election after their "internal referendum".

LAST May, Namibian President Sam Nujoma visited Washington with a substantial delegation, and became the first African leader to pay an official call on President Bill Clinton. It was widely judged to have been a successful trip. An important reason was that Nujoma had taken care to include in his party members of the opposition. Washington's Africanists were treated to a rare, and convincing, display of reconciliation in action. People were impressed.

Many had hoped for a similar display when ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk came to collect their freedom medals earlier this month. The hope was perhaps excessive. Namibians have long since passed through the sound barrier of their first election and have come to terms with the radically different dynamics that lie on the other side. In SA it is still April 1989, Namibia time.

Nonetheless, there was something distinctly unnerving about Mandela's demeanour here. Far more was expected of him than ever was of Nujoma and his colleagues at the equivalent period, and he himself had done much to raise those expectations. His pre-trip interview with Fortune magazine, for example, evidenced a degree of statesmanship, and an openness to pragmatic compromise, that rose far above partisan conflict. "Let us build a new SA," he said, "where there will be peace and mutual confidence among population groups. . . . We are saying let bygones be bygones."

This was not the Mandela who toured the US for the past fortnight. The Mandela Americans have seen has appeared less concerned with constructing a new and successful democracy than with raw power and its acquisition.

To be sure, this has thrilled those who the ANC sees as its natural American constituency (and who in

Mandela lets slip the gentle mask of reconciliation

BiDay 13/7/93

IIA

SIMON BARBER in Washington

turn see Mandela as some kind of perfect saviour). And it would not be altogether unnatural if he has felt tempted (with or without a little prodding from communications director Pallo Jordan) to play to the groundlings.

But these are the people least in need of mobilising (except perhaps when it comes to lifting state and local sanctions, something for which Mandela was decidedly not asking). The more important target audience, by far, were those to whom Mandela seemed to be addressing himself in the Fortune interview: the investors, bankers and other decision makers still in need of convincing that SA is not going to be another Angola but rather a bigger and better Namibia.

Everyone recognises that Mandela has a right to despise De Klerk and the NP, but his international stature, and the world's hopes for his country, rest in large measure on the fact that he has chosen instead to be magnanimous.

However, his performance over the past fortnight has been such as to cast doubt on whether he has really made that choice.

It is entirely understandable that he did not wish to use his joint ap-

pearances with De Klerk to grant him absolution. In power terms, that might have levelled the field a little too much, and would not have played well back home among those who already sniff betrayal.

But surely, and however much some of his hosts were pressing for photo opportunities to serve their own agendas, his purpose could have been fully served simply by his maintaining a proper and dignified distance.

There was nothing wrong in turning down an invitation to appear with De Klerk at the National Press Club, but the White House should have been notified well in advance that a joint session in the Rose Garden was not on and that Clinton's meetings with the two leaders should be scheduled, if not on separate days, then certainly not back to back. For that opened the way for what the Press, starved of more solid fare, was bound to interpret as a snub.

Which, it now seems clear, is precisely what Mandela and his advisers intended: they were out to humiliate De Klerk and to remind the world who really was in charge. An

important question is whether this is what the world wants to hear as it ponders its next moves towards SA.

Of course, De Klerk got his licks in too, but he did so more subtly. His effort to position himself as the champion of American constitutional values and principles was well executed. (Mandela quite shrewdly countered by quoting Frederick Douglas on the constitution's lacunae in his medal acceptance speech.) More provocative was De Klerk's use of the IMF. By dangling the possibility of SA getting an \$850m loan before Christmas, he was casting the sanctions-fixated ANC as irresponsible spoilers who put party before country.

Mandela's response — essentially to say that De Klerk and his government had no business talking to the international financial institutions, for this was the ANC's prerogative — was disproportionate, as if he had been caught off guard and was lashing back.

But in retrospect it appears to have been more than a one-off counterattack and rather part of a concerted strategy to revile and belittle an electoral opponent.

Now that an election date has been all but set in stone, Mandela seems to have taken off the gloves. De Klerk,

he has been saying at almost every opportunity, is "illegitimate", "totally irrelevant", and dishonest (the SABC board affair being an example), to boot. Nor has he limited his venom to the President. The Friday before the Philadelphia award, he had a savage go at Mangosuthu Buthelezi, too, declaring him in effect a traitor to his race. The Inkatha leader, he told an audience that had come to hear him speak on freedom of the Press, wanted "to be ruled by whites".

Mandela may feel that such rhetoric is good for raising funds, but there is clearly more to it than that. Indeed it is difficult not to conclude that, having obtained an election date, the ANC leader has decided there is no real need for further compromise or conciliation: the overriding objective must be simply to rally the troops, fill the campaign coffers (with the help of foreign donors lulled into the cosy belief they are financing non-partisan voter education), and go all out for the biggest margin of victory possible so as to minimise the role of other players in the promised government of national unity afterwards.

That, at any rate, is the logic of how Mandela has been comporting himself over here. Perhaps, when he returns home, he will return to earth also and recognise that the election will be worthless if all it succeeds in doing is further sundering an already divided country.

Shortly after the collapse of Codesa II last year, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa briefed the executives of several trade unions on what had happened. He mentioned that some of his colleagues had been comparing notes with Swapo. The Namibian comrades said they were glad they had not won enough votes to ram through their own constitution because it was essential that opposition forces had a sense of authorship, too.

The fruits of that wisdom were on display when Nujoma came to town last May. Will they be on display again if President Mandela comes back here a year hence?

ANC calls on Zulu king to choose

Sowetan 13/7/93

THE ANC yesterday accused the Inkatha Freedom Party of manipulating Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and has bluntly called on the king "to choose between patriotic Zulus and the IFP" (IA) (ES)

In what amounts to an ultimatum to Zwelithini, ANC southern Natal spokesman Mr Dumisani Makhaye said yesterday while Zulus had always respected their "patriotic kings who fought against colonialism, they have never been servile to anybody" (KE)

He said the time had now come for Zwelithini, who had been manipulated by the IFP before and after Sunday's rally at Durban's King's Park Stadium, to choose between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's IFP and "patriotic Zulus".

"Kings among Zulus are respected

■ PATRIOTIC KINGS IFP accused of manipulating King Goodwill Zwelithini:

for their deeds," Makhaye said.

He said the ANC was "shocked" by Zwelithini's manipulation, which the IFP had done "in all its military intelligence-sponsored rallies".

According to Makhaye, the IFP had called the King's Park Stadium rally in the guise of a Zulu "imbizo" because it was acutely aware of its lack of support among "patriotic Zulus".

Both Buthelezi and Zwelithini told the gathering that there could be no elections in the country before it was accepted that KwaZulu would be included in a future South Africa under a

constitution endorsed by the people of the KwaZulu-Natal region.

Addressing an estimated 30 000 people, Zwelithini said he had called the gathering to "protest at the proposed annihilation of KwaZulu". Makhaye said Sunday's rally would go down in history "as the day on which Zulu pride was desecrated and stabbed in the belly". "The great Zulu kings like Shaka, Dingane and Cetshwayo must be turning in their graves, for if they were alive today they would be at the forefront of those demanding an immediate date for elections. — Sowetan Correspondent.

Star 13/7/93

Buthelezi flays Govt, ANC

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

The Government has cast aside the interests of its supporters in its haste to jump into bed with the ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said yesterday.

Addressing a meeting in Port Elizabeth, Buthelezi again accused the Government and the ANC of entering into secret deals and said the National Party appeared to have forgotten the promises which saw it win last year's referendum.

The KwaZulu Chief Minister said what South Africa needed now was "broad-based social and political consensus" on the need for

economic growth and the means to achieve it.

He said the Government — which had cast aside its supporters' interests in its fight for political survival — had done little to alleviate the fears of its people.

Buthelezi said the IFP had been warning about the Government's "sell-out position" for almost a year now, and said Pretoria's acceptance of a government of national unity with a five-year term was "yet another facade for a pact to exclude all others from ... government".

"The citizens of South Africa, after years of bitter struggle and sacrifice, will refuse to be subjected to another demoralising dictator-

ship which will strip them of their freedom and their basic civil rights.

"The five-year transitional proposal tabled at multi-party negotiations imposes a solution which is the least likely to produce results respectful and protective of cultural and social pluralism," Buthelezi said.

President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela also came in for censure for their behaviour in the US last week.

South Africa, Buthelezi said, needed to move speedily towards a settlement. If negotiations went on indefinitely, the process would lose legitimacy — "an outcome our country can ill afford".

Star 12/7/93

Compromise

by Mandela

- US paper

ATLANTA -- Nelson Mandela has offered a compromise deal to whites who are demanding a white homeland.

The Atlanta Journal noted, however, that Mandela aides said his remarks did not represent official ANC policy.

An Atlanta Journal reporter asked Mandela whether regionalism could hold together the demands by white Afrikaners for separatism.

It quoted Mandela as saying he had told rightists they should stop talking about Afrikaner self-determination because they would not get it. "But you must quietly work out a map. Tell us what region you would like ... without making noises about self-determination and we will see whether we cannot compromise with you ..." Mandela was quoted as saying. -- Star Bureau.

● Mandela works US crowds for cash -- Page 7

Mandela — working US crowds for cash

By Peter Fabricius
Star Bureau

ATLANTA — Nelson Mandela left for South Africa last night after a 10-day low-key, high-profit fund-raising tour of America.

Compared to his debut tour in 1990 when he was mobbed by crowds and given the rare honour of a ticker-tape parade in New York, this was a much more professional and business-like affair.

The aim was to make a big dent in the \$43 million (R141 million) the ANC estimates it will need to win the elections on April 27. And so, instead of the crowds, Mandela concentrated on working the

corporations and the entertainment stars.

But he also focused on black Americans. Even then, though, he rattled the collection box to good effect. A man famous for his single-mindedness, he was laser-like in his concentration on the goal of raising money.

No source was left untapped, no occasion squandered.

An Atlanta newspaper believed the difference between his 1990 and 1993 tours was illustrated by the following anecdote. It overheard one of Mandela's entourage chatting to a visitor over lunch in the plush Ritz-Carlton where the ANC stayed.

They were debating about about who should pick up the tab. But not for long. "Oh, I'll just charge it to Coke," the

newspaper quoted the ANC staffer as saying. Coke paid for the hotel bill and other costs and flew Mandela to and from Atlanta in one of its corporate jets.

The Atlanta newspaper noted the contrast between this new slick image which the ANC was now projecting and the revolutionary reputation it still had when Mandela visited in 1990.

Among the celebrities who kept Mandela company on this tour were Michael Jackson, Elizabeth Taylor, Dannie Glover, Sugar Ray Leonard, Barbara Streisand and black poet Maya Angelou who recited one of her works at the inauguration of President Clinton.

Just how much money he raised is hard to establish. One figure given is \$1,4 million (R4,6 million) in actual donations — not counting pledges. That seems a conservative estimate. And ANC officials note that Mandela laid the groundwork for continuing fund-raising efforts which will continue to bring in cash after his departure.

Certainly the likes of Glover intend pursuing the ANC's election cause in the months ahead. "This election is the most important event in the world and there is a community of us here who want to make sure the world knows that" he said in an interview.

Clarify economic policy, ANC urged

DURBAN — Organised commerce is once more to take the ANC to task over nationalisation.

The South African Chamber of Business at its regional congress in Maritzburg at the weekend undertook to get the ANC to state publicly whether it supported its alliance partner the Cosatu-affiliated National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa in its call at the National

Economic Forum for a policy of nationalisation without compensation.

In addition, the business movement said it would call on the ANC to "state unequivocally" whether a recently reiterated call for a 50 percent wealth tax to fund socio-economic reconstruction was official ANC policy, although rejected by the ANC two years ago. — Own Correspondent.

By
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Mandela upbeat about new funding

New York calls for SA investment

Biday 14/7/93

(11A) (11B)

ANC president Nelson Mandela returned from the US yesterday with an upbeat message, saying he had received a positive response to his call for a "massive injection of funds" for the country and the ANC.

Positive indications also came from the US yesterday after the announcement that Mandela's discussions had prompted the official in charge of New York state's \$56bn pension fund to call for renewed corporate investment in SA soon.

State comptroller Carl McCall also said Mandela had told him the ANC would call for the lifting of remaining economic sanctions within three weeks.

Mandela adopted a conciliatory position on the Afrikaner nationalist organisations' call for an Afrikaner homeland and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's fears about the future of KwaZulu, saying the ANC was sensitive to nationalist needs.

Addressing a news conference at Jan Smuts Airport, Mandela emphasised that the principal aim of his trip was to encourage investment in SA from public and private sources as soon as possible.

He had raised the matter with US President Bill Clinton, arguing in favour of a "massive injection of funds" and had asked that this be discussed at the G-7 economic summit in Japan. Clinton's response had

TIM COHEN
and SIMON BARBER

been "very positive" and he had promised to do everything in his power to help rebuild SA's economy.

However, Mandela appeared to be less than pleased with the single line on SA in the G-7's final communiqué which noted that progress was being made in multi-party negotiations.

Nevertheless, preparations were being made for delegations of US businessmen to visit SA, he said.

On his fundraising efforts for the ANC, Mandela said these had "exceeded our wildest expectations", although he could not say how much had been raised because donations were still flowing in.

Mandela linked the recent surge in violence to the announcement of an election date, saying the killings were a result of people's fears that they would be "totally wiped out" in elections.

He said the ANC was willing to meet Zwelithini to discuss the issues raised by the king, such as the role and future of the monarchy and the KwaZulu region's position in the process of regional delimitation.

The ANC's proposals on the new regional delimitation took into account the king's fears and also went a long way towards

□ To Page 2

New York Biday 14/7/93

accommodating the desires of Afrikaner nationalists.

In New York, McCall, the elected official in charge of the state's \$56bn public employee pension fund said yesterday he wanted US corporations to resume investing in SA as soon as possible. (11A)

McCall said that based on discussions with Mandela he believed "the situation has sufficiently changed that US corporations should seek sound business opportunities that will enhance economic well-being and equality for all races in SA" (11B)

New York state has never had a formal law barring public investment in companies that do business with SA, but has supported shareholders' resolutions calling for corporate withdrawal.

"These campaigns were highly successful and effective," McCall said. "However, to continue such a policy would be counter-productive because it would undermine the economic health of a post-apartheid SA."

BILLY PADDOCK reports that KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi

was not available last night and he was the only person "permitted to comment on matters related to the king", cabinet minister Dennis Madide said.

In a statement, Mandela said he noted Zwelithini's remarks on Sunday at the Imbizo held in Durban. "In his speech, His Majesty raised concerns on the role and future of the monarchy and the place of the KwaZulu/Natal region in the process of regional delimitation.

"The ANC has further noted that the king seeks clarification on ANC positions with regard to the matter. The ANC welcomes the opportunity to discuss with King Zwelithini its positions on these critical issues," Mandela said.

He said he wanted to meet Zwelithini because the ANC believed the concerns "are crucial and should be handled in a manner satisfactory to all".

The ANC was willing to send an emissary to Zwelithini within a week to make arrangements for such a meeting.

● Picture: Page 3

Govt plan premature — ANC

Bilsey 14-1193
TIM COHEN

THE ANC yesterday criticised government's plans for joint administration between provincial authorities and non-independent homelands as "wholly premature".

The ANC's statement follows the announcement by government that it was forging ahead with plans for certain functions of provincial authorities and non-independent homelands to be merged, if possible even before constitutional decisions are made.

The ANC said in a statement that it had serious objections to the process involved and was concerned that this issue was at the heart of the regional debate in constitutional negotiations.

The statement said that while the ANC would welcome the reincorporation of the homelands, as well as the imposition of much-needed

financial discipline, serious problems still remained.

"Government should not need reminding that this is a sensitive issue that goes to the heart of the regional debate in the constitutional negotiations. 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ANC prepared to meet Zulu king

Star 14/7/93

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

The row surrounding Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's alleged manipulation by the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) took another turn yesterday with ANC president Nelson Mandela saying his organisation would be prepared to meet the leader to address his concerns.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport shortly after his return from the United States, Mandela said the ANC had taken note of concerns raised by Zwelithini in Durban at the weekend, and was happy that he had come forward to express them.

The ANC, Mandela said, would "listen very carefully" to Zwelithini's concerns, and would do everything possible to address them.

However, the ANC would not "be drawn into the use of labels like federalism".

"We will listen very carefully to His Majesty and hear what his demands are.

"Insofar as it lies within our

powers, we will go all out to accommodate his demands," said a conciliatory Mandela.

His response differed markedly from that of the ANC in Natal, which has accused the IFP of manipulating the king and bluntly called on Zwelithini "to choose between patriotic Zulus and the IFP".

Ultimatum

In what observers saw as an ultimatum to Zwelithini, ANC Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said while Zulus had always respected their "patriotic kings who fought against colonialism, they have never been servile to anybody".

Makhaye said the time had now come for Zwelithini to choose between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party and "patriotic Zulus".

"Kings among Zulus are respected for their deeds," he said.

Zwelithini addressed a gathering at Durban's King's Park Stadium on Sunday with Buthelezi.

He said there could be no elections in the country before it was accepted that KwaZulu would be included in a future South Africa under a constitution endorsed by the people of the KwaZulu/Natal region.

Yesterday Mandela said the ANC would welcome an opportunity to discuss Zwelithini's concerns with him, and would therefore be prepared to meet the king at a mutually convenient place and time.

"We believe that the king's concerns are crucial and should be handled in a manner satisfactory to all people, including traditional leaders," the ANC leader said.

Mandela said the ANC was willing to send an emissary to the king within a week to make arrangements for the meeting.

He welcomed Zwelithini's statement that he was above party politics and did not side with any political organisation.

The ANC, said Mandela, hoped this would pave the way for Zwelithini to play "a major and constructive role in unifying our people and help create a climate for peace and free political activity".

Star 14/7/93

Mandela home and optimistic

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday returned from the United States full of optimism about South Africa's future in spite of the continuing violence, and said President Bill Clinton and US businessmen were ready to help the country during the transition. (IIA)

Mandela, who jointly received the Philadelphia Liberty Award with President

F W de Klerk on July 4 — US Independence Day — said his trip to the US had been an unqualified success.

Not only had he raised millions of dollars for the ANC's election coffers, but he had also obtained commitments from Clinton and important business leaders to help South Africa during the transitional period.

"I used the opportunity to ask both the president and business leaders for a massive injection of funds (into

South Africa) to help generate wealth and offer job opportunities. I asked the president to specifically encourage both the public and private sectors to invest in South Africa," Mandela said.

The ANC leader said he also briefed Clinton about discussions which had been going on between the ANC and the International Monetary Fund for the past three years about financial assis-

● To Page 3

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Mandela back at home and optimistic

● From Page 1

tance for South Africa

Mandela said: (IIA)

● Clinton was "very positive" to his request, affirmed his government's commitment to the transition process here and expressed his readiness "to do everything in his power — at our request — to facilitate

this".

● American response to the ANC's appeal for funds had "exceeded our wildest expectations" but he would not say how much had been raised.

● The recent spate of violence in the country was linked to the confirmation of April 27 as the date for South Africa's first all-in election, but he was hopeful

the ANC would be able to persuade people such as IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to accept the election date.

Commenting on his public clash with De Klerk in the US, Mandela said this had to be seen in the context that the ANC and the NP were rivals in trying to find a solution to the country's problems.

NEWS IFP offered 'best deal possible' ● Court sequel

Sowetan 14-7-93

Talks' ball in IFP court

THE Government and ANC are adopting a wait-and-see attitude regarding Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's decision not to return to the multiparty negotiations.

Buthelezi told a meeting in Port Elizabeth this week the Inkatha Freedom Party would not return to negotiations before a federal system of government had been agreed upon.

He said to continue participating in multiparty negotiations before this condition was met would amount to "politi-

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

cal suicide" and warned the IFP was "not prepared to be bullied into our own suicide" (20/1/93) (113)

Both the Government and ANC agreed, however, that Buthelezi had received "the best deal he was likely to get" and had to start making compromises. (11A)

A senior Government source said:

"Inkatha has been offered the best deal they will ever get and they had better realise it.

"The other parties are not going to accept that KwaZulu has a sovereign constitution prior to a national election."

An ANC executive showed little concern, saying Buthelezi was "holding South Africa and the negotiating process to ransom" while all parties at the negotiating council had made many concessions.

Mandela meets Stompie's mum

AFRICAN National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela met the mother of slain teenage anti-apartheid activist Stompie Seipei for the first time yesterday.

The occasion was part of a fundraising drive by Mandela in Parys and nearby Tumahole township in the Northern Free State. *Sowetan 14-7-93*

Jerry Richardson, an associate of Mr Mandela's estranged wife Winnie, is serving a life sentence for Stompie's murder. Mrs Mandela was convicted for kidnapping Stompie and three others. She was fined R15 000 by the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein for the kidnap. She was also ordered to pay R5 000 each to the surviving three kidnap victims. *(UFA)*

Mrs Joyce Seipei (37) lives in Tumahole and is a card-carrying member of the ANC. She is also a member of the local ANC Women's League.

She was one of the guests of honour at the local Tumahole Stadium where Mr Mandela addressed about 30 000 mainly young supporters.

Mandela and Seipei held a private discussion on the podium after Mandela arrived and later posed hand-in-hand for photographers and TV crews. — *Sapa*.

man in telephone call

Mandela's successful fundraising

Sowetan 14/7/93

By Ismail Lagardien

THE ANC's campaign to raise an estimated R130 million for next year's election has gone beyond the movement's wildest expectations, the organisation's president, Mr Nelson Mandela, said yesterday.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from the United States and Britain, Mandela said the ANC election campaign fund was not aimed only at a victory for the movement in the country's first nonracial poll but would be used for voter education too.

Mandela said: "We require a very large amount in order to mount a successful election campaign. We require no fewer than 2 000 instructors." (11A)

"The response to our appeal for funds has exceeded our wildest expectations."

Mandela said he was not too concerned about Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's threat not to return to multiparty negotiations before an agreement on federalism was secured. He said he was prepared to meet Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and also responded positively to concerns raised by the king that the ANC and the Government should ensure that the Zulu kingdom was not torn apart.

"The ANC will send an emissary to the king within a week to make arrangements for such a meeting, describing the visit as "very successful", Mandela said he had asked US President Bill Clinton and American business leaders to encourage public and private sector investment in South Africa once sanctions were lifted.

He had also discussed the role of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank in the post-sanctions era.

Clinton had expressed his support for political transition and said he would "do everything in his power" to facilitate the process of rebuilding South Africa's economy.

Responding to alleged acrimony between himself and President FW de Klerk in the United States, Mandela said he had simply responded to "propaganda statements" by De Klerk.

"The ANC and the National Party of De Klerk are rivals. You must relate every remark of ours to remarks made by De Klerk. If someone makes a propaganda statement anywhere in the world, I will respond and I have done so in this particular case."

'Hani told meeting to kill police'

11A 2/28

CT14/7/93

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — A masked police informer told the Goldstone commission yesterday that former SACP chief Mr Chris Hani had urged Sebokeng residents last year to kill policemen.

The informer, Mr Z, who wore a balaclava, sunglasses and gloves while giving evidence before the commission's investigation into attacks on police, said Mr Hani had told a meeting of 400 people in June last year that "whenever a policeman appears he should be attacked, disarmed and killed".

ANC legal adviser Mr Brendan Barry said more than 80 policemen, including senior officers from the Vaal Triangle, had testified, but none, although asked repeatedly for such information, had mentioned this meeting in a Sebokeng cinema.

While it could be confirmed that Mr Hani had spoken at a meeting in a Sebokeng cinema in June last year, "at no stage during the course of that meeting did Mr Hani utter those words or anything like them".

Mr Z said he had become a police informer in 1991.

The Vaal Triangle ANC Youth

League's violence committee, of which he was a member, had decided last year to reintroduce the armed struggle and target policemen.

This had been supported by the area's civic associations.

An ANC Youth League office bearer had told Mr Z that policemen should be attacked day or night.

One scheme had been to dig trenches, cover them with branches and leaves and attack police vehicles when they fell in.

Another, which had been put into operation, had been to shoot policemen from the tops of trees.

Mr Z described how a soldier had been shot dead from a tree-top in a Vaal Triangle township on the night of June 19 last year, Sapa reports.

Fired

He said the shooting had followed an instruction from the Vaal Triangle Civic Association given at a civic meeting in Sebokeng.

Mr Z said a man, whose name was known to him but could not be given, climbed a tree and fired on security force vehicles, killing a soldier.

He had told his handler about the incident, but to his knowledge the man had not been arrested.

Apla connection alleged in Eikenhof killing

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The driver of the BMW car allegedly hijacked by the accused in the Eikenhof murder trial was told by one of the accused that Apla was responsible for the Eikenhof attack and would strike again.

Mr Nelson Mpunge of Orange Farm, Vereeniging, told the Hei-

delberg Circuit Court yesterday that four men hijacked his car and forced him to drive during the shootings on March 19 this year.

The men allegedly told him the attack was in retaliation for a massacre of six children in the Table Mountain area near Maritzburg on March 2 this year.

Mr Mpunge alleged that Mr Si-

phiwe James Bholo, 23, told him that the people responsible for the Natal attack were hired by whites.

Another of the accused, Mr Siphon "Fish" Gavin, 22, was identified as the leader of the attackers by Mr Mpunge.

The accused face three charges of murder, five counts of attempted

murder and two of kidnapping, among others.

Mr Mpunge said the other two men in the car were wearing balaclavas and he could not see their faces.

He told the court Mr Madoda Vayisi, also of Orange Farm, who was dropped off by the attackers before the attack, was assaulted by

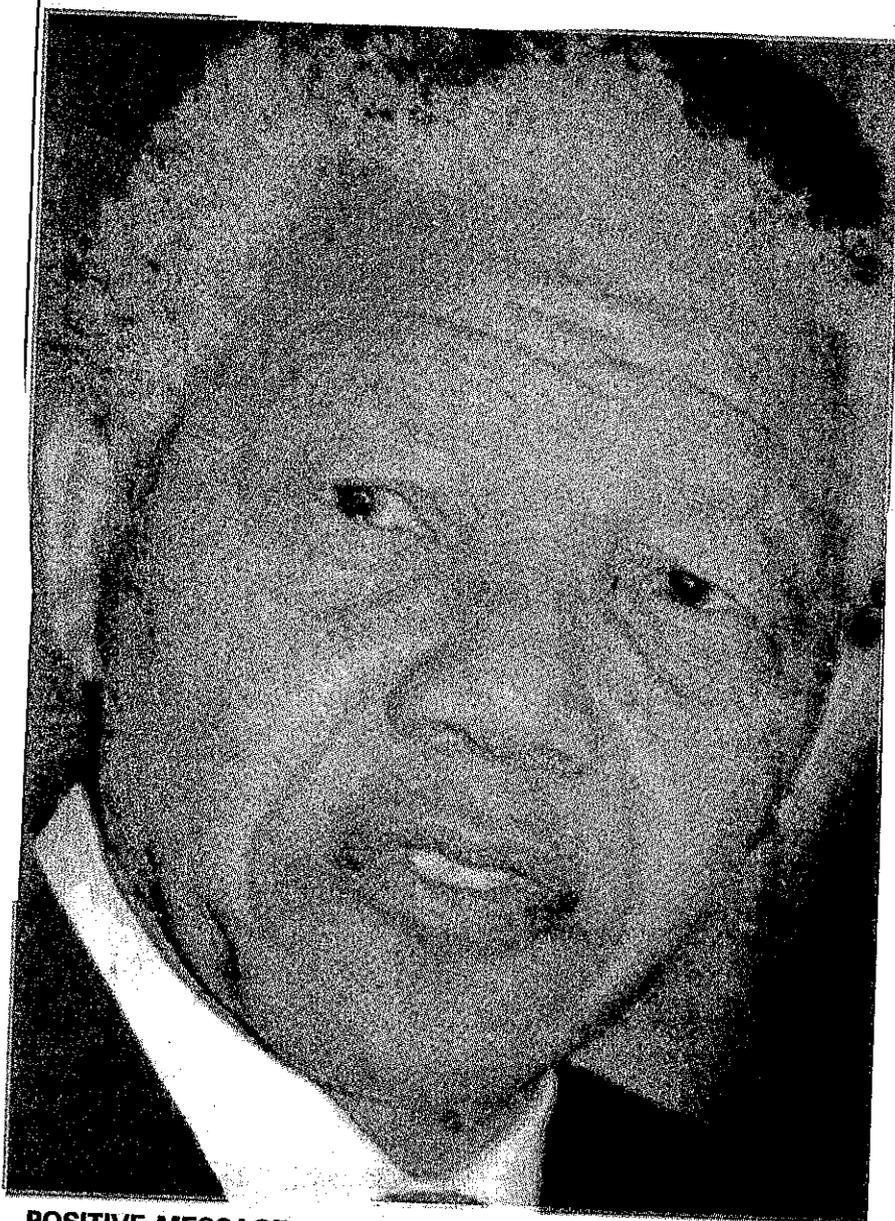
police because they believed he had been involved in the shooting.

Mr Mpunge denied that he was assaulted or intimidated by police, but added that some suspected he was involved in the attack and could disclose the identity of the perpetrators.

AWB members attended the trial in full uniform yesterday.

CF 14/7/93

11A



POSITIVE MESSAGE ... ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday after returning from his visit to the United States.

Picture: AP

Mandela back with positive message

11A

CT 14/7/93

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela returned from the US yesterday with an up-beat message, saying he had received a positive response to his call for a "massive injection of funds" for both the country and his organisation.

Positive indications also came from the US yesterday after the announcement that Mr Mandela's discussions had prompted the official in charge of New York State's \$56-billion (R184bn) pension fund to call for renewed cor-

porate investment in South Africa soon.

Mr Mandela adopted a conciliatory position on both the right-wing Afrikaner call for an Afrikaner homeland and Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini's fears on the future of KwaZulu, saying the ANC was sensitive to nationalist needs.

● Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will address a public meeting in the Cape Town City Hall tonight as part of the IFP's election drive in the Western Cape.

Cape local govt set for a shake-up

South 107-147193

Proposals to get rid of apartheid local authorities involve the consent of people ranging from the PAC to conservative mayors. But will they all play along, asks **CHIARA CARTER:**

NEW PROPOSALS set to change the face of local government from Cape Town to Pofadder, are likely to see a range of diverse organisations, leaders and areas trying to tango in tandem.

An agreement reached by the Local Government Negotiating Forum (LGNF) — a body made up of the major statutory and extra-parliamentary players — in Johannesburg last week signals the start of a new era of non-racial local government.

The Cape Provincial Administration's Director of Constitutional Affairs, Dr Donald Craythorne, cautions that the LGNF proposals are guidelines and have a limited lifespan since they are designed for a transitional period.

Nevertheless, the proposals will mean dramatic change in the shape of the very government which most affects people's day-to-day lives.

ANC Western Cape chairperson, Dr Allan Boesak, defines the present phase as one of "moving towards non-racial political local government structures".

The proposals are likely to form the backbone of new legislation come September. Out go the Regional Services Council and all segregated local councils. In comes the Metropolitan Authority — a "super-council" which will co-ordinate and direct local government throughout the Cape Peninsula, possibly stretching as far as Paarl.

And in come non-racial local authorities which marry adjacent black and white areas.

The first phase will see the scrapping of segregated authorities and the creation of a non-racial metro council.

The metro council will be appointed by the local negotiating forum and will be made up on a 50:50 basis of representatives from statutory bodies and non-statutory organisations.

The metro will co-ordinate the work of all local authorities within its boundaries and will address the need to improve services and allocate resources more fairly.

Local councils will have to be non-racial and will either be run solely by administrative staff, or by a council appointed on a 50:50 basis.

Later, local government will enter an interim phase when local and metropolitan councils are elected. This is likely to be six to 12 months after national elections, given the logistical tasks such as compiling a voters' roll.

Within this broad outline a large number of key issues remain unresolved.

● The accountability of those appointed to run the councils is unclear — a point of concern both for mass-based organisations like the PAC and ANC and, at the other end of the spectrum, for conservative councils.

The PAC's spokesperson on local government, Mr Batembu Lugulwana, says his organisation is con-



ALLAN BOESAK

cerned that people on the ground are not left out. Lugulwana said the non-statutory grouping would be holding local meetings to discuss developments with people.

● The size of the metro council is up for debate. A small council would facilitate decision-making but leave little room for local representation.

Who will be the new metro councillors is at this stage pure speculation but there can be little doubt that alongside familiar council figures will be rising lights from the South African National Civic Organisation, the ANC, the PAC and possibly Cosatu and the Western Cape United Squatters' Association (Wecusa).

Whether these organisations have the capacity to fulfil the task and keep their own structures going is another concern.

● Below the metro will fall the non-racial local authorities. How these will be composed, who will run them and what will be left for them to do remains to be decided.

The powers of these councils are

'Alongside familiar council figures will be rising lights from Sanco, the ANC, the PAC, and possibly Cosatu'

likely to be highly limited — probably to localised affairs like zoning and advising the metro on local needs. Boesak acknowledges that local demands could clash with metro decisions and a difficult balancing act lies ahead.

Even the boundaries of these authorities present something of a headache.

Fish Hoek municipality would have to embrace Ocean View, Pinelands could join with Langa but where will Khayelitsha go? Will the Cape Town City Council unite with Ikapa or stay as it is?

Not all local authorities are keen to join the party. Kraaifontein's mayor, Mr De Wet Marais, says his municipality is reluctant to join a super-metro and would prefer to fall within a Tygerberg metro. "It's a question of not combining apples and pears. We run this municipality like a business with the ratepayers as shareholders. We would prefer to keep things that way," Marais said.

He said the council would "refuse" to dissolve in order to make way for appointed councils.

"We will never accept this non-democratic appointed council. We will fight it all the way," Marais warned.

If the Conservatives want out, at the other end of the spectrum the PAC is likely to remain in. Mr Lugulwana said while his organisation still had to discuss the new proposals, the PAC had so far been "absolutely united" with the other organisations who make up the non-

statutory side of the table.

Finance is another thorny issue. The government argues that 10 percent of white budgets should be relocated to black areas. The non-statutory bodies want an audit of resources and needs before a formula is decided. Affluent suburbs will have to adjust to sharing facilities with poorer areas. This will probably translate into paring services to provide basics in townships.

Mr John Muir, chairperson of Cape Town City Council Planning Committee, said rates would go up.

"The metro will have the taxing powers of the present RSC and people will have to pay a metropolitan rate."

According to Boesak, the basic essential services are likely to be water, sewerage, electricity, land, drainage and street lighting.

Boesak says that while it is unlikely the city can be financially self-sufficient, it should strive for this.

"Government finance should go to priorities like the economy and education as well as the most depressed areas — the rural sector.

"It's in the long-term interests of the metro to aim for financial self-sufficiency," said Boesak.

Also on the cards is an end to the rent and services boycott in the townships. Boesak said while statutory bodies were demanding the scrapping of arrears, a transitional era of local government could see an end to the boycott if services were improved and rents and service charges made affordable.

Star 15/11/92

ANC official pleads not guilty to fraud

An ANC Treasury Department official yesterday pleaded not guilty to defrauding the organisation of more than R280 000.

Sakhelo Ntile (33), a purchasing and stores officer, has been charged with 25 counts of fraud. (11A)

He allegedly set up five corporations in his own name, and made out fictitious orders and invoices in

respect of stationery he purported to have purchased from the closed corporations on behalf of the ANC.

He then allegedly requisitioned cheques to pay for the fictitious purchases and deposited them into his corporations' accounts.

The hearing was postponed to September 13. — Court Reporter.

Top companies deny promising funds for ANC election

Campaign

TOP SA companies denied yesterday that they intended contributing to the election campaigns of any political parties, in spite of claims by ANC president Nelson Mandela that businesses' contributions to his party had been overwhelming.

Only one of the six top SA companies approached yesterday did not rule out the funding of political parties absolutely, though most acknowledged receiving requests for contributions.

The companies approached also balked at funding voter education campaigns not run by independent bodies.

Bibauy 15/7/93
ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said he had no reason to believe that Mandela's comments were incorrect, but declined to name the contributors, saying it was not ANC policy to do so.

Mystery also surrounds Mandela's statement in the US that the largest SA company had made a seven-figure contribution. Anglo American has denied that it had made, or intended to make, any contributions to the ANC.

While in the US, Mandela said the response of SA companies to funding requests had "exceeded our wildest expecta-

(11A)
TIONS". He used the same terminology to describe the response from US companies.

Companies canvassed yesterday gave a variety of reasons why they did not intend funding political parties' election campaigns. Some spokesmen did say it was possible that individuals within their organisations would make contributions, and it would not be inappropriate to do so.

Sasol company secretary Robin Hugo said his company had a strict policy against making contributions. Sasol had

not received requests from the ANC in the past financial year.

Sanlam chief legal adviser Emile Linde said his company could not make contributions because its client base covered the full political spectrum and its employees also held wide-ranging political beliefs.

Old Mutual chairman and MD Mike Levett said his organisation could not contribute to political parties because money collected was held in trust for the purposes of settling claims.

Anglovaal public affairs manager Arno Steyn said his company had a very specific

TIM COHEN

Election funds

Bibauy 15/7/93

From Page 1

in the interests of shareholders was an open question.

He said the ANC was not yet a political party and funding a "liberation movement" would be out of the question.

Meanwhile Sapa reports that the Inkatha Freedom Party has begun its election campaign with a fundraising appeal for the "Mangosuthu Buthelezi Election Fund". The appeal was contained in a party pamphlet marked "personal and confi-

dential" and distributed to about 300 people at a Johannesburg business breakfast addressed by the Inkatha president yesterday.

"Your financial support is not only of paramount importance to Inkatha, but it is equally important for moderate South Africans striving for free market and sound federal economic structures in which your business enterprise can prosper," it said.

policy against making contributions to political organisations.

Safren chairman Allistair McMillan also said it was contrary to company policy to make donations to political parties.

The only company canvassed that did not reject the idea out of hand was Murray & Roberts, although CE David Brink said the company had not been approached and had not discussed the issue.

However, he did note that the ANC was a wide-ranging body, and had yet to publish an election manifesto. Whether it would be

To Page 2

Right wing welcomes self-determination shift

Monday 15/7/93

PRETORIA — Right-wing organisations yesterday welcomed what was perceived as a more tolerant approach to Afrikaner self-determination by the ANC, but warned that it was still to be proven that it was not mere semantics.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela told a news conference on Tuesday on his return from a visit to the US that the ANC was willing to concede to certain Afrikaner

DIRK VAN EEDEN

demands for self-determination in a new SA.

However the organisation was not in favour of ethnic states.

Mandela said Afrikaners who wanted self-determination should demand one of the new regions where they could "organise as is necessary" (WA)

Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers said yesterday Mandela's speech came closer to Volksunie policy than when they had met earlier this year.

He said that up to now the ANC had opposed any Afrikaner reorganisation in a future dispensation.

The Volksunie's proposed map of regions called for two areas where Afrikaans-speaking people could dominate — one in the northwestern Cape and another in the Transvaal with

Pretoria at the centre.

The Volksunie accepted that its members would have to share citizenship in these areas with people of other political persuasions and was willing to gain political power through democratic means in these regions. (WA)

Beyers said all people living in the area would have the same citizenship and that such an Afrikaner-dominated area would subscribe to the constitution and human rights code of the federal republic.

Afrikaner Volskvront director-general Tienie Groenewald said Mandela's speech gave the impression that there was greater acceptance of the Afrikaner's right to self-determination within the ANC.

He said it was clear that the ANC and government had bowed under Volks-

front pressure and realised that the Afrikaner would not cede his right to self-determination.

However, he suspected Mandela's speech could have been mere semantics aimed at keeping Afrikaners "off his back". It was clear the ANC would not accept a sovereign Afrikaner state.

Negotiators at the multi-party talks would decide in the next few days about the powers of regional and central governments of the future dispensation. It would be clear from this whether Mandela's speech was mere election politics or an honest approach to the Afrikaner.

CP general secretary Lem Theron said yesterday his party was "rather sceptical" about the speech and "this kind of soft-soapy" did not impress the CP.

Consultant

Mandela, De Klerk honoured

PHILADELPHIA — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, honoured on Sunday with President FW de Klerk for helping bring South Africa to the threshold of democracy, turned to fund-raising to prepare for the first nonracial elections next year. (SAP)

"We want to put an end to apartheid and the only way to do that is for our brothers and sisters around the world and in this country to give us the money that will enable us to win the election," Mandela told a rally of about 2 500

supporters.

"We have popularity. What we want is power in our country. We want to turn that popularity into political power." (SAP)

US President (11A)

Earlier, he and De Klerk were jointly awarded the Philadelphia Liberty Medal by US President Bill Clinton and Philadelphia mayor Mr Edward Rendell at an Independence Day ceremony.

De Klerk and Mandela shared the R300 000 prize for their work to dismantle apartheid.

Clinton praised their efforts and pledged America's support.

"They are working together to liberate all South Africans, to restore material wealth and to bring spiritual health to their beloved country," he said at the awards ceremony.

De Klerk flew out of the US on Sunday night shortly after the ceremony. — Sapa-Reuter.

90% homeland voters support ANC — claim

Political Staff

THE ANC had the support of about 90% of the estimated 3,5 million voters in the four independent homelands, Democratic Party MP Mr Robin Carlisle said yesterday.

These voters would take part in next year's elections as South Africans as far as his party was concerned, Mr Carlisle said at a forum on voting, organised by the Independent Mediation Services of South Africa. ~~CT 15/7/93~~ ~~11A~~ ~~20/7/93~~ CT 15/7/93

Free for all in ^{Star 15/7/93} rush for voters



Fax machines are already working overtime in the offices of political parties as propagandists fight to sway voters in elections scheduled for next April. ALAN DUNN views the opening week.

POLITICAL war, according to one sage, is where everyone shoots from the lip.

South Africa's political forces have begun a 10-month electoral campaign and are already deeply engaged in hostilities.

This prompt start to electioneering for what Natal Nationalist leader George Bartlett once described as "the mother of all elections" threatens the mother of all political wars until ballot day on April 27.

Judging by the daily deluge of faxes on the country's newsdesks, it promises to be a venomous war of sniping, sustained conventional assaults and non-consequential skirmishes. Political groups, including the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), which have refrained from endorsing the April 27 target for an election, are in full bayonet-charge cry. ~~(SABA)~~

Take last week: Mandela and De Klerk prickled at each other in Washington DC and Philadelphia in what should have been a moment of triumph for South Africa; Mandela broadsided Buthelezi; Buthelezi lashed back; the IFP's Dr Frank Mdlalose chimed in; the ANC and IFP ding-donged over who was responsible for the Reef carnage and the DP chided Mandela for not returning promptly from abroad to douse that mayhem. ~~(IA)~~ ~~(15)~~

The ANC accused the IFP of plotting the assassination of its entire leadership corps in Natal; the IFP branded these life-threatening utterances and referred them to the National

Peace Committee; the DP and NP lambasted the Afrikaner Volksfront's dodgery in the debate on regional boundaries; the NP fumed at PAC racism and the repeated use of "kill the boer" slogans. So it went on...

Then, as if to blow the enemy away from their fax machines, the IFP rolled out a close-typed cannon of a press statement:

"IFP slams ANC propaganda", it headlined its indictment sheet, launching itself at ANC claims against the party as a "crass insult to the intelligence of millions of South Africans".

Unlike the ANC, it argued, it was able to produce concrete evidence showing the IFP was the primary victim of a vicious, full-scale military offensive unleashed by its opponent in Natal and on the Reef.

The IFP claimed to have in its possession evidence to show that (among other things):

- ANC warriors have sought to undermine the legitimacy and integrity of chiefs who scorn ANC overtures yet, in a remarkable display of ANC double standards, embrace traditional leaders sympathetic to their cause.

- Communities who spurn ANC advances are brutally attacked.

- Renamo-style ANC bandits were currently engaged in an unprecedented "arms race". Established infiltration routes were being used to smuggle weapons into the country.

- For every victim of political violence aligned to the ANC, the IFP was able to show five IFP victims.

Borrowing revolutionary cliches which hallmark the style of the ANC and its allies, it said: "It must be remembered that the ANC are masters at sowing deception, having learnt their subterranean craft from Eastern and Soviet-bloc countries."

These were only some of the volleys in the first week of the election campaign. It threatens to be a war of words in which political groups will assign full-time keyboard bombardiers to fire the fax machines at their opponents' every sneeze. □

Leaders blamed for demise of Front

WHAT has happened to the Patriotic Front and the notion of a united liberation bloc operating with powerful effect during and after the elections? In short, it has collapsed and, in the view of the PAC, for no other reason than the political immaturity of the major liberation movements themselves. Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS reports.

(11A) ARCT 16/7/93

WHEN it was mooted, and eventually launched, two years ago, the Patriotic Front was hailed by idealists and dismissed by cynics.

As it happens, the cynics were right.

But where the cynics might have been hesitant to blame the Front's failure on the political immaturity of its key members, none other than PAC national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani is not.

Answering questions at a briefing for businessmen this week, Mr Nemadzivhanani showed remarkable candour in identifying the principal flaw.

"The long and the short of it is that the liberation movements failed the masses by not working as a collective team.

"The Front has failed, to our detriment. And it is a sign of a lack of maturity among the liberation movements, in-

cluding the PAC.

"This is a challenge to all of us, because the liberation movements are the engines of the Front and yet we have failed to concretise the goals and create a strong grouping."

The problem was not among supporters on the ground.

"On the ground, people are working hand in hand. The problem is at the top."

The pattern of closed, bilateral discussions between individual liberation movements and other parties, including the government, had helped undermine the Front's viability.

There was distrust between the ANC and PAC, and the ANC had demanded an apology from the PAC for accusing it of conniving with the "regime".

"We were proven correct in what we said, and we don't intend to apologise," Mr Ne-

madzivhanani said.

Yet, the PAC remains committed to the idea of a Patriotic Front and believes it is not only politically viable, but desirable too.

Mr Nemadzivhanani, who hoped the black business community would be prepared to act as a broker to help bring the opposing camps together again, said much depended on backing for the Front among ordinary supporters of the liberation movements.

"It is important to acknowledge that the struggle belongs to the masses, not the liberation movements, and that it is only when people on the ground work together and collectively demand that their leaders make an effort to work together that the Front will become a reality.

"The people must make it difficult for their leaders to cheat.

"The more we unite people

on the ground, the closer we will be to our goals," he said.

PAC publicity director Mr Waters Toboti, who described being cheered loudly by ANC supporters in Umtata recently when he extolled the virtue of the Front, said the PAC was doing its bit, but that rejuvenating the Front could not be an exclusively PAC initiative.

There is a pressing and concrete penalty for failure to resuscitate the Patriotic Front.

The Organisation of African Unity has given the Front a sizable sum of money for election purposes ... but it can only be drawn against the signatures of the three major figures in the Front, the ANC, PAC and Azapo.

Until they find a way of working together, that money is as good as lost.

And for the PAC, strapped for cash as it is, that is a miserable prospect.

Mandela sparks fresh child vote furore

ARC 16 7 92

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

ANC president Nelson Mandela has rekindled controversy over the voting age, earning another round of criticism for repeating his call that 14-year-olds be given the vote ... not in the April election, but the following one.

As Mr Mandela drew fire from almost every quarter today, the ANC moved to limit

the row by saying their leader had merely expressed a personal opinion "in order to keep the debate going".

Addressing an election rally in the northern Free State township of Tumahole yesterday, Mr Mandela said he accepted that 18 should be the age limit for voting in South Africa's first non-racial election next year.

But he added: "In future elec-

tions I am going to make sure that children of 14 and upwards are going to vote."

The controversy first arose when Mr Mandela made a similar statement during a visit to Natal earlier this year.

That call was widely rejected, and eventually repudiated even by the ANC's national working committee.

While not ruling out the possibility of a change in ANC pol-

icy in years to come, spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said today: "The ANC's official policy is unchanged ... the voting age for the forthcoming election will be 18 and there is no intention to revisit that debate."

He added: "All Mr Mandela was trying to do, I think, was to express a personal opinion to keep the debate going on the possibility of reconsidering the voting age in future."

(11A) (304A)

Mandela to 'fight' for children's vote

Star 16/7/93

African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela yesterday said he accepted that only people 18 and over would vote in next year's elections but said that in future polls children of 14 and upwards should be enfranchised. (1/17)

Addressing an election rally of about 30 000 mainly young supporters in the northern Free State township of Tumahole near Parys, Mandela said he was "going to make sure" the change in the voting age was made.

It was his first visit to the area since his release from prison in February 1990, and he was delighted with his reception in the packed Tumahole stadium.

Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said yesterday Mandela's insistence on lowering the voting age to 14 would make the country the laughing stock of the Western world. He added that a voting age of 14 was not

valid in any recognised democracy.

Mandela sparked a controversy earlier this year during a visit to Natal by calling for the voting age to be lowered.

To cheers and laughter, Mandela said yesterday: "Unfortunately we find conservatives and diehards even inside the liberation movement who sit in their faraway offices and say under 18s can't vote. I challenge them: they can't come here and say that. I am going to fight and win this battle."

He urged children to attend school if they wanted a role in the future.

Also at yesterday's rally, Mandela met Tumahole resident Joyce Seipei (37), the mother of slain teenage anti-apartheid activist Stompie Seipei, for the first time.

Jerry Richardson, an associate of Mandela's estranged wife Winnie, was convicted and sentenced to death for Stompie's murder. Winnie Mandela was

convicted for kidnapping Stompie and three other youths.

Mandela arrived in Tumahole under police escort.

On his way out of Tumahole, he paid a surprise visit to the township's police station.

"Whatever mistakes we made in the past, we must forget them — we want to build a new South Africa," he said at the police station.

He said there were many black and white police officers who were doing a good job and who would be needed in the new South Africa. Earlier, Mandela spent 30 minutes with the officer in charge, Captain Maryna van den Berg.

Asked about his meeting with the police, he said the ANC was "very keen that our views should be known by the law enforcement agents."

"They have a very important role to play in the country and it is also important that they hear what our views are." — Sapa.

Star 16/1/93

Blacks continue to support ANC

Support for the ANC among metropolitan blacks has declined marginally during the past year, according to the latest Markinor Gallup poll.

Results of the survey — carried out between April 15 and May 25 this year among 800 whites nationally and 1 000 blacks in metropolitan areas — were released yesterday.

Sixty-eight percent of black respondents said they would vote for the ANC in forthcoming elections, compared with the 75 percent recorded in May last year. However, the ANC remains by far the most popular organisation among metropoli-

tan blacks, with 76 percent of respondents naming the movement as either their first or second electoral choice.

The ANC's nearest competitors are the PAC, whose support has remained constant at 22 percent, and the SA Communist Party, which has shown a marked increase from 11 percent in May 1992 to 22 percent in the present survey. (11A)

The Azanian People's Organisation, which polled 4 percent among metropolitan blacks last year, also gained in the latest poll to reach 7 percent.

The National Party, which has 10 percent support among

blacks, continued to lose ground among whites. Only 43 percent indicated support for the NP compared with 67 percent in May and 49 percent in November last year.

Support for the IFP has remained more or less constant among blacks at 5 percent and whites at 17 percent.

The Conservative Party showed a similar trend, with its support among whites nationally pegged at 26 percent. The Democratic Party's support had declined from 33 to 22 percent for whites and from 6 to 3 percent among blacks. — Sapa.

Star 16/7/93

Urban blacks favour Slovo

SACP chairman Joe Slovo has emerged as the second most popular political leader among metropolitan blacks in the latest Markinor Gallup poll.

Survey results released yesterday show that Slovo's support was nearly doubled from 15 percent in May last year to 27 per cent in the latest poll, which was conducted among 800 whites and 1 000 blacks during April and May. (I/A)

"It seems that for metropolitan blacks, the gap left by Chris Hani has, at least for the time being, been filled by Joe Slovo," Markinor deputy managing director Christine Woessner commented.

ANC president Nelson Mandela's support as first choice among blacks increased from 65 to 70 percent. Significantly, white support for the ANC leader increased from 1 percent in May 1992 to 3 percent in the current survey.

The latest results also show that President de Klerk's support among white respondents is down from 70 percent last May to 46 percent.

Support for Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi remained constant at 4 percent among blacks and 25 percent among whites. Sapa.

CP 16/7/93
NP surprise
at ANC call

THE NP youth wing expressed surprise yesterday that the ANC Youth League had called on farmers to allow free political activity so that political groups could have access to farm workers.

The ANC Youth League made the call at its regional conference at the weekend.

The NP Youth said after ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba had recently toyed to the tune of "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer", he could hardly expect sympathy or co-operation from farmers.

It said the ANC Youth League "must be reminded of their statement that they will not allow the NP to organise freely in black areas".

Slovo moves into No 2 poll spot behind Mandela

SACP chairman Joe Slovo has emerged as the second most popular political leader among metropolitan blacks in the latest Markinor Gallup poll.

Survey results released yesterday showed that Slovo's support nearly doubled from 15% in May last year to 27% in the latest poll, which was conducted among 800 whites and 1 000 blacks during April and May.

ANC president Nelson Mandela retained his lead as the most popular choice among blacks, with support for him as a first choice increasing from 65% to 70%. White support for Mandela also increased from 1% in May 1992 to 3%.

The poll also indicated that support for the ANC among metropolitan blacks had declined marginally during the past year. About 68% of black respondents said they would vote for the ANC in forthcoming elections, compared with the 75% recorded in May last year.

However, the ANC remained the

most popular organisation among metropolitan blacks, with 76% of respondents naming the movement as either their first or second electoral choice.

The ANC's nearest competitors were the PAC, whose support had remained constant at 22%, and the SACP, which showed a marked increase from 11% in May 1992 to 22% in the present survey.

The Azanian People's Organisation, which polled 4% among metropolitan blacks last year, also gained in the latest poll to reach 7%.

The NP, which had 10% support among blacks, continued to lose ground among whites. Only 43% indicated support for the NP, compared with 67% in May and 49% in November last year.

Support for the Inkatha Freedom Party remained more or less constant among blacks at 5% and among whites at 17%.

The CP showed a similar trend, with its support among whites nationally pegged at 26%.

The DP's support declined from 33% to 22% for whites and from 6% to 3% among blacks.

On the popularity of SA's leaders, Markinor deputy MD Christine Woessner said: "It seems that for metropolitan blacks, the gap left by Chris Hani has, at least for the time being, been filled by Joe Slovo."

The latest results also showed that President F W de Klerk continued to lose support among white respondents. The 72% of whites who gave him the nod as their first choice in last May's poll had dropped to 46%. His rating among blacks had dropped from 13% to 4%.

Support for Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi remained constant at 4% among blacks and 25% with whites.

"Half of the whites and blacks sampled in the latest poll believed relations between whites and blacks had deteriorated.

However, more than half the respondents polled were confident of a happy future for all races. — Sapa.

Interdict against arms trial

WITWATERSRAND Attorney-General Klaus von Lieres und Wilkau has been temporarily interdicted by a Rand Supreme Court judge from proceeding with the trial on arms-related charges of two PAC members and their mother as they have all applied for indemnity from prosecution.

Themba and Vusi Hlatswayo and their mother Elsie brought an urgent application before Judge T D Cloete for an order halting the criminal case against them in the Krugersdorp Regional Court pending the finalisation of their indemnity application.

The State said it intended opposing their application. The case was postponed until August 3 for argument.

Meanwhile the judge has interdicted Von Lieres from proceeding with the criminal case until the outcome of the Hlatswayos' application.

The judge also said the interdict would fall away if the indemnity application was finalised before the case was heard next month.

Themba Hlatswayo said in an affidavit that he, his brother and mother were charged with the possession of a

firearm and explosives in March last year. They appeared in the Krugersdorp Regional Court in this respect on about four occasions between March and August last year.

He said that at a court appearance last August lawyers acting for his family and the prosecutor agreed the case against them would be postponed until their indemnity application, made in September, had been processed.

"At our appearance in March 1993 the outcome of our indemnity applications was still awaited by our attorney," Hlatswayo said.

"The prosecutor then advised my attorney of record that the administration of justice could not be indefinitely delayed and that the trial must proceed. 16/7/93

"This unilateral decision to proceed with the trial by the prosecutor was in breach of the agreement between the State and my legal representatives."

Eikenhof IDs 'unprocedural'

STEPHEN COPLAN

DEFENCE counsel in the Eikenhof murder trial yesterday accused police of not following set guidelines at two identification parades in which their clients were identified.

Sgt Gerhardus Peens of the Vanderbijlpark Murder and Robbery Squad also denied suggestions on Wednesday by defence counsel that two of the accused — Boy Titi Ndweni, 19, and Sphiwe James Bholo, 24, — had been forced to sign false statements.

The Heidelberg Circuit Court heard that Det W/O Petrus Beideveld of the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad had not informed Bholo and co-accused Siphos "Fish" Gavin, 22, of their right to legal representation or to have a photograph taken of the identification parade on March 25.

Adv J Oosthuizen, appearing for Bholo, alleged that his client and Gavin had been brought into the identification parade room before the other men in the line-up, and that the other men in the line-up were older.

Beideveld denied that he had not

Scarlet vindication for SACP's Violet

Violet Weinberg's funeral was an occasion for tears — but they were the tears of victory as well as sadness.

By **STEPHEN LAUFER**

THERE were no flowers on Violet Weinberg's coffin as it lay in the chapel of the Braamfontein crematorium last Friday. Just a red flag with the black five-pointed star and the gold hammer and sickle of the South African Communist Party.

For the 200-odd who came to say goodbye, seeing this flag publicly and legally displayed in the middle of Johannesburg was victory and vindication enough. These were party stalwarts with public profiles, silent supporters through decades of illegality, people whose lives "Aunt Vi" had touched with her strength, warmth and dedication. This was not so much a funeral as a homecoming.

It was a gathering of survivors, proud of having come through four decades of repression and exile, of still being alive and unbeaten. Old men with neatly clipped moustaches and conservative suits, younger men with unruly beards, women allowing the grey and the tendency towards overweight to show because other things have always been more important.

Seeing their flag seemed to prove, somehow, that the years had all been worthwhile. For more than half a century it was the scarlet standard and bravely borne burden, a symbol of life and hope and, all too often between Hungary and Prague, of anguish at what was done beneath its shade and in



SACP stalwart Violet Weinberg

its name.

Violet Weinberg, agreed the speakers, had been an inspiration. Convinced, courageous, caring. An organiser for the Garment Workers' Union, then in the food industry, she joined the SACP in 1940 and was the last vice-president of the Federation of South African Women. First detained in 1960, she later spent two years in Barberton's notorious women's jail for helping SACP general secretary Braam Fischer evade the police.

This was a gathering at which to renew friendships after years away, to remember the good times and the hard, to reflect on loyalties and struggles and heartbreak. "When did you leave?" and "When did you get back?" were the questions most frequently heard, followed by tales of life, love and activism in London, Lusaka, Moscow, East Berlin, Dar es Salaam and the camps.

A man in his 70s, still active after two decades of sandwich shops and revolutionary politics in London, greets a Rosebank optician in his 60s who stayed, quietly supporting comrades in



Annie Cinman and Yetta and Morris Barenblatt mourn Violet Weinberg's death

Photo: LUANNE CADD

jail and their families. A septuagenarian, here on a visit, explains why he cannot afford to come back. He still runs marathons in the ANC colours, he explains, but a pension and a rent-controlled flat are not to be given up lightly.

A young advocate sits quietly, reflecting on what he learnt about socialism from Vi and Eli Weinberg before they were forced into exile in 1976. A 40 year old is greeted by his parents' friends, eager for news of their lives and their passing.

Many here are frail now, leaning gingerly on sticks. Memories fade in and out of focus, making it impossible to

remember whether it was 1933 or 1938 when the party brought them together, with Violet and Eli Weinberg, the photographer she later married.

The bodies may be frail and the memories faded, but the passion remains intense. For many, it had its roots in the *shtetl*, in the Bund's battle against the Tsar. It found a spiritual home in Johannesburg's Jewish Worker's Club, in the unending discussions at the German ice-cream parlour in Doornfontein, in the night schools imparting reading skills to black activists, in the communist party and the Soviet Union's life-and-death struggle

against the Nazis.

It is a passion steeled in the punch-ups with Pirow's greyshirts on the city hall steps and the Ossewa Brandwag in Newlands, during the defiance campaign and the bus boycotts and the treason trial and Rivonia.

There remains a romantic passion which binds, weaving them together politically, emotionally, as only the closest of families are bound. On this winter Friday it is belonging, it is family, for which the scarlet banner stands. The generations have gathered to say goodbye to Violet Weinberg, one of theirs.

NEGOTIATIONS have now entered a critical phase. The draft constitution has been circulated for study. Parties are examining whether their views have been accommodated in it.

At the same time, Inkatha and the Afrikaner Volksfront are causing alarm by talking about forming private armies in preparation for civil war. ANC president Nelson Mandela criticises the right wing for wanting to form private armies, but advises his younger supporters to join Umkhonto we Sizwe while negotiators try to find a way to dismantle private armies and consolidate them into a national one.

The cynics argue that these are hollow threats, political posturing and/or attempts to exert pressure. Those that have left the talks, and those that may still leave, will merely isolate themselves and the process will go ahead without them.

However, the negotiators, especially those in government and the ANC, are acutely aware of the dangers that lie in store for the process and the future of the country if that process is not as inclusive as possible — although they accept they will have to carry on without the CP unless it can be persuaded to shift its position.

Government and the ANC fear that if Inkatha and the Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag) break away from the talks they will link up with the Volksfront and, combined with the AWB, form a fairly substantial military force that could, as a government negotiator put it, "give effect to their talk of civil war".

So government and the ANC are working on a strategy to exploit the differences within Cosag and keep as many of these parties as possible in the talks. Most importantly, they seek to woo Inkatha back into the talks.

Government has a series of meetings lined up with Inkatha over the next week and the ANC is meeting a delegation today.

Within Cosag, the Bophutha-

Negotiations enter critical phase as draft is unveiled

BILLY PADDOCK

tswana and Ciskei governments and the Afrikaner Volksunie — which have not joined Inkatha, the KwaZulu government and the CP in walking out of the talks — are trying to hold the centre together.

But despite Bophuthatswana and Ciskei's vow "to stay in there to the bitter end", Bophuthatswana chief negotiator Rowan Cronje says this "does not mean come hell or high water".

Cosag is as united as ever on the fundamental reason for its formation, he says.

He attempts to debunk the perception of an imminent split in Cosag, saying that the parties in the group were always going to follow their own policies and strategies which may be at odds with other members'.

For Cosag, the glue is opposition to sufficient consensus being interpreted as agreement by government and the ANC; and the imposition of a unitary state.

Both issues will come under intense scrutiny on Monday — with the discussion on sufficient consensus being on the agenda and the draft constitution taking up the rest of the time.

Cronje argues that there are not 26 separate parties at the talks. Rather,

not looking for a veto. Rather, when issues are being negotiated that are material to the interests and existence of a certain group, their views "just cannot be ignored and their opposition disregarded — there has to be absolute consensus on certain matters".

The draft constitution will either open the way to a settlement or entrench further Inkatha's belief that it is being bulldozed.

It is understood that Inkatha will probably arrive for Monday's talks on the draft constitution, despite saying on Wednesday it would not. There are strong indications that the Inkatha negotiating team is not unanimous on the tactic. Chief negotiator Frank Mdlalose and his number two Joe Matthews apparently feel that most of their published six demands have largely been met through in-principle decisions in the earlier reports of the technical committee. However, Walter Felgate and Mario Oriani-Ambrosini differ strongly.

Inkatha and the KwaZulu government have said that until there is a satisfactory solution to the problem of calling sufficient consensus they will refuse to participate. However, to get a satisfactory solution, they

will have to participate in that debate. The planning committee has drafted Monday's agenda with the draft constitution being presented by the technical committee first and the sufficient consensus issue following it. Inkatha might decide to enter the chamber only for the second item.

However, a source close to the Inkatha negotiating team says that if their study of the draft constitution over the weekend shows their views are being accommodated, they will participate. "But the proof of the pudding is in the tasting," he says.

Should the draft fall short of the mark of Inkatha's negotiators, "they might just argue that further negotiations would be of no avail". However, if the team decides there is room to achieve what they want, they will return to the talks.

Cronje echoes this view, saying: "For the rest of Cosag still sitting in the talks, if we find that we are not being heard and our submissions and inputs at negotiations are not being taken into account, we will have to say 'what is the use of being part of these negotiations?'."

At the ANC/Inkatha talks today, discussion on the contents of the draft constitution will be critical. If Inkatha raises shortcomings, the ANC can move to accommodate Inkatha by giving written guarantees. But ANC and government negotiators are concerned about a continuation of a pattern whereby Inkatha keeps shifting its position and demands more each time accommodation is near.

Both government and the ANC have said they will persist in talks with Inkatha to try to accommodate it. "But there comes a time when we can move no further and Inkatha will find it has isolated itself, not only from the process but also from a major section of its supporters," an ANC negotiator says.

What has to be kept in the front of the negotiators' minds is that the draft constitution is the work of only the technical committee and not a document decided on by negotiators. There is still room for talking if the draft falls short.



□ CRONJE

there are three power blocs — government and its allies; the ANC and its allies; (both of which vote en bloc) and Cosag.

He says there are various issues on which consensus has to be found and backs Inkatha's position stating it is

FM 16/7/93 (11A) ~~SCIA~~

ous: historical boundaries and infrastructure; the need to rationalise structures and to limit costs and inconvenience; consideration of language and cultural realities and so on. But do they go far enough? ~~SCIA~~

Perhaps a potent criticism is that the commission, appointed by the multiparty negotiating process, will have had a mere two months to complete this important task. In New Zealand a similar commission spent years defining boundaries, based often on local referendums. There is concern about public hearings regarding regional boundaries; the reintegration of artificially divided metropolitan areas; the protection of the efficiency of cities and towns; rural-urban and regional inequalities; reintegration of racially divided rural areas; consultation; and awareness of inter-regional jealousies.

The Urban Foundation's Ann Bernstein, a member of the commission, recently listed such telling guidelines, in the form of do's and don'ts. Bernstein correspondingly warns against things like using regional boundaries to bolster selective political constituencies, entrenching old apartheid geographic and political divisions and creating large bureaucracies remote from local communities and individuals.

The regional debate, she says, is really about three core issues:

- How to reincorporate the homelands into one nation;
- How to accommodate the fears of minority groups, and
- How to accommodate the largest party's concerns about the dilution of its power to govern from the centre.

A look at the boundary maps proposed by the main parties, which appear tribally based and are scarcely backed by explanation, seems to bear out Bernstein's jibe about the regional debate having been "confined to the political parties and their constitutional advisers who are mainly drawn from the legal profession."

Thus it is not known why the NP makes two proposals — for seven and nine regions. The sceptical view, says an ANC man, is that it's an attempt to delay matters by creating confusion or that the nine-region proposal amounts to short-term and short-sighted gerrymandering with an eye on the election. It splits the ANC's eastern Cape stronghold and creates an additional western Cape region which the NP has a good chance of winning.

Reacting to criticism that its proposals seem tribal in outline, an ANC spokesman says it's impossible to avoid the tribal lines designed by 40 years of apartheid. The important thing was that the boundaries shouldn't give rise to ethnic mobilisation.

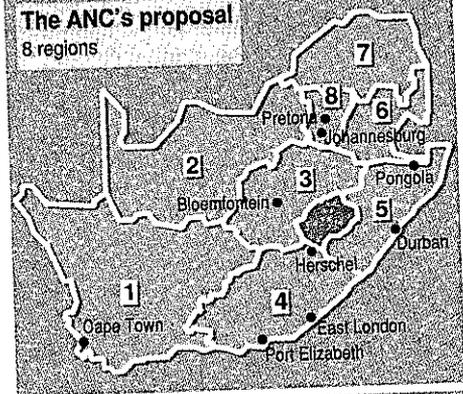
Semi-federal carve-up Regional border proposals

Key to superimposed maps

- ANC
- NP

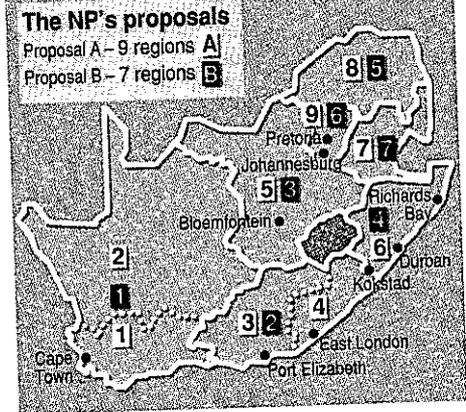


The ANC's proposal 8 regions



The NP's proposals

- Proposal A — 9 regions **A**
- Proposal B — 7 regions **B**



While the organisation saw the need for boundaries for the election, it believes allowance should be made for minor adjustments afterwards, based on referendums in local districts in contention.

Such areas could include Herschel and Kokstad/Mt Ayliffe in eastern Griqualand, which could be torn between the proposed Natal and eastern Cape regions.

The National Regional Development Advisory Council, in its submission, identifies 12 such "problem areas," which it urges the commission to look at closely. Among them: Pongola, Pondoland, Odi-Moretele, the Kruger National Park, Delmas, Sasolburg and Oberholzer — and the eastern Cape (development region) as a whole, "which is very complex."

Spokesman Chris van Schalkwyk says the advisory council's seven-region proposal, which is close to the NP's, has been tested to some extent, as the council is made up of regional associations comprising public- and private-sector representatives. An educated

REGIONS — 1 FM 16/7/93
(11A) ~~SCIA~~
Journey with many maps

The criteria in terms of which the commission on regions must recommend boundaries seem to some experts to amount to motherhood and apple pie. They include the obvi-

~~SCIA~~ (11A) ~~SCIA~~

guess as to why there are two NP proposals is suggested by Van Schalkwyk: the seven-region plan is a question of affordability, while the nine-region one is "perhaps to try to accommodate regions which have built up their own identity."

The commission's report is expected on July 26.

Mandela speaks to cops in Parys

Sowetan 16/11/93

ANC president Nelson Mandela spoke of reconciliation when he addressed policemen and women in the Northern Free State yesterday.

"Whatever mistakes we made in the past, we must forgive them — we want to build a new South Africa," he said at the Parys police station. (11A)

Mandela was speaking during a one-day electioneering and fundraising trip to Parys and the nearby Tumahole township.

"We would like the police force to be our (South Africa's) pride because without the police, there can be no law and order, and without law and order there is nothing we can do as a country," he said.

Mandela said everyone knew that most black people were not friendly towards police but people knew police had been used as political tools in the past.

Earlier, Mandela spent half an hour behind closed doors with the officer-in-charge, Captain Maryna van den Berg.

Van den Berg said Mandela had complimented police for their good work. — *Sapa*.

set to fight compromise

Sowetan 16/7/93

Workers form party

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent 

THE Workers Organisation for Socialist Action maintains that the present negotiation process is futile and will not lead to a constituent assembly.

Wosa also feels next year's elections will be for a constitution-making body that will be heavily compromised by conditions set by the participants at the World Trade Centre.

Because of this, Wosa has resolved to form a mass workers party "to halt and

reverse the wholesale compromise" at the WTC.

Wosa's chairman, Mr Neville Alexander, said in a statement in Johannesburg this week: "Instead of a major people's assembly deliberating on an open agenda which would permit the consideration of all the fundamental questions of South African life, the people will be called upon to vote for a constitution-making body whose agenda has essentially been predetermined by the unelected Kempton Park negotiators."

11A

The costs of goodwill

Will the ANC be able to fund its general election campaign? It aims to raise R200m. "We can," asserts ANC elections commission secretary Patrick Lekota, pointing out that a fund-raising campaign has been launched. "But it's difficult to say at the beginning how much money it will be possible to raise."

Indeed, Nelson Mandela's appeal for funds in the US recently appears not to have been a resounding success. It's thought Mandela aimed to raise US\$20m, but no-one is saying how much is in hand, or even pledged. Lekota says it's too early to say whether the US campaign flopped or not. Besides, it was only one leg, kicking off a worldwide search that will include Europe, Scandinavia, Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Japan and Australasia.

Mandela last week also launched a campaign in Britain, starting with an appeal to readers of *The Guardian*, in which it was admitted that an ANC victory could not be taken for granted.

But with other causes beckoning in the West, there is the problem of donor fatigue; and as the election draws nearer, international donors will want to be more even-handed. And despite the Mandela magic, he cannot be everywhere. Even so, says Lekota, "we are confident that on a continuing basis — not having all the money at once — we will be able to fund it." The fund-raising campaign will, therefore, run parallel to campaigning for the election, set to take place in April.

Lekota is optimistic — "given the goodwill that exists towards the ANC both inside the country and internationally" — that the money will be found to keep the campaign going. He suggests it will be done on a "weekly/monthly basis," which sounds a little ad hoc.

The figure of R200m is based on R10 per voter, which is a third of what the ANC says the NP budgeted for the white referendum in March 1992. "We're at a disadvantage compared to the NP with its resources," says Lekota. He claims that the Nats spent R500 000 to mobilise 5 000 people at its recent multiracial Pietersburg rally.

At R500 a head, Mandela's 75th birthday bash this week (57 tables with 12 guests each) is expected to raise over R300 000 — a drop in the ocean of R200m.

The ANC appears not to be too interested in print media campaigns, since about 60% of its market is illiterate. Nonetheless, an ANC-supporting newspaper is due to be launched (funded by Lonrho and advised, it is thought, by former *Observer* editor Donald Trelford and to be edited by *New Nation's* Zwelakhe Sisulu).

Radio is considered a more productive area, though a problem here seems to be that "listeners can't raise questions since many do not have phones," says Lekota. "So we need to be able to find other means, drawing and relying on, for example, our experience from campaigns of the UDF and the Defiance Campaign." Local community initiatives are something we'll see a lot of, he adds.

Some observers, like DP executive director James Selfe, suggest that the ANC will concentrate on its urban constituencies while relying on affiliates and parties that support it to deliver rural and group votes — like the Labour Party, Natal Indian Congress and certain homeland parties, like Intando ye Sizwe in KwaNdebele.

According to Selfe, the amount of cash a party would need depends on the kind of election strategy it follows. A countrywide campaign, which the ANC as the government-in-waiting would go for, would cost between R350m and R500m, says Selfe (about R30/voter). On the other hand, a more cost-effective way involves segmenting your market into areas and spending accordingly: more where you want to make inroads, less where you are certain of winning.

For all that, the ANC could rely on April 27 being a different kind of poll — a liberation or decolonisation election that will guarantee a surging majority to the organisation. After those who are emotionally tied to supporting the ANC have delivered their IOUs in this election, a more logical reconfiguration of party support could get under way.



REGIONS — 1 FM 16/7/93 Journey with many maps

The criteria in terms of which the commission on regions must recommend boundaries seem to some experts to amount to motherhood and apple pie. They include the obvi-

Mandela still wants 14-year-olds to vote

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said he would ensure that children of 14 and upwards would vote in elections after those to be held next April. ^{of 16/1/73} ~~2253~~ (117)

Addressing an election rally in the northern Free State township of Tumahole yesterday, he said he accepted that only people of 18 years or older would vote in South Africa's first multi-racial election.

Controversy over the issue began when the ANC leader made a similar statement during a visit to Natal earlier this year. The call was widely rejected, however, and his own national executive issued a statement saying their president had only been making a suggestion and that official ANC policy was still a voting age of 18 years.

**Stompie's mum,
ANC head meet**

JOHANNESBURG. —
ANC president Mr Nel-
son Mandela met the
mother of slain teenage
anti-apartheid activist
Stompie Seipei for the
first time yesterday in
Tumahole township in
the northern Free State.

Mr Mandela's es-
tranged wife, Winnie,
was convicted this year
of kidnapping Stompie
and three other youths
before the young boy
was found with his
throat slit in Soweto.

ST 16/7/93

Sowetan 16/7/93

From previous page

KwaZulu government is not a separate entity. Both these parties can be brought back into negotiations through gentle persuasion; it has been done before, he says.

"We have succeeded in persuading those who stormed out of negotiations and who were outside of the (negotiations) forum, who accused us of having sold out, to join us and that the only solution to the problems of our country is peaceful negotiations..."

The greatest challenge that faced the ANC when it was first unbanned was to find a balance between white fears and black aspirations.

"Our top priority is to redress the grievances of black people in this country. Grievances which are fully justified. Grievances such as their exclusion from decision-making in major national issues; the question of unemployment which is unacceptably high; the lack of housing; illiteracy; lack of educational and medical facilities. Other people want land.

"All of these are things that need to be addressed... This is our first priority and we are making very good progress in this regard.

"But at the same time we appreciate that during the transition period the minority have great concerns. They have great fears. They want to know what is going to happen to their future. We have to address these and we are doing so very successfully."

He explains that when whites "including Afrikaans-speaking audiences" attend meetings of the ANC, they are surprised at how amenable and reasonable the movement is.

"One of the first questions they ask is: 'When did you change your policy. You have always been a terrorist organisation, you have never spoken like this. If you had spoken like this in the first place, there would have been no trouble in this country'."

Reconcile the fears of whites

Through the Freedom Charter, Mandela says, "we are able to reconcile the fears of whites and the expectations of our people".

Most important, he says, is that black people are united behind the idea of freedom.

"The people are united. Notwithstanding the fact that there are a few organisations which are outside the negotiation forum and the Patriotic Front. The engine for progress in the peace talks is the ANC and the 11 other political organisations around it.

"These are the leaders of the democratic forces towards elections so that the people of South Africa should, for the first time in their history, have the opportunity to run their own lives and to set up a government of their own choice.

"Nevertheless, we are not complacent, we are still talking to those who are outside... But we are having problems. Some organisations are demanding concessions which are completely unreasonable."

He speaks, then, about the 27 years in prison, relative to political developments in the country, but emphasises that it was not just he who made the sacrifices.

"There were others."

"I don't think we can say that the 27 years were not a waste. Some of the most destructive policies were applied during those 27 years and people with talent were unable to use their talents over those 27 years.

"It was a very wasteful 27 years. But during the last three years those people with a vision have had and do have the opportunity to put their ideas in practice and carry them out.

"And I think we have done very well."

Why, then, is there no sign of bitterness?

"I don't think I am unique. If you look at my comrades... Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Neville Alexander, Clarence Makwetu, Phelekezela Mphahlele... they are very creative, very positive in their atti-

tude.

"I think that they are all busy searching for solutions to the country's problems. And when you are occupied with something which you regard as a duty you have no time to brood and to be bitter.

"It must be understood to be the characteristic of people who have gone through this harsh experience of being locked away in prison and who now feel they must save the rest of our people from that harsh experience by ensuring that democracy comes."

Mandela's vision is wide and stretches beyond South Africa. "When I spoke to President Clinton and asked him for massive financial aid I made it clear that assisting South Africa will not only benefit its people, it will benefit the population of the region.

"Our economies in the South African region are intertwined with the fulcrum being South Africa because it has the infrastructure and the financial muscle.

Welcome in the region

"The only thing that prevents South Africa from being a powerhouse of the region, possibly of the continent of Africa, is apartheid. Remove that and South Africa would be welcome in the region and in Africa.

"South Africa should not fall into the temptation of trying to use its developed infrastructure and financial muscle in order to replace apartheid, economic domination, with political domination.

"South Africa will have to join SADECC as an equal member to work together to develop the Southern African region."

He cannot remove himself from the ANC, the aspirations of black people and of the problems in South Africa. For his birthday he wants only one gift: "The greatest gift all of us can receive is freedom and that is why we are working so hard to have this election next April. That is the greatest gift that I am looking forward to."

The ANC is part of Mandela and he part of the movement. They work together like a family because of the collective objective and for the sake thereof.

"Everybody, when talking to an outsider, would present a picture of unity of his or her organisation, especially of the policy-making structures. I must say, very sincerely, that I am working with great and talented comrades who are committed and who have suffered."

He points out that there are differences sometimes between those who were in exile for many years and those who were in prison because of their varied experiences during the dark years of banishment, incarceration and persecution.

While they share the experience of having missed out on their youth or their best years, in terms of being able to give their best to the



Nelson Mandela ... I hope I have lived up to expectations.

country, they often seek consensus on issues so as to give coherence and strengthen particular positions.

"On many issues we very often start at opposite ends but we hardly ever take a vote because after thrashing out an issue we are able, eventually, to take a unanimous decision.

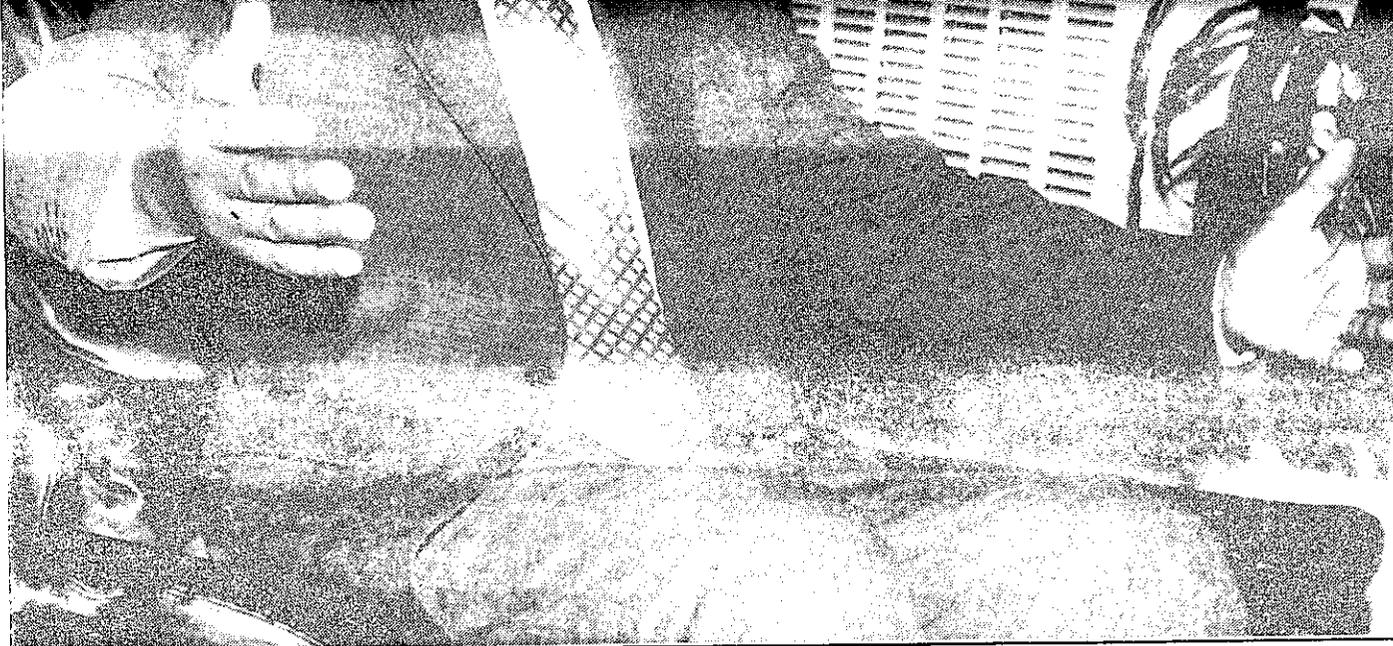
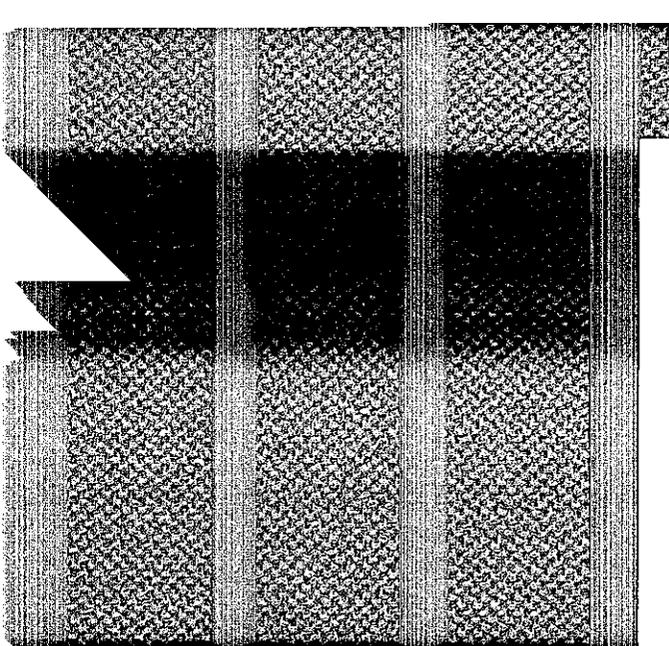
"We take decisions mainly by consensus. As the chairperson of the national executive committee and the national working committee, I have never had occasion to put a matter to vote even while they may come from divergent positions on any particular issue."

To break through into Mandela the person is difficult, but it is when he speaks of his 18 grandchildren that a little light falls on Mandela the ordinary man...

He calls for them each time he returns from his travels abroad to spend some time with them. To regain his humanity, as it were, before he becomes the leader of the ANC again.

"Around Christmas, they remember they have a grandfather. They run around me and tell me how much they love me ... and I know what question will follow... 'What are you going to give us?'" he says with a twinkle in his eyes and a loud chuckle.

"Oh yes... I love having my grandchildren around me."



Nelson Mandela ... a servant of the ANC.

Nelson Mandela - organisation man

Sowetan 16/7/93

AT a time when ordinary people prepare for retirement, Mandela, who turns 75 on Sunday, is preparing to undertake the biggest assignment of his life. There is little doubt that within a year he will be South Africa's first person.

He sees no big deal in the task ahead and the fact that he is 75 years old. It is not up to him alone, Mandela explains. He regards himself as a servant of the ANC. He is only doing what is expected of him.

"We are an organisation which believes in collective leadership. What they mandate me to do, I will do. If they think that I have reached an age which requires me to retire, I will do so.

"Collective thinking and the ideas of the organisation have an overriding influence on my thinking."

It has been a long and often very difficult road for Mandela since he joined the ANC Youth League in 1944 to where he is today — the leader of the oldest liberation movement in the country and once the world's most famous prisoner. The symbol of hope for millions.

"I must confess, I never had any ambitions, other than being a member of the movement and making my contribution merely as a member. I had no idea what position I would in due course occupy.

"Looking back now, I think the organisation has been very generous to me. You must understand that it is the organisation that has given me the opportunity to be known inside and outside the country and that decided, as a means of mobilising support, to concentrate on focusing attention on me as one of the people who were incarcerated.

"So I am very grateful to the organisation and I hope that I have lived up to their expectations."

Because of this elevation, almost to the status of a saint, Mandela represents the hopes and the aspirations of the downtrodden to people in South Africa and even in other places around the world.

focus on Madiba

Nelson Mandela does not speak easily about himself. When he does, he speaks of himself only in the context of the ANC and its collective objectives. *Sowetan* Political

Correspondent **Ismail Lagardien**, however, managed to get him to speak about himself:



(IIA)
"Notwithstanding the problems that our people face generally and the negotiation process in particular, they remain highly hopeful.

"This is demonstrated by the unprecedented crowds we are drawing to our meetings and the fact that in spite of the violence — one of whose aims is to intimidate people away from the African National Congress — they are rallying around the struggle of the African National Congress."

Become the standard-bearer

"It (the ANC) has become the standard-bearer, in theory and in practice, of all the ideas which have been cherished across many decades."

A lot of hard work has gone into negotiations over the past three years since his release from prison — and Mandela is happy about the progress.

"We have made good progress. We have achieved a lot through negotiation which we were not able to do by other means..."

"These achievements are reasonable if you look at the background of the political parties in the country. We have done very well and I am satisfied with that progress."

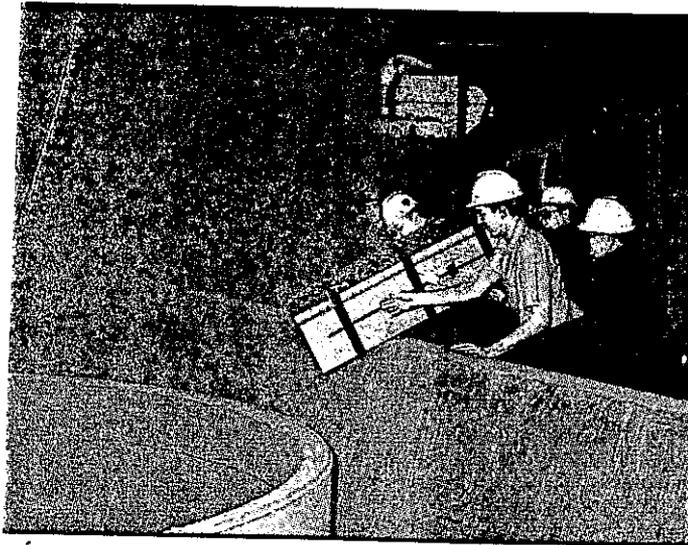
And during the past three years Mandela has led the ANC through the motions of finding expression for the ideas and theories which he and his movement have represented for decades.

These agreements, on issues such as the election date and on the Transitional Executive Council and its sub-councils, are a major achievement — "a breakthrough".

And there is no stopping the process, he says confidently.

While 19 of the 26 parties in negotiations accepted the date, Mandela feels that there are really only two parties who are being obstreperous; the Conservative Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party of which, he feels, that the

To next page



Police officer bends an AK-47 in the press before plac-

ANC man survives ambush

Star 16/7/93

Own Correspondent

A Natal Midlands ANC leader narrowly escaped death when gunmen ambushed his car on the main road near Ixopo and riddled the vehicle with bullets early yesterday.

Meanwhile, police visited the home of a senior member of the ANC's Durban staff to search for weapons after apparently receiving an anonymous tip-off.

The ANC has linked both incidents to an alleged plot to assassinate top ANC officials in Natal before elections.

In the first incident, ANC Ixopo chairman Emmanuel Magubane (54) was on his way home with two friends when two masked gunmen jumped in front of their car and fired.

"This is the fifth attack on my life I have survived. My wife has also been targeted on two occasions. The police are part and parcel of these attacks," said Magubane.

However, a police spokesman said Magubane refused to lay a charge. (11A) (2)

Last Thursday night Magubane's house was attacked, allegedly by IFP and KwaZulu police armed with G3s, the ANC Natal Midlands region claimed.

In Durban, SAP members arrived about 2.30 am at the home of ANC southern Natal information department head Dumisani Makhaye and told his family they had come to search for weapons, the ANC said.

Regional secretary S'bu Ndebele said the police did not search the house because Makhaye was out, but the ANC believed the police wanted to assassinate Makhaye.

Police spokesman Major Bala Naidoo confirmed that police had visited two homes in Kwa-Mashu early yesterday.

It appears someone anonymously phoned the police "Crimestop" number alleging there were arms in Makhaye's house.

193 The furnace

Unrest, said Mozambique as a major source of AK47s.

These were smuggled into South Africa.

He estimated there were still over 1,5 million AK47s in Mozambique left over from the civil war.

Weapons

Mellet warned people not to underestimate the seriousness of illegal possession of AK47s and said people faced between five and 25 years' jail if caught in possession of the rifle or other "weapons of war".

Stolen firearms were also widely used in crimes last year, and Mellet said the statistics in this regard were "shocking".

Over 4 500 murders or attempted murders were committed with stolen firearms.

Stolen weapons were also used in 10 040 robberies, 55 culpable homicides, 160 incidents of public violence, and in 900 rapes.

"People should be encouraged to safeguard their firearms and to report the possession of illegal firearms to the SAP," said Mellet. — Sapa.

18 rightwingers in court

By Cheryl Hunter

Another 18 rightwingers, many in AWB uniform, appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday on charges of public violence related to the attack on the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, on June 25.

Four of the accused, Erasmus Johannes Smit (44), Cornelius Johannes Joubert (41), Gerhard Jacobs (21) and A Hoogenboezem (44) were out on bail.

The others, released without

bail, are Cornelius Johannes Du Plessis (59), Susarah Ferreira (32), Lynn Finley (47), Lawrence William Hamilton (32), Gerhardus Helberg (19), Paul Stephanus Helberg (47), Raymond William Herte (31), David Johannes Niemand (33), Japie Labuschagne Oelofse (32), Johannes Coenrad Smit (25), Johannes Gerhardus van der Berg (34), Christiaan Erasmus Wentzel (24), Joseph Edward Basson (43) and Karin Brazag (26).

The hearings were postponed to August 18.

MANY HANDS

Battle for US hearts – and pockets

SOUTH AFRICA faced another 10 to 15 years of violence from "elements on the right and the left", President FW de Klerk predicted during his visit to the United States.

The sombre forecast was one of several intriguing glimpses into the minds of De Klerk and African National Congress president Nelson Mandela during their contest for the hearts and minds of the American people this month. Both were in the US to receive the Liberty Medal from President Bill Clinton for their contributions to the development of democracy in South Africa.

De Klerk told reporters in Washington on July 2 that the violence would emanate from whites resisting the transfer of power to blacks, and from blacks seeking to avenge decades of indignity at the hands of white fellow countrymen.

He sought to balance his forecast, however, with the assertion that South Africans would ride the storm ahead. Violence would be confined to the "unatic fringe", and South Africa's fundamental stability would remain intact.

For his part, Mandela disclosed to interviewers in Atlanta, Georgia, that he had offered quietly to come to terms with far-right Afrikaners seeking regional autonomy in a restructured South Africa, and that he was awaiting a response.

He also revealed that when he emerged from prison in 1990, Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi and De Klerk proposed that the three of them "should form a troika (of their political parties) ... which should decide the political agenda for the country". He added: "I, of course, totally rejected that."

Elaborating on the deal he envisioned with what he called "the growing ultra-right movement", Mandela said it could count on "the loyalty of a substantial section of the civil service, of the police and the army", all well-trained, highly literate and militarily sophisticated. The ANC sympathised with and considered "quite reasonable" their demand for their own region after more than three centuries of power, he said. But their demand for self-determination would be infectious with Buthelezi and nine homelands joining in.

Mandela went on: "So what I have said to them is: 'Don't talk about the right of self-determination for the Afrikaner, because that we're not going to do. But you must quietly work out a map. Tell us what region you would like and give it to us without making a noise ... and we will see whether we can compromise with you ...'"

"Because in any case regions are going to be created. We would like, therefore, within that policy, to accommodate them."

This was vintage Mandela, displaying the moderation and reasonableness which White House officials, speaking privately, said they envied — even if it risked the wrath of Mandela's followers back home.

Recognising that risk, the ANC leader was careful to balance his public utterances by assailing his opponents. He branded De Klerk, for instance, the leader of "an illegitimate and discredited" regime, even while acknowledging he needed the president as much as the president needed him to achieve their shared aim of an elected non-racial democratic government.

Mandela dismissed Buthelezi, whose sense of insecurity, he said, had diminished the role he had played in the struggle against apartheid and who was insisting on a form of statehood now "because he knows that when it comes to elections he might be wiped out".

It was inevitable, then, that the attention of the White House, the Congress and the media would be focused more on Mandela than on De Klerk. Mandela won the headlines not only because of his charismatic past, he also seemed better able to identify the ANC's struggle for rights with the heroes of the American revolution than De Klerk was able to do.

De Klerk sought to shrug off the pot-shots aimed at him by declining to indulge in what he called "petty politics".

Despite disavowals by De Klerk's office, US officials say there was undoubtedly concern in the De Klerk camp at what was perceived to be the Clinton administration's attitude towards him. It was no accident that America's First Lady, Hillary Clinton, did not pick up the suggestion by the South African embassy in Washington that she meet Marike de Klerk.

There were areas, however, where the two leaders were seen to be working together in South Africa's broader interests — notably in their separate exchanges with the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and with the administration

The US visits of FW de Klerk and Nelson Mandela this month set the stage for some intriguing glimpses into the minds of the two leaders.

By **ARTHUR GAVSHON**

itself about future funding and credits needed to uplift the country's economy.

But, here again, the initiative seemed to rest with Mandela, who withheld a call for the final removal of sanctions until total agreement on the formation of a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) had been negotiated in Johannesburg.

Mandela again laid the onus on De Klerk. He cited the president's intervention in the selection of the SABC board, arguing that he wanted to ensure this would not be repeated in composing membership of the TEC.

In his proclaimed mission of raising \$43-million for the ANC's voter education and electoral programmes, Mandela exposed himself and his



Presidential handshake ... Clinton and Mandela

organisation to some political dangers. A British diplomat observed: "There is a fine line between educating voters and campaigning for votes. If charitable bodies or corporations donate funds for voter education, and then dis-

cover those funds are being used for political purposes, they could be in trouble. And the ANC, too, could be accused of misusing those donations if they have come from tax-exempt groupings. The ANC ought to watch out."

In his fundraising swing through seven US cities, Mandela was not accorded the hero's welcome he received after his emergence from jail in 1990. Nor did he expect it — his quest was purely for financial backing. The ANC estimates it needs something like R140-million — about half for its voter education programme and the rest for electoral campaigning. The infrastructure being developed for voter education is intended also to serve its electioneering activities.

But his drive for money won the backing of many famed American figures in business, politics, entertainment. Corporations ranging from Coca-Cola to HJ Heinz and Sony Pictures also participated.

In the UK this week, a parallel fund-raising operation began with a full-page advertisement in *The Guardian* at a cost of about R45 000. The aim is to raise about R5-million.

THE UNIVERSAL FAVOURITE

The largest selling Gin in the world.



The writing's on the wall ... Political graffiti is ubiquitous in the townships

Photo: LUANNE CADD

Don't say it - spray it

W/maul 16/7 - 22/7/93.

By DESMOND PITOYI

THE writing is definitely on the wall in Soweto. An explosion of graffiti is giving vent to township feelings on every issue and in every imaginable colour.

Some of the messages are crude and fiery: "If you see a policeman, contact Apla"; "One traitor, one panga". Others reject violence, such as: "Forward to peace". Yet others spread awareness about Aids: "Don't womanise, condomise" and "One man, one condom".

Supporters of political organisations use spraycans to spread their messages, but the Pan Africanist Congress seems to be winning the war of the walls, with "One settler, one bullet" mushrooming everywhere. The African National Congress slogans are more sedate: "Viva MK" and "Long live the spirit of Chris Hani".

School walls, corner cafés, community halls and even walls around private properties are used for graffiti, as long as the surfaces are clean enough to be written on. Churches are still respected. Graffiti may be written on the church wall, but

not on the building itself.

"This form of writing expresses, lucidly, the mode of things in the townships and the country as a whole," says Mandela Monyela, a school teacher in his early 30s. He says that if you're out of the country for a while, on your return you can catch up with developments through wall slogans.

It is fascinating to note the styles in which some of the writing is done. For instance, one person will raise the issue of the non-payment of rent in a line or two. Underneath that, another scribbler will endorse the sentiment or disagree; yet others will follow — setting up a kind of "multilogue". The writers may not know each other, but are in touch.

"Graffiti and mural art are mediums through which many people vent what's inside them, be it political, social or economical," says James Mabandla, an artist who paints township walls with bright murals. "It's therapeutic as well."

Mabandla firmly believes that graffiti is an art form. "It's always attuned to the pulse of time; it's part of culture."

VIA

ANC weakest in Western Cape

■ As experts draw the regional boundaries of a new South Africa, it is already becoming clear who is likely to control the levers of power in some of the key regions.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

THE African National Congress's prospects for gaining control of the regions in a new South Africa appear to be weakest in the Western Cape.

Some of the latest analyses of political power play show the Western Cape as one of only three regions which could potentially fall outside ANC control on the basis of either the National Party or ANC regional proposals.

The others are the Northern Cape/Northwest region and Natal.

Ironically, it is predicted the ANC will dominate the traditionally conservative white platteland regions of the Free State and Northern Transvaal where researchers found ANC support levels of up to 80 percent.

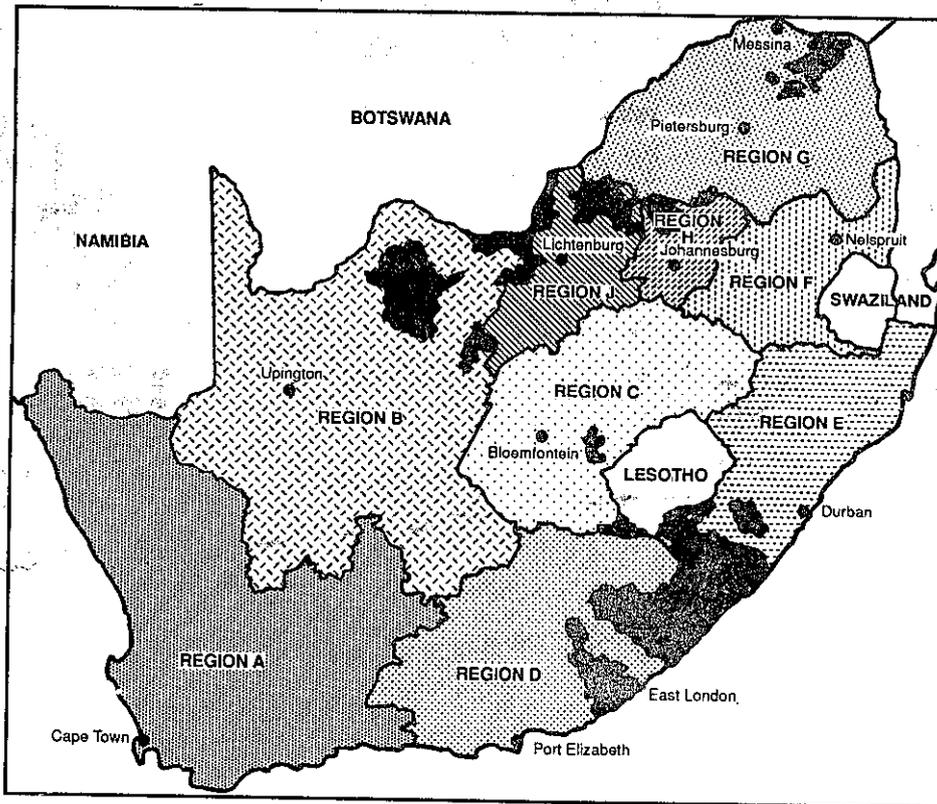
And the country's economic heartland — the Witwatersrand/PWV region — is also estimated to be well within the ANC's grasp.

These are some of the findings in research material on the regional question, published by the Urban Foundation.

A top analyst, Professor Jeff McCarthy of the University of Natal, says the National Party's recent conversion to regionalism comes "ironically but predictably" in the twilight years of its national political abilities and ambitions.

A further irony is that the NP's conversion comes during a period when it now seeks to constrain the central powers of its main nationalist competitor — the ANC.

"That the ANC should be wary of regional-federalism and high levels of regional



□ **MASTER PLAN:** Most proposals now being considered for re-drawing the internal map of South Africa were based on this master plan for nine economic development regions. The regional plan was used for many years by the Development Bank of Southern Africa in the planning of projects. The regions are: A: Western Cape; B: Northern Cape; C: Orange Free State; D: Eastern Cape and Border/Kei; E: Natal/Kwazulu; F: Eastern Transvaal; G: Northern Transvaal; H: PWV region; J: Western Transvaal.

devolution under such circumstances is understandable," Professor McCarthy said.

He notes ANC prospects appear weakest in the Western Cape where 1992 HSRC surveys showed 54 percent potential voter support for the NP and only 15 percent for the ANC. (The figures changed somewhat in the HSRC's February 1993 survey, but the NP was still far ahead with 43 percent of

voter support in the Western Cape, compared with only 20 percent for the ANC-/SACP alliance.)

Professor McCarthy says ANC support appears stronger in the Northern Cape/Northwest region, but not sufficient to comprise an outright majority. The NP and its allies may therefore dominate in that region.

In Natal, the ANC support was only 21 percent last year (24 percent this year). The Inkatha Freedom Party/National Party combination could muster a majority of votes (52 percent last year and 49 percent this year).

In all other regions, however, it seems likely that the ANC will dominate in the regional tier.

This means fairly high levels of devolution of financial and revenue-raising powers to the regional level need not threaten an ANC-controlled government's dominance of the national economy.

At worst, under an NP seven-region proposal, the ANC may find itself unable to control regional tier expenditures in only three regions — the Western Cape, Northwest region and Natal.

In addition to retaining control in the vital economic heartland of the Transvaal, the ANC is likely to control also important peripheral and port regions, including the northern and eastern Transvaal and the Border/Kei area.

"So, even if the pattern of events in the Western Cape or Natal should prove not to be to the liking of an ANC-controlled central government, it would have several options," says Professor McCarthy.

"It could, for example, strengthen infrastructural, trading, and port links between the PWV and Maputo, and/or the PWV and East London or Port Elizabeth. This, no doubt, would exert a strong 'disciplinary' influence upon any regional 'rebelliousness' in Natal and/or the Western Cape.

"It would also serve as a counterbalance to any fears that an ANC government might have about its access to ports on the coast."

Professor McCarthy suggests that important forms of economic competition can be brought about by way of carefully-constructed regional economic growth strategies in Natal and the Western Cape in particular.

In secondary industry and in the financial sector, these two regions may find themselves becoming increasingly attractive.

CROSSTALK

The Pan Africanist Congress joins in the debate on regionalism and puts forward its case on demarcating and delimiting regions.

Regions are the legacy of colonialism

South 17/7 - 21/7/93

By Batembu Lugulwana

WHILE we seek to understand other perspectives which may be different from ours, we do not hold the position that all perspectives are equally defensible. We believe the perspective which a group brings to advocate depends on its history and material conditions as well as the position of the group within the power structures of the present system.

For us the perspective on the demarcation or delimitation of regions which is defensible and justifiable is the one that will enable the dispossessed African majority to enjoy security, material prosperity, satisfaction of the basic needs of human existence, spiritual well being, political efficacy. In short, it must enable the mass of men and women in this country to develop their potentialities and consequently themselves as full and autonomous human beings also to enable them to develop not as means to other ends but as ends in themselves. (DIA) (Bo) (Dad)

In our country this perspective must be viewed against a background in which Africans experience denial of their human and democratic rights. They are also victims of discriminatory practices with regard to economic and social justice. They suffered and still suffer lack of equal employment opportunities, investment credit, property rights, access to better social services and amenities reserved for whites.

It is also our view that socio-cultural criteria should not be applied because of the fact that these criteria were employed with a view to oppress our people in the past. Furthermore our people's common identification of the colonial society as the general obstacle to social and economic progress made it possible for all social classes to unite in a common struggle against colonialism. In our country this fight was inspired by the fight against racism and oppression.

We support the view that historical criteria should be disregarded insofar as they are associated with the colonial past of our country and reflect colonial and apartheid borders of oppression.

South Africa is the last major territory of the African continent to remain under colonial rule. South Africa is a colonial settler state, even though its status in international law is one of sovereignty. It is the colonial form of state which reduces the African majority, with all the violence and viciousness of the apartheid system, to the status of powerlessness and unites them for a common destiny.

We therefore wish to argue that some who advocate for the above criteria i.e. socio-cultural and historical, are attempting to find the last refuge for a white minority that fears the



Batembu Lugulwana

advent of genuine democracy.

Perspectives on federalism, secessionism and regionalism are indicative of the crisis the ruling class finds itself. Old methods can no longer work. Not even the most extreme racists insist on ruling the entire country. Indeed the white verkrampes now lay claim to some smaller portion of the country in which they hope to rule themselves.

The PAC, noting that there is a trend towards greater demands by our people for the state services on an ever-increasing scale, believes that the unitary form of government is the only way out. The advantage of this form of government is the possibility of uniform application of laws and policies that will reverse the present inequalities and see to a fair distribution of land and resources that accompany it.

Also this system provides a relatively simple organisation and there is little or no duplication of personnel and services as is the case

under the present apartheid system during a crucial period of economic crisis. Local government can be permitted a large degree of local autonomy and central government interference be limited.

The only legitimate criteria that may be employed are economic and administrative criteria. As far as possible regions must be economically functional and viable and must promote economic growth, reconstruction and development. There must be fewer regions or provinces, between four or six if possible but that is the issue for the constituent assembly to decide. Lastly the PAC cannot accept any balkanisation of our country and insists that Azania remains undivided under a unitary state. Below central government powers should not infringe upon the powers of the central government to implement programmes of economic reconstruction and redistribution.

Batembu Lugulwana is PAC regional secretary in the Western Cape.

New SA map is taking shape

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

THE commission charged with drawing up the new map of South Africa called in two of the country's major political players this week to quiz them on their regional proposals before embarking on the final stage of its work. (20/11/84)

The commission is expected to finalise its preliminary report for submission to the multi-party negotiating council by the middle of next week.

The ANC and the National Party were called to answer questions on their similar proposals, which put forward the division of the country into between seven and nine regions. (11A)

The PAC and the Transkei government were also called to answer questions on their proposals, and the commission heard further submissions from Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Con-

stand Viljoen at his request.

The commission, which has heard almost 60 oral arguments for various regional plans and sifted through almost 250 written submissions, allowed seven more submissions to slip in after the deadline closed 10 days ago. They included one from the Intando Yesizwe party.

Yesterday the commission met to consult with technical experts on environmental and economic aspects of the proposals, and now awaits a report from experts at the Department of Water Affairs and the University of Pretoria, who worked with a "super computer" to marry the various maps to highlight aspects in common between them.

Members will study the submissions during the week and meet again for three days over the weekend to finalise the preliminary report.

~~Star~~ 17/7/93

ANC 'pushing for early end to sanctions'

THE African National Congress is holding discussions with a view to having the Transitional Executive Council set up before legislation is passed in Parliament to enable the organisation to lift sanctions, according to its president, Nelson Mandela.

He was addressing an End Conscription Campaign peace festival at Wits University last night.

Mandela said the ANC would take

the proposal to multiparty negotiations after discussing the matter. If sufficient consensus was reached, the ANC would then call for the lifting of sanctions within two or three weeks.

Mandela said his organisation had been unable to lift sanctions because legislation on the creation of the TEC and its duties had not been passed during the last parliamentary session. — Sapa.

~~200~~ (11A)

Voting at 14: Mandela's call universally slammed

11A

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

~~SP~~

THE renewed call by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela for the voting age to be reduced to 14 was strongly criticised yesterday by other political groups.

The Democratic Party said reducing the vote age would not help solve the genuine grievances of South Africa's youth.

The National Party said it was clear that Mr Mandela's ego did not always allow him to do the right thing.

And the Conservative Party said it

showed that Mr Mandela was a dangerous and reckless person.

The DP home affairs spokeswoman Ms Dene Smuts said: "Reducing the voting age can only replace fatalism with false hope and expectations, instead of genuinely serving their interests."

CF117193
"These can be addressed by encouraging the economic conditions, including foreign investment, which will lead to job creation."

In its comment, the NP said: "Mr Mandela must watch out that he does not create expectations in the youth that he can not fulfill."

South Profile

Patricia de Lille ^{South} 1717-2117193

The PAC's new chief negotiator at the World Trade Centre has shot to fame as much for her fiery speech as for becoming the first woman to represent her party in negotiations. She speaks to **CHRISTELLE TERREBLANCHE:**

"NO, WE are not in favour of power-sharing and if we get some kind of majority in the constituent assembly, we will say to hell with whatever they agreed to in the negotiations".

This is the language of tough-talking Patricia de Lille. And as usual she means business. In her office in Cape Town, she is at once the aggressive politician, while also showing her often overlooked "nice" interpersonal style. Either way, she talks straight: "We will write the constitution the way our people want it."

She feels strongly about grassroots input: "I can shout and talk about things, but we must reinforce what I am doing inside the World Trade Centre by talking to the people directly, the people I claim to represent there."

As a result the PAC president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, will start off a nationwide tour at the end of this month with a rally at the Athlone Stadium. The venue is an indica-

tion that the PAC wants to draw in the "so-called coloured people".

Now the mother of 18-year-old Alistair, the wife of bus-driver Edmund and living in Mitchell's Plain, De Lille says she could never accept being "classified coloured".

"The PAC was the first organisation that showed me I am an African, which showed I belong."

One of seven children of an Afrikaans speaking PAC-supporting schoolmaster in Beaufort West, she spent her first decade in a "African location" until the family had to move to a coloured township due to the Group Areas Act.

Now 42, De Lille recounts tales of working for the PAC underground in the seventies, hiding information, among other places, under a cupboard in the room a policeman rented from her mother.

She ascended the ranks of the PAC during the eighties through the trade union movement — first as a member of the South African Chemical Workers Union and later as vice-president of the National



Council of Trade Unions (Nactu)

Before the unbanning in 1990 she was instrumental in unifying the Africanists in the trade unions, and helped bring the Pan Africanist Movement to its feet as the PAC's counterpart to the UDF.

She sees herself first and foremost as Capetonian and has vowed that she will spend the months before the election right here, spearheading the Western Cape campaign with publicity secretary Barney Desai.

"The Western Cape is politically more aggressive, co-ordinated and organised than the rest of the country," De Lille says. Our growth here is phenomenal, especially among the African youth. In Cape Town alone, we now have 52 branches.

But she concedes that membership among the "so-called coloured people" is lacking. Could that be due to the perception that the PAC and its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, are involved in killing and violence?

"They (the coloured people) have an identity crisis. We will tell them that they are Africans and not

coloureds. From that perspective they will be in a better position to understand our vision.

"We say there are two types of violence. The PAC is not involved in black-on-black violence. If you are seen as a major political player. But if you kill whites, you are terrorists.

"After the Apla attacks in November, people saw immediately that the amount of African people being killed dropped. People will see us in this light. I think they understand that whether we like it or not this is a struggle between black and white, and from this we would like to see a new non-racial South Africa emerge," De Lille says. "It would be a pity if the other parties harp on the violence in the election campaigns, because they are the very parties responsible for the violence."

In the actual election campaign the PAC will go big on the land issue and education. "I foresee the election being fought more on issues than on political parties," De Lille says. "We will have national

issues and won't fight the Western Cape as a separate entity."

In the Western Cape the PAC will focus on the forced removals from places such as District Six, Claremont and Kenilworth.

"I feel the land issue in Cape Town could be addressed immediately after the election. There is a lot of state-owned land and the PAC will tell people we will provide back-up for development of land.

"We are also going to talk to white farmers and tell them they can't farm by day and become vigilante skietkommandos by night."

De Lille's own inroads into the "coloured vote" have been mainly through her work for the PAC. After the unbanning she became foreign affairs secretary, but last year she became secretary for relief and aid. Although working at national level, she spends a lot of time on community work in Elsies River, Uitsig and Ravensmead.

"My profile is that of the PAC, but people must make up their own mind about starting branches," she says. "You do not ask people their party before giving them water. I say you cannot take dead people to vote for you."

She is also involved in other developmental projects like the South African Drought Relief Task Force and vaccination programmes for all by the year 2000.

"When I get home at night I feel better about having helped people in need, than about reading my name in the paper," she says.

And she has NO political ambitions. "After the election the expectation for socio-economic upliftment would be even higher than the need. I want to continue working in a non-governmental relief capacity."

By Christelle Terreblanche

ERSTWHILE foes from the UDF and Management Committees are rumoured to have buried the hatchet, and are working together for their political survival.

This perception has been entrenched by the appearance of a Management Committee chairperson, Mr Leslie Langenhoven, as representative of Cahac (Cape Housing Action Committee) at a recent District Six Steering Committee meeting.

Langenhoven confirmed to SOUTH that the Hazendal Civic

Civics cuddle up to management committees

SOUTH 17/7 - 21/7/93

Association, of which he is chairperson, recently affiliated to Cahac. He was then elected to the executive of the Cahac Steering Committee. But he is still chairperson of the Athlone Management Committee and an executive member of the Cape region of the Labour Party (LP).

Mr Joe Marks, chairperson of Cahac, who left the ANC to join the Democratic Party (DP), con-

firmed that Langenhoven's civic is one of 37 new Cahac affiliates. "I must stress that we remain politically non-aligned and members of any party or civic can join if they subscribe to our non-racial, democratic constitution," says Marks.

Marks and Langenhoven were arch enemies during the eighties when the UDF campaigned relentlessly against management commit-

tees and the tricameral parliament system as well as the LP.

Management Committee Association members also feel left out of the talks about a new local dispensation. They realise that white local authorities will no longer prop them up, while the white bodies are fighting to maintain their structures and positions in a future dispensation.

Both Marks and Langenhoven have denied that Cahac is developing into a front for the survival of local structures. They said management committee members can only join Cahac through their local civic bodies.

(11A)

Development South: 1717-21193 must aim to unite Africa

IN ITS latest discussion document on economic issues, the PAC states that it has not as yet formulated a complete policy for regional economic co-operation or integration. This refers to Southern Africa as a whole and not to South Africa or Azania as such.

However the PAC is adamant that "the need for regional economic co-operation cannot be emphasised enough". (~~SACFA~~) (IIA)

The document suggests a "holistic approach" towards regional co-operation, leading to a common market.

"The region should develop through the redistribution of means of economic production to the majority of its people. Supportive incentives and institutional arrangements should be put in place to motivate economic activities. All these activities should aim at increasing demand for products and services emanating from the region."

The Pan Africanists' long-held view is that Africa or its sub-regions should ultimately unite in a common economic and even political entity. This policy guideline is aimed at showing the way for South Africa towards a unified Southern Africa.

It adds: "The region should aim at producing most of its capital and intermediate goods, and the role of free Azania in this respect shall be crucial as already stated.

"Research and development investments must be increased, while massive physical and human infrastructural investment is a must.

"The region must aim at relative self-sufficiency with respect to agricultural equipment, including veterinary medicinal requirements — in this area the role of Azania and Zimbabwe shall be initially crucial.

"Countries like Mozambique, Angola, Lesotho, Botswana, Zambia, Namibia and Swaziland need assistance to exploit their agricultural potential to the full."

Other priorities on the PAC's list include the harnessing of water for energy production, agricultural production and human consumption as well as efforts to facilitate regional transport and telecommunications. It sees a free South Africa as crucial in the reconstruction of Southern Africa.

ANC election wagon

By SEKOLA SELLO and Sapa

THE ANC's election wagon rolled into the small, northern Free State town of Parys this week.

ANC President Nelson Mandela wooed both black and white voters.

Although there was no bunting, pomp or ceremony as Mandela's entourage hit town, there was little doubt that this midweek campaigning was being taken seriously by the locals.

Traffic officers came out in full force to escort Mandela to the packed local town hall where he addressed an enthusiastic audience.

After listening to the grievances of the residents including delays in payments of pensions or their non-payment, Mandela advised them not to take things lying down. He urged them to fight their problems — through lawyers — if need be.

Mandela had won over his audience, made up almost exclusively of blacks. His next move, an impromptu decision, was a little bit sticky and he must have wondered how he would be received.

Leaving the town hall, Mandela decided to drop in unannounced on the local police. Throwing caution to the wind, Mandela, surrounded by a throng of admirers, walked the short distance to the cop shop as his security men ran around frantically.

Mandela preached reconciliation. The ANC leader told his audience that there were many police men and women, both black and white, who were doing a good job, and they would be needed in the new South African police force.

"We know there are many of you, black and white . . . who want to help build a new South Africa. We in the new South Africa will rely on you."

He said mistakes had been made in the past but urged his audience that "we must forget (mistakes). We want to build a new South Africa."

His listeners, surprised but excited at his unexpected visit, warmed to his speech as he told them that the ANC would like the police force to be South Africa's pride.

"Without the police there can be no law and order, and without law and order there is nothing we can do as a country," Mandela said.

Earlier, Mandela spent half an hour behind closed doors with the officer-in-charge, Capt Maryna van den Berg. She described the meeting as a good-

CIPROD 18/7/93

Mandela wins over local business

will visit: "It is his (Mandela's) way of getting closer to the community."

Capt Van den Berg said Mandela had complimented the police for its good work, and added: "We are not aggressive in our work here. We have good relations with the community."

Visits such as his did a lot for police and community relations, she added. After this brief visit, the Mandela motorcade headed for the Riviera Hotel for a lunch-cum-fundraising meeting with local (predominantly Afrikaans-speaking) businessmen.

Mandela was once more reassuring. He listened to their fears, told them of the important role they would play in the future and assured them of the good intentions of an ANC-led government.

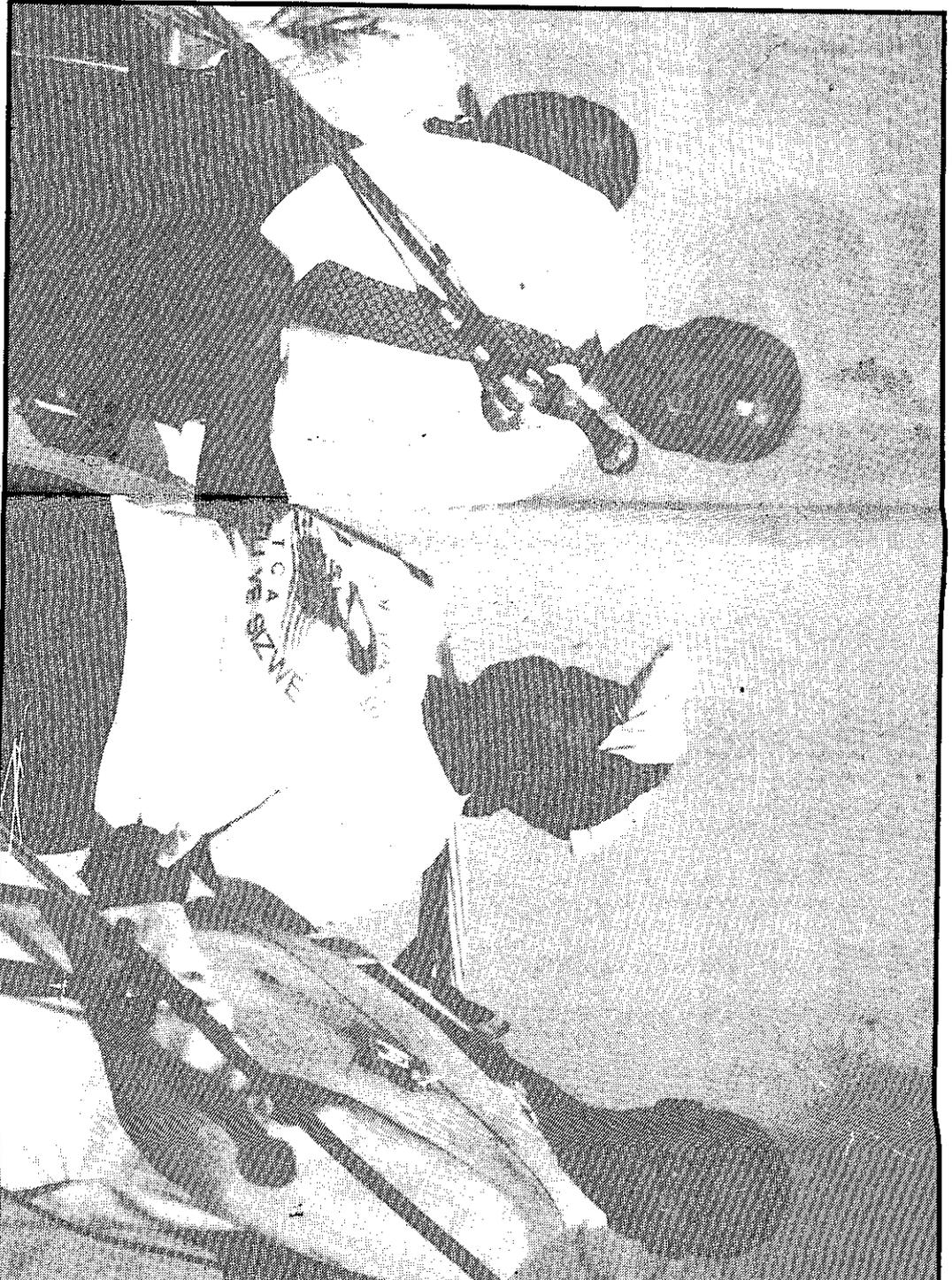
Predictably, the controversial "Kill the farmer, kill the boer" slogan came up for discussion. Mandela reiterated that this was not ANC policy and told the businessmen that this slogan would no longer be chanted.

At the conclusion of his working lunch, Mandela was applauded by the businessmen. His next stop was the Turnahole stadium where he was enthusiastically welcomed.

He addressed an estimated 30 000 cheering people, mostly converts to the ANC cause. Mandela appealed to the youth to continue with their studies.

Among the guests sharing the podium with Mandela at the stadium was Joyce Seipei, mother of child activist Stompie Seipei, who was murdered by Jerry Richardson. Winnie Mandela was later convicted for Seipei's kidnapping. The boy was found with his throat slit.

As Mandela's motorcade left Turnahole and Parys late in the afternoon there was no doubt that this was one constituency the ANC has solidly wrapped up.



POLL PALS . . . Mandela holds hands with Joyce Seipei, mother of murdered activist Stompie Seipei, during his visit to Parys in the Free State on Thursday, marking the start of the ANC election campaign in the region. ■ PIC: EVAN S MBOVENI

Former foes unite in drive for peace

By RYAN CRESSWELL

WAR tears people apart, but it can also bring them together. Take Isaac Shandu and Vasco Hlengwa.

Isaac is an Inkatha Freedom Party supporter, and Vasco an ANC member; not so long ago, they would not even have spoken to each other.

But these days, they spend a lot of time together — driving through the troubled Umbumbulu area of Natal on a quest for peace and tolerance.

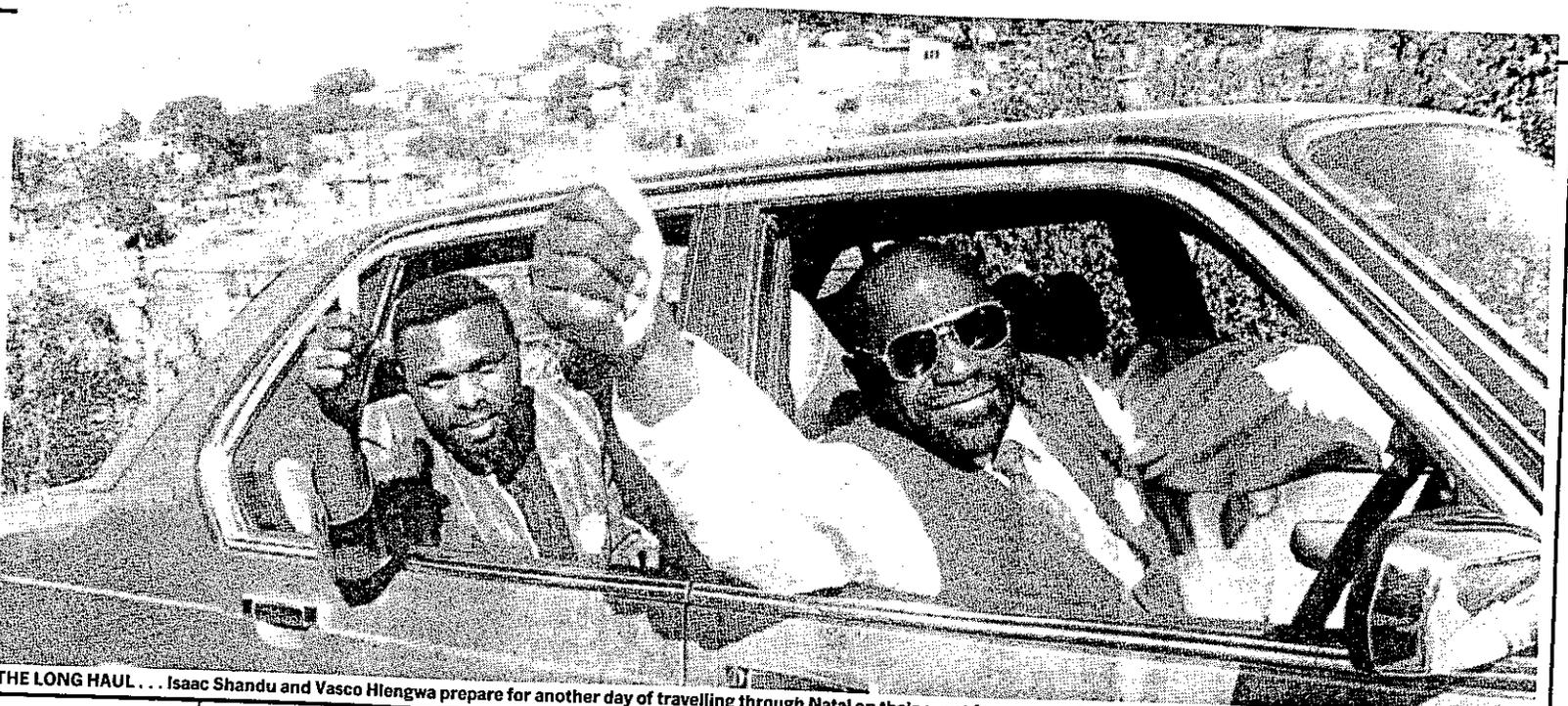
They are already making their mark. Since they set up a peace sub-committee at KwaMakhutha near Amanzimtoti about a month ago, there have been no incidents of violence in the township, where hundreds have been killed in fighting between IFP and ANC supporters in the past.

The two businessmen spend most of each day together in a borrowed car, driving to townships, rural villages, schools and churches to preach peace and political tolerance, and educate people about the forthcoming elections.

"At one stage, it would have been impossible to speak to each other, but now we are good friends," said Isaac. "We have decided to dedicate our lives to visiting warring areas to educate people about peace."

"The people have accepted us — they want peace."
Vasco added: "We decided to start with KwaMakhutha because it was a flashpoint."

"Now we are already moving into the areas around KwaMakhutha, and hope to establish at least five other peace sub-committees by December."



THE LONG HAUL . . . Isaac Shandu and Vasco Hlengwa prepare for another day of travelling through Natal on their quest for peace and tolerance

Picture: HORACE POTTER

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ANC to court foreign investment

ST James Cross 18/7/93

THE ANC will unveil an initiative to attract investment through the formation of a "foreign investment platform" on Tuesday at a conference in Johannesburg.

"The ANC has already announced its readiness to lift the ban on foreign investment as soon as certain political milestones have been reached, including the date of an election and the formation of a transitional executive council," says ANC economic planning head Trevor Manuel in a letter inviting delegates to the conference.

"These steps are now in sight. We have already begun preparations in anticipation of these events for an initiative to attract foreign portfolio investment to this country," Mr Manuel says in his June 22 letter.

The ANC is determined to let investors in SA and abroad know that it is committed to balanced economic growth.

"We desperately need renewed investment in job-creating enterprises, in the reconstruction of black communities and in the development of poor areas. Foreign investors play an

By KEVIN DAVIE

important role here.

"What is lacking, however, is the institutional framework for directing cash flows to productive investment. We believe this question needs urgent attention."

Mr Manuel says the ANC seeks advice on how to establish the institutional framework of investment vehicles and financial instruments for development.

"Financial institutions which are able to contribute in a concrete way to the development of the necessary investment infrastructure, will be invited to participate in a foreign investment platform which will campaign overseas for foreign investment in the coming months."

The invitation has been sent to stockbrokers, merchant bankers, the life and pension business and commercial bankers.

"The conference is not directed at foreign investors," says an organiser. "We're talking to local institutions

about this issue before marketing SA as a destination."

Organisations have been asked to send two delegates to the closed conference at the Holiday Inn Garden Court at a cost of R750 a head.

Fifty delegates had by Friday confirmed that they would attend.

Mr Manuel's letter does not list the speakers. But it promises a high-level speaker on ANC guidelines and a timetable for foreign investment.

One of the conference's aims is to "encourage the development of suitable instruments to direct foreign investment towards development", including "job creation, reconstruction of black communities, venture capital and other activities contributing towards balanced, socially responsible growth".

A trade unionist will provide a perspective of investment priorities and the role of codes of conduct.

Other issues include existing and potential investment vehicles, technical problems, such as US regulatory obstacles and the financial, as well as existing and new institutions involved in foreign investment.

IMF money waits for the lame ducks

ST. LOUIS, BUSSEY 18/7/93

SA can turn on the tap for IMF funding, assuming that its lame duck leaders find a way to overcome their disabilities. COMMENT by KEVIN DAVIE.

SOUTH Africa's two lame-duck presidents, F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela, have both returned from the US where the former visited Michel Camdessus, managing director of the International Monetary Fund. The Group of Seven leading industrial nations, which dominates the voting at the IMF, is keen to foster a political settlement in SA (one Bosnia is more than enough).

So Mr de Klerk emerged from his meeting with the news that SA could expect a \$850-million loan from the IMF this year.

Nelson Mandela, also a lame duck leader in that he has no official power, did not see the IMF, but immediately objected.

The ANC has been involved in behind-the-scenes discussions on the issue of IMF finance, but believes Mr de Klerk does not have the mandate to speak for SA.

It wants a say in how the money is spent (social development projects, for instance).

There have also been worries in other quarters that this money is too expensive.

So the flapping of winged ducks produced much hot air and little clarity on what might be the best economic news in a long time.

Economist Mike Brown of Frankfurt, Pollak, Vinderine has looked at the issue closer than most. He says Mr Camdessus stressed that the IMF would consider only an application from the transitional executive council.

As far as foreign finance goes (all sane observers agree we need foreign funds) this is cheap money, says Mr Brown.

"The interest rate is an average of money-market rates of the major currencies and currently works out at 5.02% a year. Loans are repayable over three years."

Mr Brown says this is less than half what SA is now paying on foreign loans. An added bonus is that

unlike World Bank money, which may take months if not years to begin flowing to SA, the IMF loan will be credited to SA virtually overnight.

It will double our effective foreign-currency reserves, allowing scope for an interest-rate cut by Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals.

But perhaps best of all, because this loan will be extended in terms of a special facility for temporary balance-of-payment (BoP) problems (in SA's case, the drought), it does not come with the IMF's tough conditions usually linked to an economic reform programme.

But there are some conditions. The loan is for BoP difficulties — it cannot be used for domestic spending, nor can it be used to repay foreign loans by commercial banks.

Another condition is that this IMF facility must be used while the coun-

try is experiencing the temporary problem. With the effects of the drought now receding, it is reckoned that SA will have to make the application by the yearend.

We have seen many windows of opportunity close (such as the chance for Mr Mandela to call for an end to sanctions while getting a medal from President Clinton) as negotiations have dragged on.

The open window at the IMF may also close as the national interest again succumbs to politicking.

SA will have to have access to IMF resources, if only to be able to secure a final accord with creditor banks to get rid of the debt standstill, opening the way for new private loans.

Private money will remain shy of moving to SA until it sees that the IMF, the banker of last resort, has approved this country.

But we have two lame ducks in charge, neither with the power to turn on the IMF tap. What the IMF and its G-7 backers want is a joint effort before the money starts flowing.

Holomisa and ANC argue over new Kei border

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN
THE ANC and Major-General Bantu Holomisa are at odds over the Transkei military ruler's insistence that the Border-Kei region remain separate under a new federal dispensation for "at least 15 to 20 years".

Transkei sources said this week that the staunch alliance between the Transkei head of state and the ANC had begun to show cracks after the assassination of SACP secretary-general Chris Hani, and because General Holomisa had failed to take firm action against PAC and Apla operatives in Transkei.

"It appears the general is not entirely sure of his role in a future South Africa, and the ANC is starting to regard him as somewhat of a loose cannon," sources close to General Holomisa said.

General Holomisa said this week the ANC had never discussed with him its plans to cut the number of federal regions from 10 to eight, merging the Eastern Cape and Border-Kei regions with King William's Town as the capital.

"We learnt about the plans only when they released them last week. As far as we know, the new boundaries are for electoral purposes only, so whatever the ANC is doing now

to get more votes is their baby," he told the Sunday Times.

"But if they are shifting their position for the future, the people of Transkei will have to reconsider their stance."

"All new investment will go to cities with established infrastructures like Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage, instead of to rural areas," he said.

"We are also opposed to King William's Town as a capital. A regional government should be close to the people. Umtata should be the capital."

Eastern Cape ANC spokesman Linda Mti said there had been "minor differences" between the ANC and General Holomisa over the timing of Transkei's reincorporation into South Africa, but the ANC held the military leader in high regard, and his military expertise would be needed in a new South African army.

Mr Mti denied claims that the ANC was gerrymandering to secure an ANC majority in the region where the PAC has established itself and is gaining support, saying the ANC felt the entire region should be bolstered.

He pointed out that the ANC was flexible about the merger and not about to "fight and die for it".

SI Times
C1 Metro
**PAC sets
voting
age at 16**
18/7/93

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress has rejected the call by ANC president Nelson Mandela for 14-year-olds to be given the vote, saying the PAC felt it would be more "reasonable" for 16-year-olds to vote.

Meanwhile, the PAC is to launch a huge campaign in Cape Town at the end of the month to explain its stand on constitutional negotiations and the forthcoming election. ~~(2-28)~~ (117)

Two PAC heavyweights, national organiser Maxwell Namadzivhanani and director of publicity and information, Waters "Bishop" Toboti, have been seconded to the Western Cape regional office of the PAC.

They also head a "Heroes Day Organising Committee", which plans a rally at the Athlone Stadium on July 31.

18/7/93

Old school ANC's busi

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OLD school ties always annoy those who do not have them, but when they are coloured green, black and gold, and the alumnus is the future government, the resentment is tinged with dismay. The Thebe Investment Corporation (TIC) wears such a tie.

A year-old firm based in central Johannesburg, it is aggressively committed to black economic empowerment. It runs its own black-owned companies and brokers deals involving black investors. It is training people to work in areas previously inaccessible to black entrepreneurs.

So far, so good — and about time in a country to be governed by its black majority where only two percent of private-sector assets are black-owned and fewer than 10 percent of top managers are black.

But the corporation's sole shareholder is a trust whose founder-members are the two most senior men in the African National Congress; a senior ANC official serves on the board; the MD is the former head of the ANC finance department.

The TIC runs two divisions, property and trading, and seven wholly owned or subsidiary companies operating in a number of fields from computers, catering and car hire to selling ANC badges.

It was originally financed with an undisclosed amount of share capital by the Batho-Batho ("people-people") Trust, which has ANC president Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu as founding trustees.

Any dividends which Thebe decides to declare will accrue to the trust, whose only project at present is Thebe, and which is bound to use funds for the "benefit of the community".

Because of its umbilical link to the future government, the TIC has gathered itself an astonishingly bad press in the year since it opened for business. "Shady dealings", "corruption", "something fishy" ... it has attracted these epithets and more.

It has also had to pull back suddenly from other deals because these would offend "the community" — discovering rather rudely that being seen as the "ANC's company" cuts both ways.

"We are not part of the government and will not be part of a government," insists TIC MD Vusi Khanyile, once known to millions as the National Education Crisis Committee head, one of the Kine 3 who took refuge from the police in the US consulate in Johannesburg in 1988.

"Frankly, we will not apologise for our relationship with the ANC — but that does not cloud our business vision.

"It is about time people learnt to live with independent black business people."

IT will be a bitter lesson for corporate South Africa. When bids are made for government contracts from next year, the issue will probably be decided on race in the same way that it used to be decided on language.

Whoops of alarm at the turning of the tables will fall on deaf ears. The government will be able to cite scores of examples of authorities in other countries favouring the disadvantaged when handing out contracts.

But when one of the black-owned companies standing in line was founded by the ruling party, both the company and the government will have to weigh the cost of selling textbooks against the taint of corruption.

And wresting a slice of the corporate cake away from those who now own it will be

THE ANC-linked Thebe Investment Corporation is steeped in controversy, but it could represent the new way of doing business in South Africa. CLAIRE ROBERTSON reports.

difficult enough without pandering to the view that black business will flourish only if fed by the muck of corruption.

Mr Khanyile refuses to admit there is a problem.

Criticism of the TIC and its ANC ties is racist, or a diffuse sort of industrial sabotage, he counters.

"Anyone who has negative information about Thebe can command a very high premium in the marketplace.

"The people who have made accusations against us may not have meant them to be racist, but at the end of the day one is left with the feeling that says it is going to be extremely difficult for a black company that is totally autonomous from white control to emerge and to be a power.

"The kind of criticism we have gone through is a reflection (of this).

"It makes us tougher; it makes us more resolute.

"We must be doing something right. If the white establishment that has benefited from apartheid thought we were the best thing to happen we would say: Are we doing something wrong?"

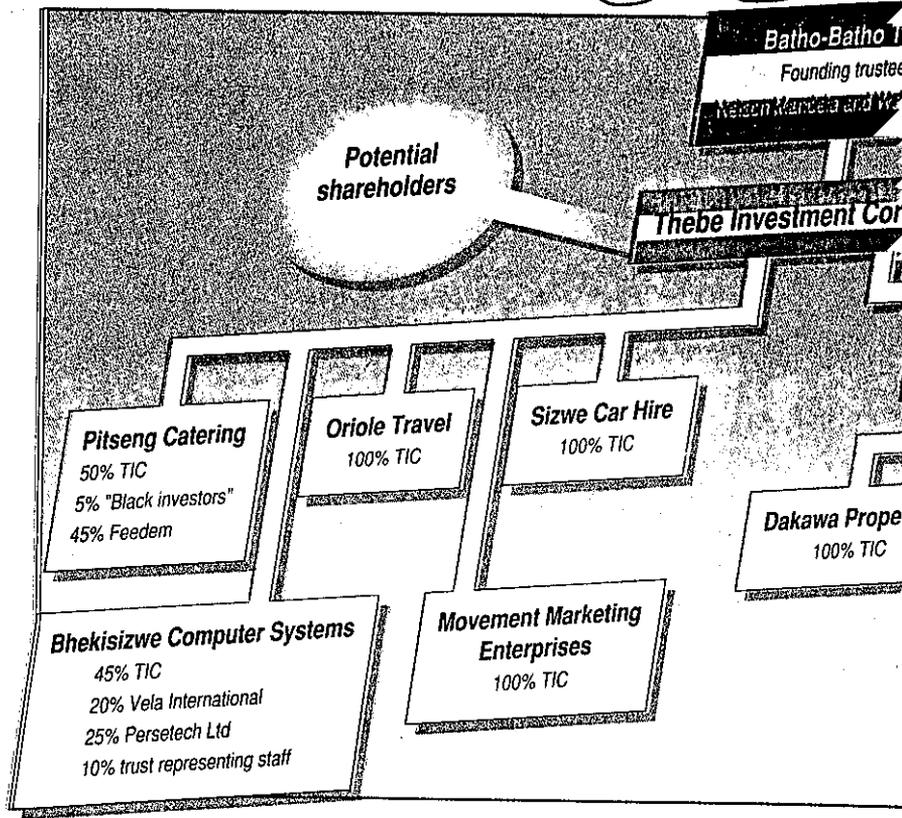
"We recognise that these kinds of desperate attacks which are below the belt happen on the verge of mounting something new. This happened almost days after we had announced the formation of Bhekisizwe Computer Systems and won a lucrative and very impressive contract with Digital (the vast US-based Digital Equipment Corporation)," Mr Khanyile said.

The most serious of the criticisms levelled at the TIC involves its part in a proposed deal to enter the educational publishing market.

The market is lucrative, with the supply of school textbooks alone said to be worth R500-million.

It was reported that the proposed deal traded an easy passage with the education department for a 20-percent cut of the company set up by Macmillan Boleswa to provide the books.

"But we have been tried and crucified without proper information," Mr Khanyile said of the deal — "one of the medium smaller projects



THEBE COMPANIES: Graph shows a breakdown of Thebe Invest

we'll be working on" — which will be completed within a month.

The TIC would be satisfied with nothing less than control of a firm entering this particularly frustrating market — one whose main customer is the black child, but which is almost totally dominated by white companies.

"Macmillan did make an offer that we would get 20 percent in a company. We indicated that for us it was an important enough sector, if we did get involved, for us to wish to be active in a more meaningful manner.

"We had an indication that they are not opposed to losing control of that company — a black company that could have shareholding by a white publishing firm which has the expertise and critical skills that are needed.

"We believe it is important for people to find innovative ways of bringing black entrepreneurs to the party.

"One of the innovative ways is for a company to say: 'We will structure the capital of a company so that we will end up paying more than you do, or giving you some of the shares free' ... we do not say that is corruption so long as those black entrepreneurs are still in a position of control within that company, so

there are no strings attached to that assistance."

Is Macmillan Boleswa prepared to do this out of the goodness of its heart?

"I cannot say what motivated Macmillan. We have made it very clear to Macmillan that we do not have the capacity to deliver the education department — either now or in the future," Mr Khanyile said.

The TIC is discussing the Macmillan deal with other black-owned companies, a strategy it employs in other ventures.

It is part of one of the three consortiums bidding for cellular-phone licences — and should know in September whether it has been successful.

And "we do seek a presence in the printing sector. A lot of work has been done. We think it is quite within reach".

The corporation is geared — in more ways than one — to bring life to its trading division once sanctions are lifted — "our projection is that within three months Thebe Trading will be up and running" — having spent the past year training staff in this field.

Mr Khanyile believes the headache caused by ANC ties will go away once the firm is functioning to the extent that

it can go public. The funds were raised through the Batho-Batho Trust because "we felt it would not be prudent to go out and collect funds for an idea which had not been tested", Mr Khanyile said.

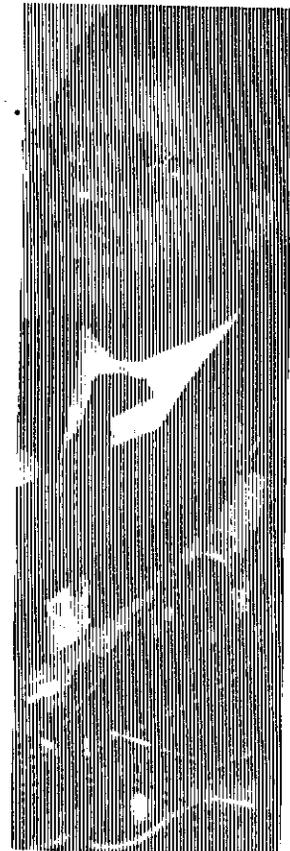
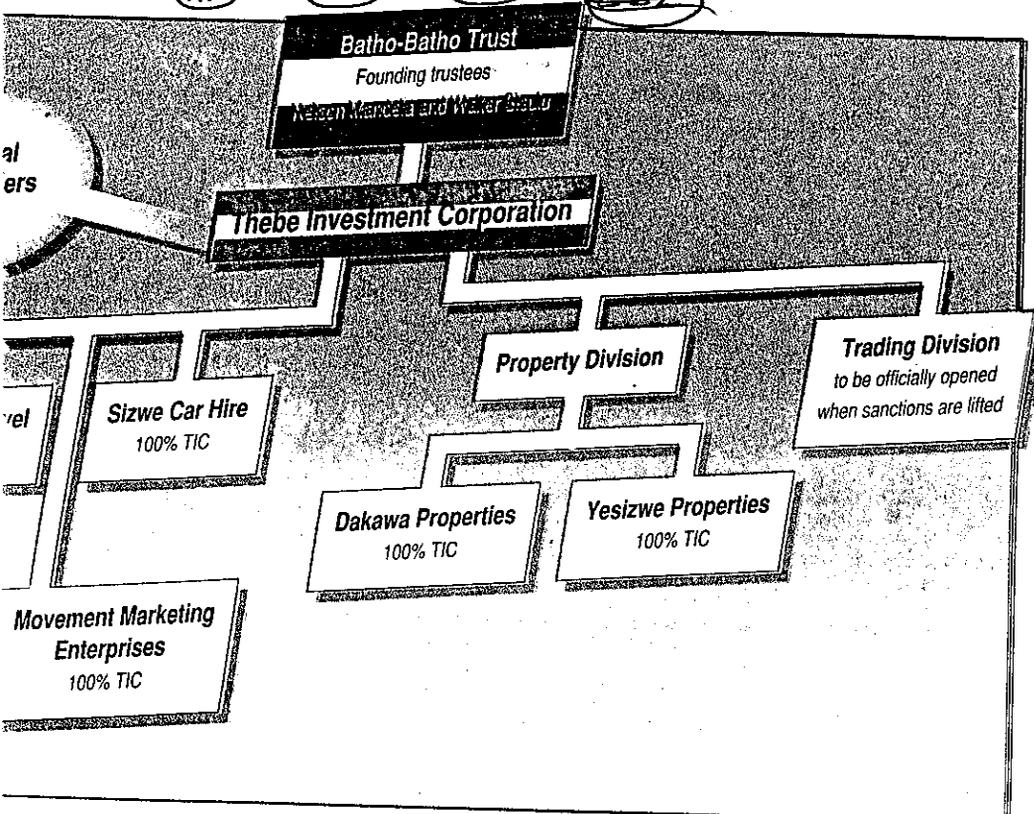
"At the right time Thebe will be very happy to float the shares in the black community so that we can begin to pay off the loans we have raised.

"When that happens the trust will be perfectly free to say: 'Well, our investment has done well. We will reduce and keep 10 percent of the shares in Thebe, or we'll totally bale out and put the money into Anglo American' ... it will be entirely up to the Trust."

But it is already too late for Thebe, according to Dr Duncan Innes of the Innes Labour Brief.

"It would have been so much better to have set up an independent trust, but the reason they have Mandela is that they obviously want to

school tie binds 's business empire



Graphic: FIONA KRISCH

NIES: Graph shows a breakdown of Thebe Investment Corporation subsidiaries; right, Thebe MD Vusi Khanyile

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But it is already too late for Thebe, according to Dr Duncan Innes of the Innes Labour Brief.
"It would have been so much better to have set up an independent trust, but the reason they have Mandela is that they obviously want to

use his name for clout. These links will always raise in people's minds the question of corruption," he said.
PERHAPS only in some minds: A Kwa-zulu businessman, who cannot expect to benefit if government contracts go to ANC-supporting, rather than simply black, business, said he "has no problem with any political party setting up a company — if they do so openly" — though tendering against Thebe would make him "uneasy".
Whether or not he shares the new-found ethical concerns of corporate SA, and he is sceptical about their sudden emergence where black companies are concerned — Mr Khanyile is making an effort to create distance between the TIC and ANC in the public mind.
A wholly owned TIC company, Movement Marketing

Enterprises, was recently yanked across town from TIC-owned Shell House, which it shared with ANC headquarters, to the Glencairn office block, where TIC is based.
The company markets ANC memorabilia, and recently made the news when staff members who were re-trenched threatened to take their case to Mr Mandela, having no doubt in their minds about who really ran the company.
"It was a problem having MME in Shell House — to be seen as a department of the ANC," Mr Khanyile said.
"MME is one clear example of how you cannot have a mix-up between political and business aspects. If a company makes a commercial decision to close certain divisions, that remains so."
Thebe is doing well — this week it celebrated the fact that one of its subsidiaries, Sizwe Car Hire, had become

profitable after only three months.
Mr Khanyile, more concerned about brokering access to capital for black business in almost any way he can, makes the point that Thebe will follow ethical guidelines if they ever emerge.
"Our mission is to maximise the value of the wealth of our equity holders within certain constraints: public morality, public policy and the law."
"It is not for us as a company to start setting these parameters or defining them. It is society that defines them, and the public authority."
The timing is tricky: If the Batho-Batho Trust keeps its stake in Thebe until the corporation can make it to the JSE, it and Mr Mandela's involvement will overlap by at least a year with his presidency.
And that is an old school tie that may turn out to be a millstone.

Political parties gear up to win your election vote

SI Times [C Metro] 18/7/93

ALL major political parties in the Western Cape are hard at work formulating strategies for their election campaigns in the upcoming "Battle of the Bo-land".

Political Reporter NORMAN WEST asked spokesmen of the various parties and political organisations about their election plans and membership.

Inkatha Freedom Party

INKATHA media spokesman in Cape Town, Mr Cloete Breytenbach, said that Inkatha started making a serious bid for Western Cape voters five months ago, 50 branches comprising an average of 100 members each, have been established in the Western Cape.

Most of the branches are in white areas and 80% of members are white, said Mr Breytenbach. He admitted black and coloured membership "was not what it could be".

African National Congress

MS ZOU KOTA, head of the ANC election campaign in the Western Cape, said the ANC had established 125 branches and was in the process of launching another 65, all with a minimum of 100 members per branch.

She said the ANC regarded the Western Cape as "very important".

Ms Kota said the ANC would conduct house visits on Mondays to answer questions.

Democratic Party

MR JASPER WALSH, Democratic Party chairman in the Western Cape said in June the DP had recruited 1 172 members of which 95% were "coloured".

He said so far the DP had 66 branches in the Western Cape and are establishing branches at the rate of two per week. New members are coming mostly from the presently disenfranchised community.

Azanian People's Organisation

THE Western Cape publicity secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) Mr Jimmy Yekiso said Azapo will only participate in an election if it is for an elected constituent assembly charged with writing a democratic constitution.

Pan Africanist Congress

THE Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) hold a similar view, but although it claims a growing membership in the Western Cape, PAC Western Cape chairman, Mr Theo Mabusela, refused to release statistics. However, it is known that the PAC so far has more than 50 established branches in the Western Cape. In the past week alone, the PAC had started three branches in Stellenbosh, New Crossroads and the area known as KTC Camp, he said.

National Party

MR HENNIE SMIT, MP for George and chairman of the NP's Cape Information Committee, said the NP had approximately 1 000 branches in the Cape. In preparation for the election, strategy committees have been established in all eight NP organisational regions.

He claimed the NP was particularly strong in the Western Cape.

And in September 1993...

By SEKOLA SELLO

WITH the country's first non-racial elections just months away, the image of State President FW de Klerk among blacks has taken a serious knock.

Cold comfort for the National Party leadership is that the popularity of chief rival Nelson Mandela is rising among blacks as well as whites.

These are the latest findings of a Gallup Poll on socio-political and economic trends carried out by the Markinor-research group. ~~(SAP)~~

The research, carried out among 800 whites na-

Mandela up, De Klerk down

CIPRESS 1817193
tionally and 1 000 blacks in metropolitan areas during April/May this year, shows that in the last six months Mandela's popularity has increased slightly among blacks (from 7.9 to 8.4 on a 1-to-10 scale) and whites (from 2.7 to 3.6) *(I/A)*

According to a Markinor spokesman, Mandela's "performance and display of leadership after Chris Hani's assassina-

tion have earned him new respect".

During the same period, the popularity ratings of both De Klerk and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi among whites have not changed. However, among metropolitan blacks, De Klerk's popularity has declined slightly from 4.5 to 4.1.

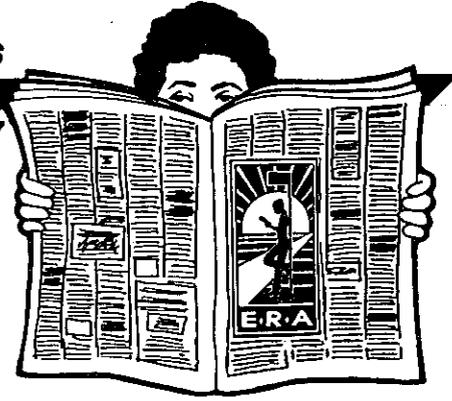
A strange finding of the poll is that Buthelezi's rating has improved

slightly from 1.9 to 2.1. This is contrary to the general argument that township violence is harming Inkatha.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo and PAC president Clarence Makwetu share one thing in common - they are the least popular among whites.

However, Slovo edges out Makwetu as the second most popular politician after Mandela among blacks.

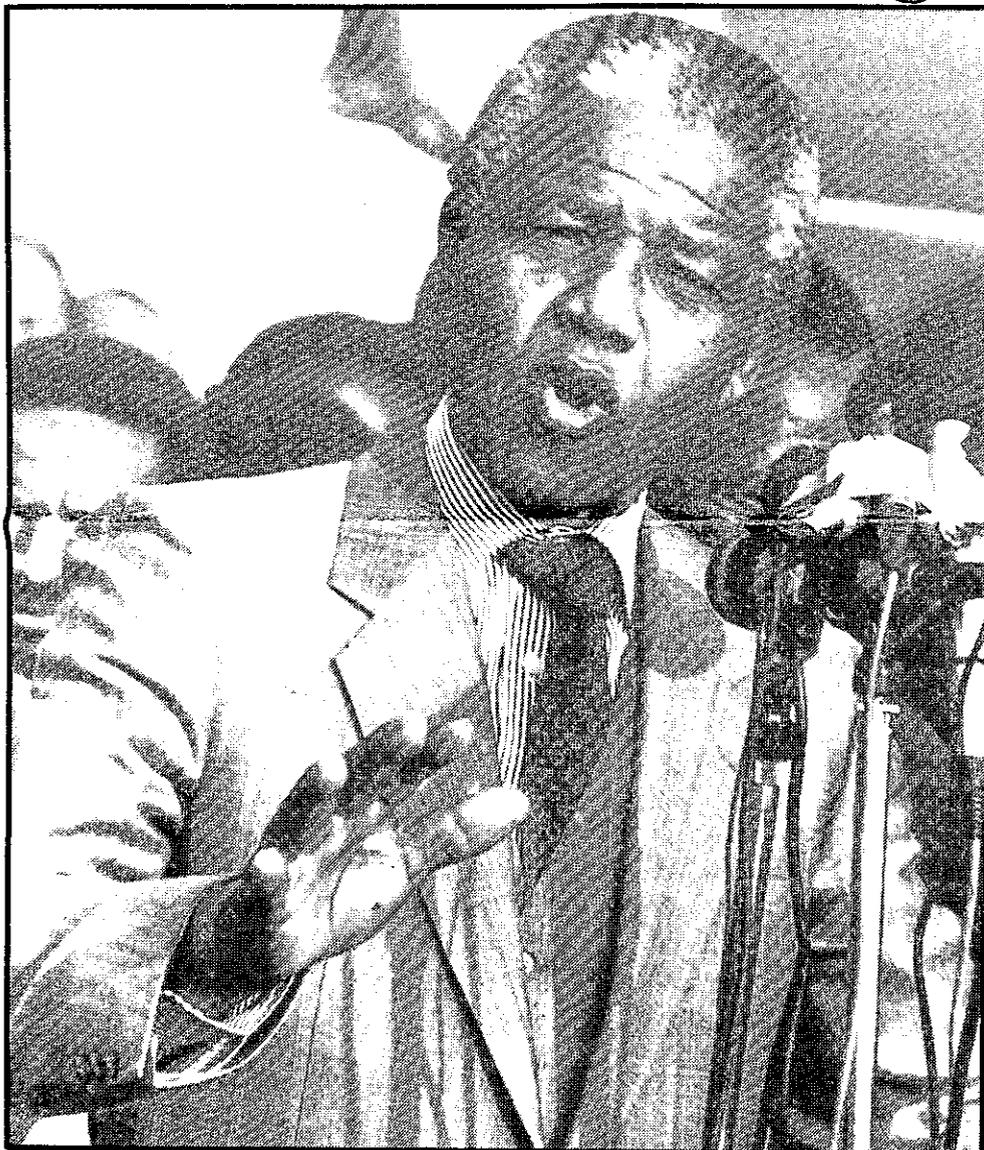
The ANC still remains the most popular political organisation among metropolitan blacks, followed by the PAC.



Reading Press

A reason to celebrate!

CIPress 18/7/93
Today Nelson Mandela turns 75 years old. Reading Press takes a look at the life of this remarkable man and the events which helped to shape it. ①



NELSON ROLIHLAHLA MANDELA, the only son of Chief Henry Gadla Mandela and Nonquphi Mandela, was born on 18 July 1918 in the Transkei.

When he was 12 years old his father became seriously ill and he was looked after by Chief Dalindyebo, the acting paramount chief at the time. He was brought up as a Methodist. He matriculated at Healdtown, after which he enrolled for a BA degree at Fort Hare College, as it was called at that time.

It was here that he met Oliver Tambo. They later became co-workers in Johannesburg's first black legal partnership, and fellow leaders of the ANC.

Mandela was popular with the other students and was quickly elected to the Students'

Representative Council. He also became vice president of the athletics union. But, in 1940 he resigned from the SRC in protest against the authorities who were trying to limit his power. He joined a student boycott and was suspended.

Mandela returned to Mqkezweni, the Great Place of the Paramount Chief, where Chief Dalindyebo ordered him to stop the boycott and go back to his studies. The chief felt it was time that Nelson married and had chosen a wife for him.

The chief had already paid the lobola without asking Nelson, and arrangements for the wedding were well under way. Just 23 years old, Nelson Mandela fled to Johannesburg with his cousin Justice Mtirar.

One of the first people to befriend the young men was Walter Sisulu. As a relative of the Paramount Chief, Nelson Mandela quickly found a job. The Induna at Crown Mines offered him a job not knowing that he had run away. Mandela started as a compound policeman, posted to guard the gate to the compound where the black miners lived. After three days the Induna found out that he had run away and that was the end of the job.

Nelson told Walter Sisulu that he wanted to study law. Sisulu helped him complete his BA degree and also introduced him to a law firm. This firm later trained him while he was doing his LLB at the the University of the Witwatersrand.

Living with Walter and Albertina Sisulu in Soweto exposed Nelson Mandela to many of the people serving in the ANC. Among these was his college friend Oliver Tambo, himself a lawyer. Mandela joined the ANC in 1944. In the same year he also married Evelyn, his first wife. They had three children, two sons Makgatho and Thembi, who was killed in a car accident, and a girl Makaziwe (Maki).

Nelson Mandela helped to form the ANC Youth League and in April of 1944 became a member of the executive. Their goal was to bring life back to the ANC as they believed it was weak and needed to be shaken up. At first the Youth League was opposed to working with the Communist party. But, during the 50's their outlook changed and they began to work more closely with the communists. The ANC joined forces with the Indian Congress and the Communist Party to organise a one day strike in the Transvaal on 1 May 1950. They were protesting against the banning of communism under the Suppression of Communism Act. There were violent clashes and some people died. Mandela and Tambo represented the ANC Youth League at a meeting

between executives of the ANC, the SA Indian Congress and the Communist Party of SA. As a result of this meeting a National strike was organised for June 26. This was the beginning of the Youth League co-operation with the Communist Party. Towards the end of 1950 Nelson Mandela became the National President of the Youth League. He was also elected deputy to ANC President Chief Albert Luthuli in December 1952.

Mandela and Sisulu, with others in the Youth League, put their proposal for non-violent methods against the State, to the ANC annual conference in 1951 and began a Defiance Campaign. Mandela was arrested on his way home from the meeting but was later released, only to be rearrested on July 30. He stood trial in November. He was found guilty and sentenced to 9 months imprisonment. The next month Mandela was banned. He was not allowed to attend meetings and was also forced to resign from the ANC. Around this time his marriage to Evelyn broke up.

Mandela played an important role at the Congress of the People during which the Freedom Charter was adopted at Kliptown on 25 June 1955. These activities later led to Mandela also being tried in the Treason Trail in 1956.

Although deeply involved in politics, Mandela found time to start a law firm with Tambo. He also married his second wife, Nomzamo Zaniwe Winnifred Madikizela. They have two daughters, Zenani and Zindzi. It was during the Treason Trial that they met. The law firm continued, despite bannings, evictions from their offices in Johannesburg and Tambo going abroad, until Mandela too went underground in 1961.

In 1961 he secretly left the country to tour Africa. His mission was to get support for the ANC. On 5 August 1962 he was caught in a road block on his way back from Durban where he had reported to ANC leader Chief Albert Luthuli on his mission to

A reason to celebrate!

Africa. The 'Free Mandela' campaign was formed in response. Mandela chose to conduct his own defence, saying that "at some time I hope to indicate that this trial is a reflection of the aspirations of the African people." Mandela was sentenced to five years imprisonment: three for incitement, and two for leaving the country illegally.

Before sentence was passed, Mandela told how he had been inspired by tales told by elders in his village. It was these stories of the days when the country had belonged to the people which caused him to join the struggle for freedom. As he left the court there were shouts of "Amandla ngawethu" (power to the people) and outside, Winne Mandela joined in the singing of "Nkosi Sikelele i' Afrika."

Mandela started serving his prison sentence at the age of 44 in Pretoria central prison before being transferred to Robben Island in June 63. There he was held in solitary confinement (no contact with other prisoners). In October 1963 he was brought back from Robben Island to stand trial in the Treason Trial of Rivonia.

Nelson Mandela stood trial together with Walter Sisulu, Dennis Goldberg, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Lionel Bernstein, Andrew Mlangeni, Raymond Mhlaba, James Kantor, Elias Motsoaledi and Bob Alexander Hepple. The first seven names listed here were alleged (thought or suspected) to be members of an organization known as the National High Command of the National Liberation Movement and Umkhonto we Sizwe. It was alleged that together with the Communist Party and the African National Congress, they committed acts of sabotage and damage to property. The trial was long and complicated and on 12 June 1964, newspaper headlines declared that they had been sentenced to life imprisonment. During the trial Mandela read a statement in which he admitted to being a member of Umkhonto We Sizwe and to playing a big part in its affairs until his arrest in 1962. He also admitted to having planned sabotage. This was a brave step to take as they were aware that the outcome could have been the death sentence. He ended his statement by declaring that they wanted

equal rights for all. He said to the judge, "I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for, and see realized but, my lord, if it needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

The Rivonia group were sentenced to life imprisonment and sent to Robben Island. They were kept under top security. No reading material was allowed. No contact visits were granted. It was only around 1977 that Mandela became a special prisoner with some privileges such as a private cell, a bed, a desk, books and had to rake leaves instead of doing hard labour.

In March 1982 Mandela was transferred to Pollsmoor Prison and conditions improved slightly. Contact visits were allowed and cells had showers and toilets. Prisoners were allowed a radio and newspapers. However, Nelson Mandela was separated from his co-prisoners. He continued to get international attention and in 1987 calls for his release reached a peak. The Government, then under PW Botha said they would release him but set the condition that he renounce (reject) violence. This he refused, and the government announced that he would not be released after all.

By 11 September 1985 Nelson Mandela was in ill health and this attracted international attention once again.

The VIP (Very Important Person) prisoner was transferred to a private ward in the Luxury Constantiaberg Medi-Clinic. He was not allowed to mix with other patients but throughout his stay, Mandela maintained an interest in hospital and prison staff as he had done since entering prison.

In December 1988, Mandela was moved to a warder's home in the grounds of the Victor Verster Prison. Here the Mandela family was allowed to visit as much as they wanted, but Winnie rejected this saying that she would continue to visit for 40 minutes as before, until all political prisoners were given the same privilege. Although Mandela had everything he needed and lived in good conditions he found the isolation (being alone) difficult to deal with and was lonely.

A change in the SA President brought about renewed talks and, under FW de Klerk negotiations

Short Story Competition

Prizes to be won!

Read the short story on page 59 of Reading Press. Now try to write a short story of your own. Your story can be about anything you like. It can be about something that happened to you or about somebody you know. It can also be something you dreamed about or something you imagined. It can be true or it can be something you made up, but it must be written for adults.

Each month, for the next 6 months, Reading Press will announce one winner and four runners-up. The 6 winners will each receive a prize of **R100,00** and the 24 runners-up will each get **R50,00**. Prize money has been kindly donated by Via Afrika. Winning stories will be published in Reading Press. Start writing today and send your story together with this entry form to: Reading Press Short Story Competition, PO Box 3413, Johannesburg, 2000.

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TITLE OF STORY TEL. NO.

Write your story now so that your entry reaches us soon!

COMPETITION RULES:

1. Your story must be your own work. It should NOT be copied from someone else. It should be written for adults to read, not for children.
2. Your story should be neatly handwritten or typed in simple English.
3. Final judging will be done by the ERA Initiative. Although you should write with care, your story will be judged on the content and storyline rather than perfect grammar and spelling.
4. Your story should be between 1000 - 1200 words.
5. Only winners will be informed in writing. If you do not win, you will not be informed. However, non-winners will be informed if their story is ever published.
6. Stories will be judged on a monthly basis, but the competition deadline for all stories to reach us is 29 August 1993. Stories must be sent together with this entry form.
7. No stories will be returned by post.

for his release began again. Early in 1990 FW de Klerk started a reform process bringing about hope for a different kind of SA, with promises of dialogue aimed at a democratic constitution with no domination. He said, "in this connection Nelson Mandela could play an important part. The government has noted that he has declared himself to be willing to make a constructive contribution to the peaceful political process in South Africa. I wish to put it plainly that the government has taken a firm decision to release Mandela unconditionally".

Nelson Mandela walked out of prison on 11 February 1990, while the whole world watched.

He was free to negotiate his party's cause within a changing South Africa.

Since his release Nelson Mandela has worked tirelessly to negotiate a peaceful South Africa with equal rights for all. During this time he has been awarded a number of international prizes for his efforts towards peace in South Africa. With an election date set for early next year, it is possible that his wish expressed at the Treason Trial of 1964 will come true. On behalf of Reading Press readers, we take this opportunity to wish Nelson Mandela his happiest birthday yet, as he turns 75.

What would you like to read about? Write to us with your suggestions and comments. Send your letters to: Reading Press, PO Box 3413, Johannesburg, 2000

Roelf's past, present and future

W/Mail

T6/7 - 22/7/93

11

On the eve of the resumption of talks, **CHRIS LOUW** spoke to the government's chief negotiator **Roelf Meyer** about what lies ahead at the negotiation table, the future of the National Party, the relationship with Inkatha and the rightwing threat

LOUW: Where exactly do we stand with the negotiations?

MEYER: The last outstanding issues have to be finalised before we can prepare for an election. What will be discussed in the next few weeks is the transitional constitution, final constitutional principles and the preparation for the structures for an election: the Transitional Executive Council, the Independent Media Commission, the Independent Electoral Commission and the scrapping of discriminatory laws.

An enormous amount of work has been done since April 1, if you look at the reports of the various technical committees and the resolutions that have been accepted.

Q: Did the government compromise in a big way to get the process going? And are there specific instances where you gave way?

A: Each party negotiates to attain its goals, to achieve what it sees as in its own best interest. The government feels satisfied that it has achieved its goals. And I'm sure that other parties will say the same. The result is that negotiations have succeeded, negotiations are the victor, because you have a win-win situation.

Of course there are compromises. It does not necessarily mean there are concessions. It means that you present your views in a way that makes them acceptable to the other parties. This (attitude) also applies to the other participants.

Q: There were no real concessions from your side? Didn't you change your goals at all?

A: There were no substantial concessions in the past months' negotiations. Government made its concessions at the beginning of Codesa, on December 2 1991. We conceded then that the constitution-writing process in South Africa would consist of two phases — a transitional phase and a final phase. And in terms of that goal we were successful.

If you look at the Record of Understanding (of September 1992), it is an expression of that concession. And if you look at the constitutional resolutions that have been accepted in the past weeks, they are a confirmation of the Record of Understanding.

Q: But the fact that you had a Record of Understanding after the collapse of Codesa in itself implies that there must have been concessions which had to comply with the ANC's demands.

A: Not substantially. The Record of Understanding was a description of the process on which we had agreed earlier.

There was nothing substantially new in it. I think the ANC was satisfied because they got a well-defined formulation which they might have thought hadn't existed earlier.

Q: There are rumours that there are people in the NP caucus who are unhappy with the direction negotiations are taking. They say they are not informed, they don't know what's going on. Can we expect NP MPs to resign in the immediate future?

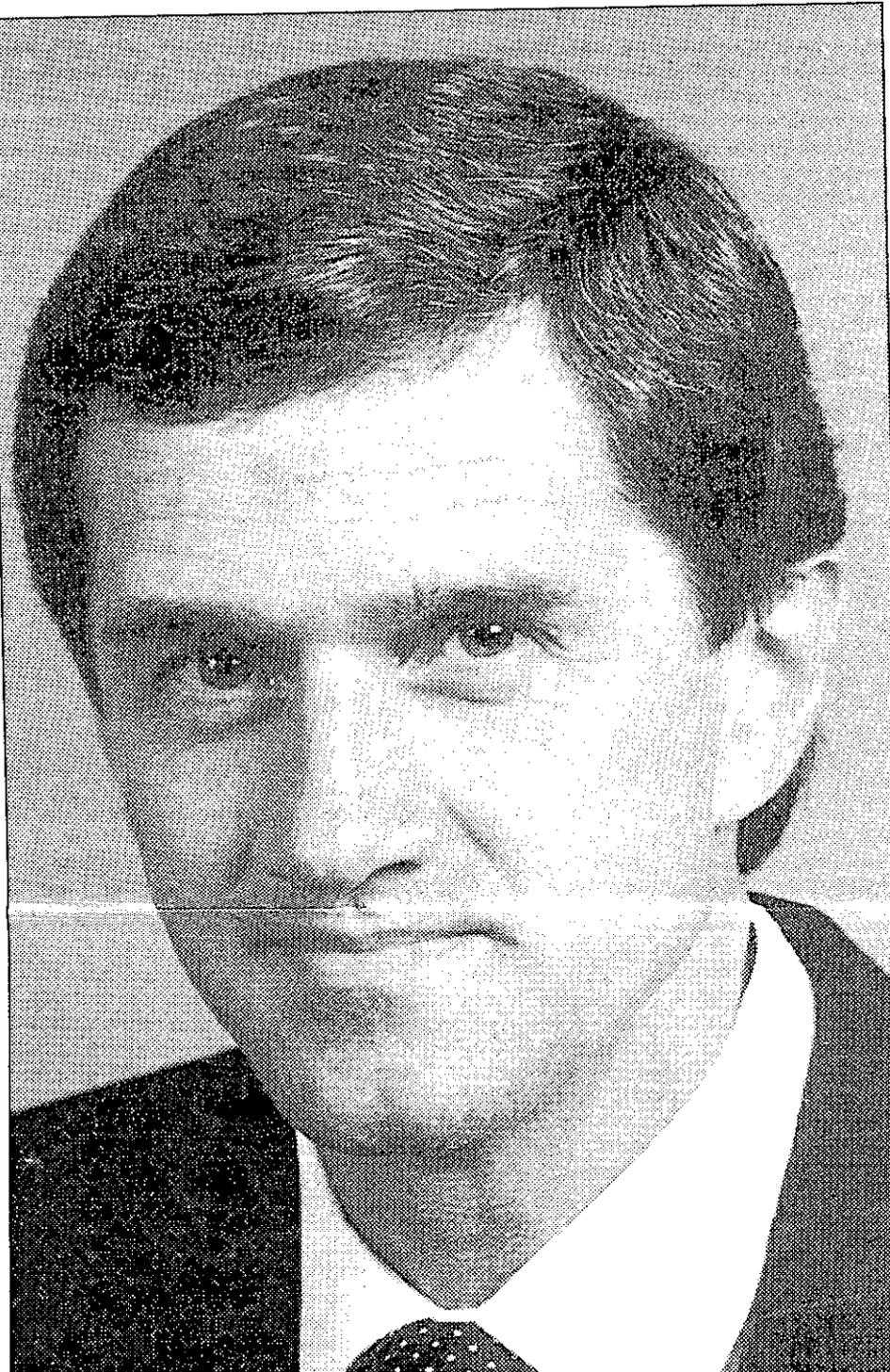
A: I don't know what is going on in other peoples' heads. But as the process unfolds there are a lot of guys who suffer a degree of uncertainty. That uncertainty, to my mind, will be replaced by certainty the moment the transitional constitution is accepted and the issues are addressed that cause uncertainty.

Q: Won't it just change the groundrules to such a degree that people will have no choice but to accept the new rules?

A: We started a new game on February 2 1990. The groundrules changed totally as from that day. It may be that some guys didn't initially realise it. The fact of the matter is that we are now in the final phase in the confirmation of those groundrules. I think it is a bit of both: people come to the conclusion that they do not have any other option, and others, who accept that there must be changes but were uncertain about the content of those agreements, can get certainty from the transitional constitution.

I am referring specifically to the constitutional principles that have been accepted. They have in themselves contributed significantly to cutting out uncertainty. I can judge from calls that I get, from people who say now they are satisfied. It is not possible to confirm things like that before they are in writing and before they have been negotiated and accepted.

I have heard that on more than one occasion



Roelf Meyer ... 'The NP will primarily not be a white party'

you have reported that the NP is on its way out. I radically disagree.

Q: I would have thought as the groundrules changed and the NP loses the power of the state, the power of patronage, it doesn't control state TV any more to create a favorable impression of itself — all these factors will contribute to weaken the NP. Professional politicians will find that they can pursue their careers better in a predominantly black party.

A: If you are going to project that image, it will give me great joy. You will be misleading our opponents. It will definitely not work like that. Politics has already normalised itself since the opening up of the NP's membership. Today the NP is, as far as contents are concerned, a fully integrated party. It is true that the leadership is primarily still white. But what we have to emphasise, is that leadership is about leadership in the final instance, not about the colour of the person's skin. The NP is in a good position to produce the leaders that the country will need and which people will ask for.

Q: For me the analogy is Namibia. If you look at how much groundwork was done by someone like Dirk Mudge ... And even so, Mudge did rather badly in the elections. When President De Klerk goes to Pieters-

burg, it is nothing more than the white, Pretoria-based NP that quickly goes to Pietersburg.

A: I will concede that: we do not yet have a bottom-up support base as far as the black community is concerned. That is common cause. It may be an impediment, but it is not decisive. The bottom-up support does exist in other communities — the coloured community, and there are indications that it exists in the Indian community.

Q: You do not have much time to solicit more support and to start organising before the elections.

A: Nine months is a long time in politics, a very long time. Many things can happen ... I can guarantee your prediction is absolutely wrong.

Q: When I go to Nationalists in parliament, the portraits on the wall are those of Malan, Strijdom, Verwoerd ... They represent a history that I don't think is saleable.

A: I prefer paintings of animals on my walls. (Laughs)

Q: The rules of the game will change to such a degree that a basically white party like the NP won't be able to survive for much longer.

A: It says only one thing — that the NP will pri-

marily not be a white party. Sure, the culture will have to change visibly. But the change of the logo has already borne fruit.

Q: But the core of the party are the old Nationalists, apartheid — that is the message that still comes through.

A: I don't say the logo is everything, but it is a contributing factor. Moving away from the *kruithoring* (Boer powder horn) is a step ahead.

Q: Is a compromise with Inkatha possible?

A: My view is that we stand with the resolutions that have been accepted. At the same time we believe Inkatha is a very important political player. They cannot be sidelined or ignored. Therefore maximum consensus is what we would like. I work from the premise that they — like all other parties — will put South Africa's interests first and therefore will go along with the process.

Q: What went wrong between the NP and Inkatha? It was accepted that you were natural alliance partners. Now it seems as if the NP is closer to the ANC.

A: As far as the process is concerned there is more agreement between what the government and the ANC stand for, namely the two-phase process. Inkatha disagrees. But if you look at the contents of the constitutional proposals, there is more agreement between us and Inkatha — the fact that there must be a constitution based on federal principles, for instance.

Q: So one can expect greater co-operation between the NP and the IFP after the changing of the political groundrules?

A: Yes, as far as our parties have shared views on a regional dispensation. There may then be more outward concord, also as far as economic policies are concerned. Alliance forming is not necessary before an election.

One should rather approach the elections on the basis of your own independent views. The outcome of the elections will determine to what extent parties will co-operate afterwards.

Q: What are you going to do about the rightwing? Are you going to go on appealing them, as you did when they invaded the World Trade Centre?

A: I can't talk on behalf of the police. My responsibility as negotiator is, on behalf of the government, to spread the net as wide as possible to catch up as many parties as possible. I stay in discussion with the Conservative Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie on a bilateral level to see to what degree they will come into the process.

Q: Aren't these decisions taken at cabinet level?

A: Of course, yes, but I am not the spokesman on that subject. If you want someone to talk on the subject, you'll have to approach Hennis Kriel.

Q: The next important step at the negotiations will be the introduction of the Transitional Executive Council. What will be the relationship between the TEC and the cabinet? What will be the powers and functions of the TEC?

A: That still has to be decided. But the core issue is that there must be political interaction between the line-function minister and the sub-council involved — an exchange of views and opinions on an ongoing basis. Exactly how it will happen, will have to be laid down in legislation. There must be a distinction between political influencing as opposed to the day-to-day management of departments. It is not possible for a body like the TEC to attend to the day-to-day management. My impression is that in 75 percent of cases the parties already agree on the powers of the TEC. The police is maybe the best example where there is substantial agreement between the various parties, according to the reports of the technical committees.

Q: Will the sub-councils and the ministers enjoy basically the same powers?

A: Not necessarily. The minister's powers are determined by legislation. One will always have to analyse these. It is an open question whether the sub-councils really want the responsibility of the ministers. I don't think they really want to accept all the nonsense that ministers have to stand father to.

Maybe it will be a good thing if we can make them co-responsible! It must be remembered, however, that right from day one the idea with the TEC was that it would be involved only with the levelling of the playing fields.



NEXT WEEK
A full interview with the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa

Another 'sentence' for Winnie

Star 19/1/93

By Susan Smuts

Winnie Mandela, estranged wife of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, was yesterday given a further one-year suspension by the ANC Women's League for displaying "defiance, insubordination and total disloyalty" to the ANC, the league and the entire leadership of the movement.

Four other league members, Gwen Mahlangu, Majorie Nkomo, Sally Peterson and Nompumelelo Madlala, were also suspended for a further one-year period because of the same conduct.

The entire 20-member PWV Regional Executive Committee had been suspended by the ANC Women's League in May 1992. Yesterday, the suspension was lifted on 15 of the women but a further suspension was handed down to five.

Mandela was not available for comment yesterday but Madlala lashed out at the decision as "typical of the actions of State agents".

She claimed women had been flocking to Mandela's house to express their dismay at the "ridiculous announcement".

"Every time something positive happens in the Mandela

family, the State makes sure it is matched by something negative. (Nelson) Mandela's birthday has now been marred by an announcement by a cabalistic decision."

Madlala warned the "clique" within the league would not be allowed to "prostitute" the ANC's constitution.

In a press statement, the ANC Women's League said most of the PWV REC members had abided by the decision to suspend the REC. However, a small group had "displayed defiance, insubordination and total disloyalty to the ANC, the ANC Women's League and the entire leadership of the movement".

The behaviour of the group had brought the ANC and the women's league into disrepute, and had cost the league "a lot, financially and politically". Their utterances were not those of "loyal disciplined cadres", the statement said.

The ANC Women's League national executive committee noted during a full session at the end of May that a year had elapsed without a properly constituted PWV region. It decided to address the matter to ensure a return to normal functioning, the statement said.

Before being suspended in 1992, Mandela was chairman of the region.

X Road
between

hope
Star 19/7/93
and ruin'

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa believes South Africa stands today at the crossroads between hope and ruin. Only a new offensive against violence will be enough to safeguard the "spectacular" political gains made in multi-party talks.

He says there are strong reasons for believing the election could be threatened by unprecedented violence — but that if this can be prevented, the installation of the transitional executive council will trigger a wave of optimism among all South Africans.

This next step in the transition — the halfway mark —



Full interview
— Page 9

would cause "a new atmosphere to blow through the whole social fabric", he said.

In an interview in which he assessed the state of the nation, Ramaphosa also said a new government would make a crackdown on crime one of its highest priorities, and that there were reasons for all South Africans to be hopeful about a better future, irrespective of their beliefs or social positions.

He said the time had come for party-political differences to be set aside in the national interest.

Ramaphosa was optimistic that a political settlement could be reached next month. He also proposed multiparty peace-keeping structures, to be put in place this year.

He spoke about the resistance to the transition of the Concerned South Africans Group, saying everything possible had to be done to make Cosag part of the settlement.

All "reasonable concerns" would be addressed seriously, he said.

1nation

Star 19/7/93

Silence at 'kill farmer' chant

Stern silence greeted the ANC Youth League's controversial "Kill the boer, kill the farmer" chant yesterday afternoon at the launch of two ANC branches in the moderate coloured and Indian communities in Potchefstroom. — Sapa

11A

Women in ANC oust Winnie

(11A)

CT 19/7/93

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress Women's League yesterday suspended Mrs Winnie Mandela for a year with immediate effect.

Ms Gwen Mahlangu, Ms Majorie Nkomo, Ms Sally Peterson and Ms Nompumelelo Madlala — who with Mrs Mandela were on the league's PWV regional executive committee which was suspended in May last year — were also suspended as members of the league for the same period.

The league's national executive committee said in a statement that "a few members had displayed defiance, insubordination and total disloyalty to the ANC, the ANC Women's League and the entire leadership of the movement".



SUSPENDED ...
Winnie Mandela

The statement suggested the activities and utterance of the suspended members had cost the league a great deal in financial and political terms.

The league lifted last year's suspension of all the other members of the PWV regional executive committee except for the five mentioned.

The decision by the ANC Women's League to suspend Winnie Mandela and her supporters is a clear indication that the ANC has locked itself firmly into an election mode, writes **BARRY STREEK**.

The organisation, faced with a gruelling election campaign, has obviously decided it can no longer afford Mrs Mandela's strident rhetoric and inflammatory political style.

Election campaign

The suspension must also be read as a warning to ANC youth leader Mr Peter Mokaba, that his radical stances and racial sloganeering are not appreciated by top figures in the hierarchy.

Some observers believe the suspension of Mrs Mandela, despite her popularity with a section of radical black youth, will be welcomed by most of the ANC rank and file.

Mrs Mandela could not be reached for comment last night.

● SA youths 'act in despair', says Winnie —
Page 2

Start the day by saying 'Nats are crooks' Boesak urges pupils



Dr Boesak

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

ARG 19/7/93

~~SA~~ (11)

DR Allan Boesak says President De Klerk and his colleagues in the National Party government are "a bunch of crooks (skelms)".

At an ANC meeting in Mitchell's Plain yesterday, Dr Boesak urged coloured pupils returning to school tomorrow to tell their teachers they

wanted to begin the day by saying: "De Klerk is a skelm."

The message should be repeated in church on Sunday, he said.

But ANC Western Cape chairman Dr Boesak said today he did not mean Mr De Klerk had personally stolen money.

"I said Mr De Klerk was a crook because he is the leader of the National Party, a party which over the years

has robbed our people of everything they had," Dr Boesak said.

"They took our land, the vote and our homes. And if they want us to believe they have changed they must tell us why they have earmarked money for secret projects."

He said Mr De Klerk had not really apologised for the hurt caused by apartheid.

League's ban on Winnie stays

By Mzimasi Ngudle

WINNIE Mandela was left out in the cold when the ANC Women's League lifted the suspension of its PWV regional executive committee.

The league's national executive committee decided on Friday that the May 1992 suspension of its PWV region must be lifted, but retained the suspension of Mandela and four others for another year.

The other four are Ms Gwen Mahlangu, Ms Majorie Nkomo, Ms Sally Peterson and Ms Nompumelelo Madlala.

ANCWL spokesman Ms Lindiwe

Sowetan 19/7/93
Zulu said in a statement yesterday that the five could appeal.

She said that after examining the conduct of the five suspended members, the league noted that many members "abided by the terms of their leadership.

"However, a small number displayed defiance, insubordination and total disloyalty to the organisation. (11A)

"In view of the behaviour and utterances that put the ANC and the League in disrepute and cost us a lot financially and politically, these persons are suspended for one year with effect from July 18," she said.

Mandela was unavailable for comment yesterday.

Speaking in her personal capacity, Madlala said she learnt with dismay of the ridiculous announcement by one of "those exiles", writes Lulama Luti.

Not fooled

"We want her and her clique in the ANCWL to know that no-one will be allowed to prosecute the constitution of the ANC," she said referring to ANCWL national general secretary Ms Baleka Kgositsile. "We are not fooled by the timing of the announcement. It is typical of the agents of the State within the organisation. This is a clear sign of how infiltrated the organisation is," she said.

Women in ANC oust Winnie

(11A)

CT 19/7/93

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress Women's League yesterday suspended Mrs Winnie Mandela for a year with immediate effect.

Ms Gwen Mahlangu, Ms Majorie Nkomo, Ms Sally Peterson and Ms Nompumelelo Madlala — who with Mrs Mandela were on the league's PWV regional executive committee which was suspended in May last year — were also suspended as members of the league for the same period.

The league's national executive committee said in a statement that "a few members had displayed defiance, insubordination and total disloyalty to the ANC, the ANC Women's League and the entire leadership of the movement".



SUSPENDED ...
Winnie Mandela

The statement suggested the activities and utterance of the suspended members had cost the league a great deal in financial and political terms.

The league lifted last year's suspension of all the other members of the PWV regional executive committee except for the five mentioned.

The decision by the ANC Women's League to suspend Winnie Mandela and her supporters is a clear indication that the ANC has locked itself firmly into an election mode, writes BARRY STREEK.

The organisation, faced with a gruelling election campaign, has obviously decided it can no longer afford Mrs Mandela's strident rhetoric and inflammatory political style.

Election campaign

The suspension must also be read as a warning to ANC youth leader Mr Peter Mokaba that his radical stances and racial sloganeering are not appreciated by top figures in the hierarchy.

Some observers believe the suspension of Mrs Mandela, despite her popularity with a section of radical black youth, will be welcomed by most of the ANC rank and file.

Mrs Mandela could not be reached for comment last night.

● SA youths 'act in despair', says Winnie —

Brush-off for 'Boer' chant

POTCHESTROOM. — Stern silence greeted the ANC Youth League's controversial "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" chant yesterday at the launch of two ANC branches in the moderate coloured and Indian communities here.

About 275 ANC members from Mohadin and Promosa townships did not respond when local Youth League leader Mr Itumeleng Mosala began the chant (A)

ANC national executive committee member and former Rivonia trialist Mr Ahmed Kathrada urged students to attend school under all circumstances. CT 19/1/93

Mr Kathrada said he worked eight hours a day with a pick and shovel on Robben Island, but was able to study after work. — Sapa

Rich and famous at Mandela's birthday bash

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela pleaded for peace at his glittering 75th birthday fund-raising party attended by South Africa's rich and famous at the Carlton Hotel on Saturday night.

"The killing must stop," he told about 720 guests, 650 of whom had paid R500 each to be at the party.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Nie-

haus said: "Most of South Africa's big business is here tonight. We have sold out."

Companies which bought 12-person tables included: M-Net, First National Bank, Mercedes, SA Phillips, SA Breweries, Stellenbosch Farmers' Winery, Nedcor, Rand Merchant Bank, CNA Gallo, Pick 'n Pay and Perskor.

Among the guests were veteran politicians such as South Africa's Mrs Helen Suzman and Zambia's Dr Kenneth Kaunda.

P J Powers, Ladysmith Black Mambazo, and Sibongile Khumalo were among the entertainers.

Mr Mandela said the "healing process" for blacks, who carried deep scars from apartheid, had not

yet started, and urged whites not to desert the country.

Celebrations ended with an auction of four bottles of French wine and the first of 10 "Nelson Mandela commemorative gold coins", which raised R249 500 for the ANC.

Multi-millionaire insurance magnate Mr Douw Steyn paid R195 000 for the coin and R54 500 was paid for the wine.

(11A) CT 19/7/93
Birthday wishes came from world leaders, including American President Bill Clinton, British Premier Mr John Major, Russian President Boris Yeltsin, German Chancellor Dr Helmut Kohl, and United Nations Secretary-General Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer also sent a message of goodwill. — Sapa

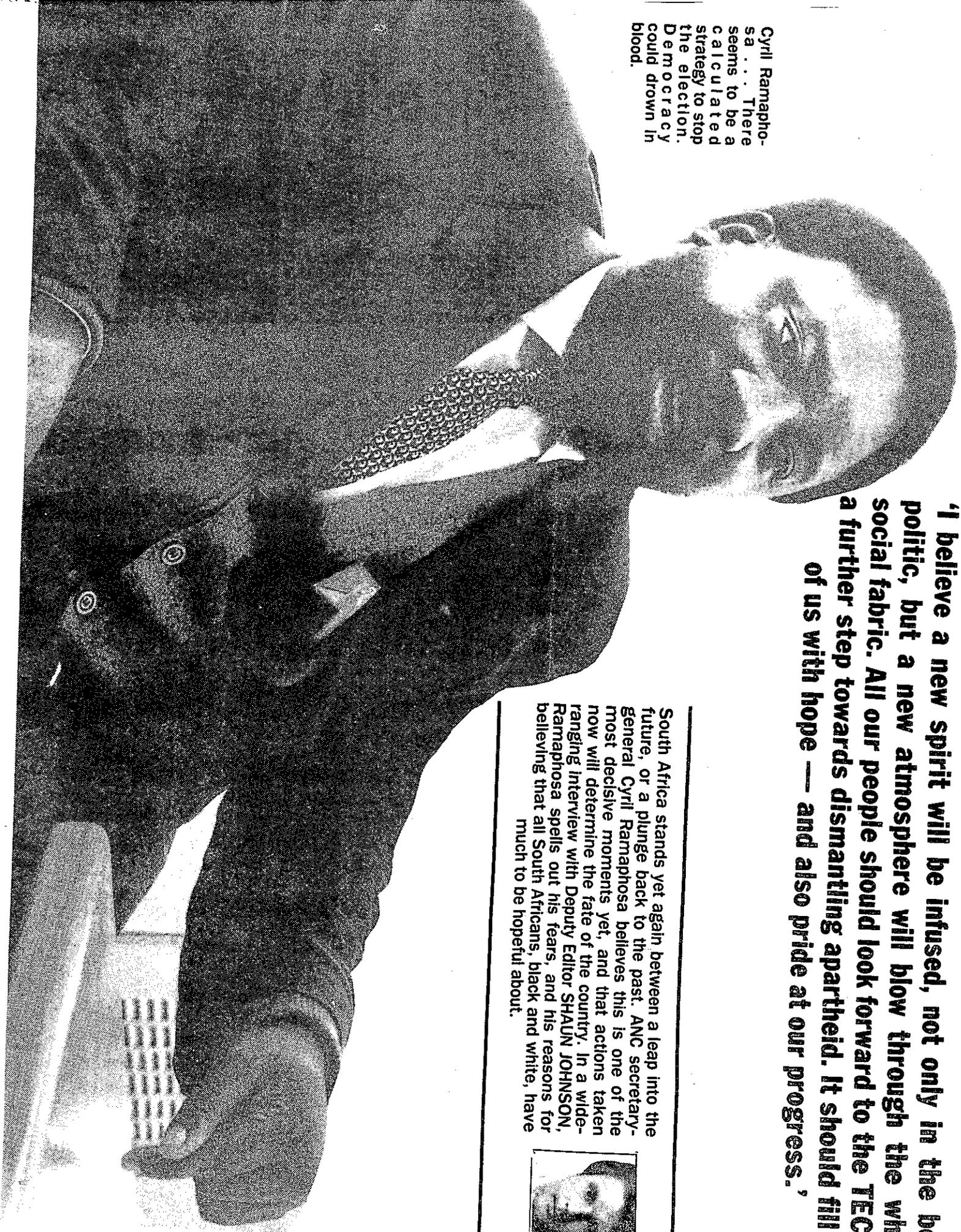
BRIEFING

'I believe a new spirit will be infused, not only in the body politic, but a new atmosphere will blow through the whole social fabric. All our people should look forward to the TEC as a further step towards dismantling apartheid. It should fill all of us with hope — and also pride at our progress.'

South Africa stands yet again between a leap into the future, or a plunge back to the past. ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa believes this is one of the most decisive moments yet, and that actions taken now will determine the fate of the country. In a wide-ranging interview with Deputy Editor SHAUN JOHNSON, Ramaphosa spells out his fears, and his reasons for believing that all South Africans, black and white, have much to be hopeful about.



Cyril Ramaphosa . . . There seems to be a calculated strategy to stop the election. Democracy could drown in blood.



We have a lot to

Star 19/7/93

On the threat facing SA's election

We're deeply concerned that violence might escalate in the run-up to the election on a scale we haven't even imagined. There seems to be a calculated strategy to stop the election. I fear democracy could be drowned in blood.

This is not just another political statement: unless we all do something new, and soon, we risk losing all we as a nation have gained. It's too precious to throw away: we need a new strategy to visibly bring down the levels of violence.

On a cross-party response

This strategy must cut right across party loyalties. The time is now for all of us to take a hard look at the threat of violence spinning right out of control.

We have to find out why past strategies haven't worked. We have to plan on a much broader basis for a new, once-and-for-all strategy.

For all their efforts, the Peace Accord and Goldstone Commission have not brought the violence levels down. I'm not saying we are defeated, but we need a new approach. We can't just let it go on.

On peace-makers and warmongers

People deny stoking violence by their statements, but I have difficulty believing this. It's got worse after the setting of the election date. There are people resisting the political transformation, prepared to use violence.

We all have to wake up: if we don't, we could be walking blindly into a situation like Angola or Mozambique.

We are dismayed by the incapacity and neglect of the security forces. The random shootings could be repeated throughout the country. The violent agenda is being propelled by both individuals in organisations, and sections in the security forces. We all have to isolate and expose those warmongers. They are threatening our very future.

On the Peace Accord

The Peace Accord structures have done marvellous work, operating against incredibly difficult odds. But one of the reasons for the weakness of the Peace Accord is lack of resources.

Peace workers say if they have resources, they can do up to three times more than now. They are hamstrung because the Government has not allocated sufficient resources, and the private sector has not yet seen its way clear to do so. I believe the peace structures could still be one of the vehicles that turn the tide of violence.

On a multiparty peace-keeping force

For the transition to be smooth, and to enjoy the support of our people, we need a national joint peacekeeping force, made up from various armed formations in our country like the SADF, MK, Apla, KZP, BDF. A peace-keeping force of competent men and women who owe their first allegiance to South Africa, against violence.

We see this as the embryo of a new defence force — I can't think of a force that would be more credible and acceptable. It is a positive feature of the transition process that all South Africans should look forward to.

On when it could be in place

We expect to achieve a political settlement by the middle of August. I would see a national peacekeeping force put together by early October. It is one of the most forward-looking proposals emanating from negotiations.

Another precedent-making proposal is to set up a peace corps where young men and women are called upon to play the most important role they could be asked to: ensuring peace is installed and democracy ushered in. This will also employ the youth in a meaningful way so we can start moving away from talk of a lost generation.

On joint control of security forces

That part of negotiations has

not risen to the challenge. We ought to have started long ago with joint control. We need non-partisan security forces with legitimacy, and we need them desperately. In their present form they have no hope of recouping credibility.

They finally lost all moral right to be the peacekeepers after they allowed the World Trade Centre to be stormed. Joint control must not be superficial, otherwise the TEC structures themselves will be discredited, and credibility of the interim government of national unity will be at risk. This has to be solved in the next few weeks.

The effectiveness of joint control is going to be the litmus test of the transition. It can't have meaning at the World Trade Centre, but not in Tokoza, Katlehong and the Midlands.

On the TEC as a trigger-point for optimism

We see the establishment of the TEC as one of the major turning points in the history of our country.

During the TEC phase, we are going to be able to level the playing field in areas which affect the daily lives of people. It is a most important phase. We will not yet have arrived at our democratic destination, but the TEC will serve as the trigger to show that we are going to arrive.

On a timetable for the TEC

The TEC should be installed by the middle of September, after the legislation has gone through Parliament. But we plan to get ready before the legislation is passed. Political

parties will select their people, offices will be found, infrastructure set in place, all the preparations should be done in the period between agreement and legislation. The moment the legislation is passed, we should get the TEC running — from day one.

On whites' reactions to the TEC

Privileged South Africans should also be excited about the TEC. Everyone who wants to see a democratic dispensation knows we have to go through a transition process to get there — and the TEC is the halfway mark.

I believe a new spirit will be infused, not only in the body politic, but a new atmosphere will blow through the whole social fabric. All our people should look forward to the TEC as a further step towards dismantling apartheid. It should fill all of us with hope — and also pride at our progress.

On the participation of Cosag

We want all negotiating parties to be part of the settlement that gives birth to the TEC and an interim constitution. We want the IFP, Bophuthatswana, CP and all members of Cosag to participate. That will also address the concerns they have, on an ongoing and incremental basis.

We are working as hard as we can to make sure they are part of the TEC structures. We hope good political sense prevails, and even the recalcitrant parties see the TEC is the correct way to go for the country.

On going ahead without Cosag

I hope we never get to the point of countenancing going ahead without the other parties. The country's future should never be held to ransom by anyone — not the ANC, NP, or Cosag — because none of us have the right or capacity to do so. So we hope it never gets to that.

If all parties and leaders act with the responsibility the challenges require, none will want to be left behind. We want them there, and our country requires it. If they are not at the table they will have failed our people, and history will judge them harshly. We'll keep a seat for them at all times, and make sure their reasonable concerns are addressed very seriously.

On the TEC legislation

The initial legislation the Government drew up was scanty, we wanted more detail, giving effective powers to the TEC. We rejected it and now believe the technical committee at the World Trade Centre will come up with a draft that gives teeth to the TEC. This will be the first piece of legislation passed by Parliament that is drawn up outside. That will be a real landmark development.

On a new government's response to violence

For the interim government of national unity (IGNU), priority number one has to be eliminating violence. Also

dealing effectively with criminal activity, and ensuring that counter-revolutionary activity is dealt with.

The IGNU will have to go on a major peace offensive. It has to impose peace and stability, and ensure prosperity, in a tangible way from day one. If that government fails to achieve these objectives, that will be its undoing.

The levels of crime are incredible and unacceptable, and a new dispensation cannot mean much if crime does not come down.

The government of national unity cannot be soft on crime — in fact, it must immediately go on the offensive against crime. The new police force must be non-partisan and firm against crime. Nobody who commits a crime must get away with it, irrespective of who they are or their political affiliation.

On political tolerance

The history of the country is one of intolerance; it was inculcated in the mentality of our oppressors. We now have to make sure tolerance becomes part of the new political culture.

It's not easy, but is a challenge we just have to confront. Parties have to be able to live side by side in competition with each other — in opposition to each other — without the differences turning to bloodletting.

All political parties have to stand up publicly and declare how they are going to ensure their own campaigns are based on tolerance. My own organisation regards this as a major project.

We will achieve meaningful success once the political playing field has been levelled, where no one party has unfair advantages. □

Bright ideas won't last

1978

ANC challenge to DP over heckling at rally

MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

(11A)

THE ANC today challenged the Democratic Party to a public debate after a DP attack on the behaviour of ANC supporters at its meeting in Elsies River.

APLT 20/7/93
DP speakers Mr Hennie Bester, MP for Green Point, and former ANC stalwart Mr Joe Marks were constantly heckled by rowdy ANC supporters at the Elsies River Civic Centre meeting last night.

Two members of the local ANC leadership stepped in to control their supporters.

The DP today deplored the attempt by ANC supporters to disrupt the meeting and said it was not convinced the ANC was committed to a free and fair election in the Western Cape.

But ANC spokesman Mr Willie Hofmeyr, who felt the DP was "over-reacting", said he suspected the reason DP speakers had such difficulty addressing the meeting was that only about half the audience were party supporters.

"Elsies River is known to be a strong ANC area. We challenge them to a public debate in the area to settle the issue of who has the most support."

NEWS Government says discussions must continue ● Lawyers to probe highway shootout

IFP, PAC to hold talks

Sowetan 20/7/93

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE Negotiating Council resumed its business as usual yesterday despite the absence of the Conservative Party, Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu administration.

The Council resolved to continue its work until it has received formal notification from the IFP and CP of their withdrawal from multiparty talks; the Government was particularly adamant that talks should continue.

In the meantime the Concerned South Africans Group held a meeting yesterday to discuss its particular gripes with talks in general, the council and especially the procedures for the adoption of resolutions, among which is the concept of sufficient consensus.

And in a surprise move the PAC yesterday held a snap bilateral meeting with the IFP, allegedly to discuss the latter's reasons for its withdrawal from talks.

Mandate

The secretary general of the PAC, Mr Benny Alexander, confirmed that his leader, Mr Clarence Makwetu, had given the mandate for the meeting and that the outcome thereof would be taken back to the PAC president before any action would be taken.

The meeting between the PAC and IFP raised eyebrows at the World Trade Centre yesterday where a *de facto* alliance between the two parties was emerging on the issue of sufficient consensus.

At the end of the Cosag meeting yesterday, the IFP and CP remained out

of the Council meeting.

The IFP wants special veto powers in negotiations. It wants sufficient consensus to be based on its approval of any agreements reached or resolutions accepted in the Council.

The IFP has changed its mind three times over the past week over what would bring it back to negotiations.

First the IFP said it would return once the issue of federalism had to be confirmed, then said it would return when an interim constitution was tabled and afterwards said that once the Government ruled on the continued existence of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, it would resume talks.

The CP was frank enough to say that it wanted an Afrikaner homeland to be guaranteed before it would return to negotiations.

Another of the Sisulu bodyguard's dies

Sowetan 20/7/93

By Lulama Luti and Sapa

A SECOND bodyguard of ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu died in hospital yesterday following Sunday's shootout between police and Sisulu's convoy.

The guard was injured when police and ANC bodyguards exchanged fire on the Soweto highway as the Sisulus were returning from Mr Nelson Mandela's birthday celebrations at the Carlton Hotel.

One guard died soon after the shooting and a third at Baragwanath Hospital. The ANC yesterday named the two guards who died as Mr Jabulani Cebo Ntli and Mr Ishmael Moloane.

Meanwhile, the organisation said lawyers Mr Matthew Phosa and Mr Fink Haysom would represent it in investigations to be headed by Witwatersrand Regional Commissioner of Police Lieutenant-General Koos Calitz.

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said Phosa and Haysom would meet Calitz today.

He said the ANC insisted on the involvement of the international police monitors who are in the country. The organisation also wanted independent experts to be part of the investigations, he said. Witwatersrand police spokesman Brigadier Zirk Gous could yesterday not confirm if there would be a meeting between Calitz and the ANC legal team today.

20/7/93 YOU'RE WASTING YOUR





Present at the Cosatu conference yesterday were, from left, SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union deputy general secretary Ebrahim Patel, NUM assistant general secretary Marcel Golding and SA Labour Bulletin editor Karl von Holdt. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

ANC, Cosatu differ 'in nuance'

Billay 21/7/93
AT the second annual Them and Us conference hosted by Cosatu, SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union deputy general secretary Ebrahim Patel clarified the differences between Cosatu's and the ANC's stands on the future of the national economic forum.

Despite apparent major differences in approach, Patel suggested, these were not differences in views, only in "nuance".

He said Cosatu viewed the continuation of the forum after the election of a democratic government as essential. In contrast, the ANC's Trevor Manuel suggested that if the forum had a part to play once the new government was in power, its constituents would have to be reviewed

ERICA JANKOWITZ

and perhaps widened.

If the forum's life was extended, Patel said Cosatu felt it should be a body with decision-making powers whereas the ANC felt the forum's role was to offer insights into business and labour's views on macro-economic policy without these necessarily becoming government policy. (11A)

Patel said the two organisations also differed on the issue of the forum's agenda: Cosatu thought it should remain as wide as it was now. However, the ANC believed that issues discussed at the forum should not be elevated above those being discussed at central government level.

NEWS IN BRIEF

Flying school order

A PROVISIONAL liquidation order was granted in the Pretoria Supreme Court against the Wonderboom Flying School yesterday, one of the few in the country to train commercial pilots.

In his application for liquidation, school head Johannes Olivier said his company had been rendered hopelessly insolvent.

AWB general in court

AWB general Johann "Hagar" Thompson was among five AWB members who appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday on charges of public violence related to the right-wing occupation of the World Trade Centre on June 25. **21/7/93**

Thompson, 41, Chris Welgemoed, 50, Abraham Fourie, 42, Christiaan Potgieter, 33, and Frans Gericke, 38, were not asked to plead and the case was postponed until August 18. **(2/11)**

Thompson, Welgemoed, Fourie and Potgieter were released on bail and Gericke on warning.

Reporter faces charges

BEELD reporter Andries Cornelissen appeared in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday in connection with his refusal to give the police a statement concerning ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba's slogan, "kill the boer, kill the farmer". **21/7/93**

Cornelissen, who could face up to five years in jail, told the court he wanted to protect Beeld, his career as political reporter and journalists generally. **(2/11)**

REPORTS: Business Day Reporters, Sapa.

Call to ANC to take firmer stand on land

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — The ANC appeared too ready to compromise with government over the question of entrenching property rights in a new constitution, Legal Resources Centre director-designate Geoff Budlender said in Washington yesterday.

Speaking at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, he suggested the movement take a firmer stand on the need for a reparations "levy" to help resettle black South Africans driven from their land under apartheid. **(1/11)**

Such a levy would be an "equitable" quid pro quo for constitutional guarantees against expropriation without fair compensation, he said.

Without it, he suggested that property either not be mentioned in the constitution at all or that provision be made for the courts to determine compensation taking factors beyond market value into account.

Government's draft Bill of Rights, which would bar a future government from taking private land without paying market value for it and block expropriation through tax-

ation, was a recipe for undermining the constitution and could end up threatening all property rights.

Budlender, who has been involved closely in the Ivory Park squatter case and restoring the Bathlehong tribe to its ancestral land, worried that the ANC was not pressing the land reform issue hard enough.

He attributed this to the movement's urban bias and to the deals it has felt obliged to cut with certain homeland leaders. **(2/11)**

Citing a recent World Bank report, he said a massive land reform programme would have to be completed within two years if there were not to be violent seizures of land and civil unrest. **(2/11)**

Although much land could be made available quickly if government refused to extend further credit to heavily indebted white farmers, government had already begun to thwart that option by forgiving Land Bank debts "under the guise of drought relief", Budlender said.

Talks on Soweto tariffs deadlocked

GAVIN DU VENAGE

THE Soweto crisis committee deadlocked yesterday over tariffs and the replacement of local authorities by appointed interim structures. **21/7/93**

Metropolitan Chamber CEO Vic Milne said the committee would meet again early next month. **21/7/93**

Soweto has been subject to a large-scale rent and services boycott for the past decade. **(2/11)**

To break the deadlock, a basic ser-

vice tariff of between R55 and R23 per household is being proposed.

Chamber chairman Van Zyl Slabbert said yesterday that R55 was the minimum tariff level needed if Soweto was to receive an 82% subsidy, as included in the latest proposals.

The committee also failed to agree on appointed interim structures.

Negotiations 'must involve' the community

GAVIN DU VENAGE

LOCAL government negotiations will be left to national politicians "at our peril", Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber chairman Frederick van Zyl Slabbert said in Randburg yesterday. **(2/11)**

Slabbert said that local negotiations had to be conducted by community organisations. The pace would be set by the multi-party talks, but could not be an exclusively national process. **21/7/93**

It was not possible to arrive at a national political settlement without reaching accord in local politics.

Slabbert said that without local solutions, "all national plans will come to nought".

The metropolitan chamber served as a forum for diverse interests and allowed problems to be thrashed out so that a common solution could be found.

The chamber faced "enormous problems", particularly over the question of rent boycotts, but was still far ahead of any other such bodies elsewhere in the country.

However, it was also necessary for local government leaders to communicate with their constituents. People had to be kept informed about changes taking place if their co-operation was to be guaranteed, he said.

Without community acceptance, the proposed interim appointed structures could face a legitimacy crisis.

At the same time, it was important that people recognised the inevitability of change. He said questions about a mandate for change should not dissuade politicians from moving forward.

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021 5425

Winnie beats the deadline

By Lulama Luti and Sapa

WINNIE Mandela, estranged wife of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, avoided arrest yesterday afternoon when her lawyers made a last minute payment of R15 000 in compensation money at the Rand Supreme Court registrar's office. *Sowetan 21/7/93*

Winnie was ordered by the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein in June to pay compensation of R5 000 each to three surviving victims of a kidnap case.

The money was paid yesterday just 15 minutes before the registrar's office closed its doors.

A warrant had already been signed by a judge in preparation for her arrest today. Senior registrar at the court, Mrs E Herselman, said the money was paid shortly before 4pm.

Winnie failed to pay the money at the registrar's office by Monday afternoon as was previously arranged with her lawyers. Initially, Winnie was required to have made the payment by Thursday last week but her lawyers requested a deferment until Monday. *(11A)*

The compensation was part of the sentence handed down by Mr Justice M Corbett in the Appeal Court in Bloemfontein during June.

She was to have paid compensation of R5 000 to each surviving kidnap victims in a case arising from the abduction of teenage activists Kenneth Kgase, Thabiso Mono and Gabriel Mekgwe from the Methodist manse in Orlando West, Soweto, in December 1988.

The body of one of the kidnap victims, Stompie Seipei, was found in the veld outside Soweto.

News in brief

Another Nat joins the IFP

NATAL MEC Mr Peter Miller has resigned from the National Party to join the Inkatha Freedom Party. *Sowetan 21/7/93*

Miller (51) is regarded as one of the most senior MECs in the country and has always supported a strong federal system. He announced yesterday that he had met Natal NP leader Mr George Bartlett on Monday and told him of his intention to resign. He leaves his post at the end of July. *(11B)*

PAC to hold report-back

PAN Africanist Congress chief negotiator Patricia de Lille and general secretary Benny Alexander will on Saturday address a meeting of the central Transvaal region on developments at negotiations. The region announced yesterday that the meeting would be held at the Rethabile Hall in Mamelodi East, Pretoria, from 2pm. *(11A)*

Agreement on mine

THE National Union of Mineworkers and management of Hartebeesfontein Mine have agreed on plans to restore calm after eight weeks of conflict and violence which claimed 19 lives. *(213)*

Sowetan 21/7/93 (213)
Num spokesman Jerry Majatladi said the two parties had agreed on the recognition of Num in all job categories, the dismantling of ethnically based hostel accommodation and the replacement of the "induna" system with a democratically elected hostel administration. A peace committee will also be established.

Dissent in ANC ranks

Sowetan 21/7/93 (11A)
ANC Southern Free State regional leaders said in Bloemfontein yesterday they would defy orders from their national headquarters in Johannesburg to return to the structures of the National Peace Accord they quit three weeks ago. — *Sowetan Correspondents and Sapa.*



Sowetan 2/7/93

Youth meet to discuss CA

THE youth leagues of the ANC and the PAC are to meet tomorrow to discuss a constituent assembly, violence and a lowering of the voting age. (11A)

The PAC's youth league, the Azanian National Youth Unity, has already met Azapo's youth wing Azayo, and will meet the Inkatha Youth Brigade next week. — *Sowetan Correspondents and Sapa.*

THE PAC FM 2/7/93

Elaborate dance (11A)

Government has said it will hand over to the negotiating council the problem of what to do about the PAC. This follows its decision on Monday night finally to terminate bilateral talks with the PAC. These were aimed at resolving their differences, following the recent police raid on the PAC, as a prelude to getting it to sign the council's

FM 2/7/93 (11A)

declaration suspending hostilities and the armed struggle.

Government was due to report back to the council on Tuesday, suggesting ways of limiting the PAC's participation in the talks. This subtle pressure could take the form of, for instance, not paying PAC travel and accommodation allowances and curtailing its "voting" rights and debating chances in the council.

It is not expected that the PAC will be kicked out altogether — a move the ANC, for one, would not support. The matter seems complicated by the antics of the Right at the negotiations last Friday.

Except for the PAC, all other parties have signed the declaration on the cessation of hostilities. Refusing to compromise on her organisation's preconditions, PAC negotiator Patricia de Lille said, after meeting government counterpart Roelf Meyer, that the PAC will cease armed action only when agreement is reached on a constituent assembly and a transitional authority.

There would be no need for armed struggle during an election, she said, adding that government has yet to return PAC items seized in the security swoop. What the PAC means by a transitional authority is unclear. Its secretary general Benny Alexander recently scorned the idea of a Transitional Executive Council as nothing more than "a native representative council." After last

week's AWB assault on the World Trade Centre, the PAC says its stance had been "vindicated."

The negotiating council wants all participants — including the PAC and the CP — to sign the National Peace Accord and to comply with its structures. The National Peace Committee is to invite these parties as well as the AWB to come on board — ahead of a planned meeting of signatories this month to reaffirm their commitment to the accord. ■

ANC region refuses to return to peace body

BLOEMFONTEIN. — ANC southern Free State regional leaders said here yesterday they would defy orders from their national headquarters in Johannesburg to return to the structures of the National Peace Accord they quit three weeks ago.

The region left the peace body because five people were allegedly shot dead in the region on June 16 by policemen.

ANC spokesman Mr Moses Mogamise said the region decided to quit the peace body until the police met its demands to suspend the policemen involved in the shootings, and to hold an independent inquiry into the incidents. — Sapa

Buthlezi lashes NP and ANC in Cape Town speech

By Christelle Terreblanche

"WHEN the Record of Understanding was signed by the State President with the ANC in 1992, that is what started the first crack in the National Party." (H)

This was said by Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), addressing an audience of about 500 people in the Cape Town City Hall on Wednesday evening. It was his first official speech in the city as IFP leader.

South 11/7 - 21/7/93
He said the NP government we see today is far cry from the "South African saviour" it was portrayed as in the early 90's. (S)

"The rhetoric of democracy has been exploited by the government, leaving South Africans with an obscure range of interpretations, but no clear vision for the future." (H)

He therefore finds the Record, as well as the ANC and government insistence on a constituent assembly, "circumspect". The IFP is the only party at the multi-party negoti-

ations which has not yet endorsed April 27, 1994 as election date.

He recounted how he "tried to forge unity amongst the oppressed", as chairperson of the South African Black Alliance, which Inkatha formed with the Labour Party before the formation of the tri-cameral parliament.

"It is disinformation and propaganda which try to reduce me to size by making me a regional leader when for decades my approach was always national," he said.

ANC ad calls on Afrikaners to reject facism

THE ANC has called on Afrikaners to reject right-wing facism and to accept its "hand of friendship". (11A)

In a full-page advertisement in Beeld newspaper yesterday, the ANC quoted former NP prime minister D F Malan saying in 1949: "Quo vadis Afrikaner?"

The advert is dominated by a photograph of a balaclava-clad man wearing an AWB Ystergarde uniform. In the background the AWB 7-7-7 emblem is visible.

The advert said that Afrikaners were again at the crossroads, and that an honest search for freedom and self-accomplish-

DIRK VAN EEDEN

ment was deep-seated in their history.

"That is why the ANC knows that this masked man in a neo-fascist Ystergarde uniform and the verbal abuse and assault of women at the World Trade Centre is rejected in the strongest terms by all sensible Afrikaners. The majority of Afrikaners want a peaceful solution to SA's problems. We are now reaching out a hand of friendship to you. The diversity of languages and cultures in our land has the fullest right to grow and develop. The ANC is willing to

81 Day 21/11/93
look for democratic solutions with you. The time has come to negotiate without thuggery and threats of violence for the establishment of a new SA," it said.

This was the second ANC advert to react to the recent right-wing occupation of the World Trade Centre. In the first, published in newspapers on Wednesday and repeated on Radio 702, the ANC called on South Africans to "defend democracy against right-wing terrcrism". Spokesman Carl Niehaus told Sapa the aim was to "inform people about the (ANC's) nonracial and democratic character".

'Apla member' held in Zim

Own Correspondent

HARARE. — Mr Job Mafokeng, 21, described in court as an Apla member, has been remanded in custody to August 2 in connection with the killing of a Harare taxi driver at the weekend.

Mr Mafokeng, who was not asked to plead, was detained in a Zimbabwean police raid on a house following the murder of Mr Olley Makoni.

Prosecutor Mr Simon Kachambwa alleged Mr Mafokeng shot Mr Makoni while his taxi was parked at a garage.

Natal rivals agree on a way to peace

Biday 22-7-93

DURBAN — Political rivals in northern Natal — on a rare day in which no political violence was reported in the province — have agreed to form a regional peace structure.

Inkatha Freedom Party and ANC leaders, unable to clear obstacles to a peace structure in the region for about 18 months, appeared at yesterday's meeting of peace accord signatories to have reached consensus on forming a peace committee.

A Natal/KwaZulu regional dispute resolution committee spokesman at the talks in Empangeni said delegates had made "positive progress". Agreement had been reached on formalising a subregional dispute resolution committee in northern Natal within two months.

This would lead to establishing local peace structures in conflict-ridden communities.

"The parties have reaffirmed their commitment to the peace process and have agreed on a strategy for the way forward," he said.

ANC regional chairman Aaron Ndlovu, predicting the launching of a peace committee within three weeks, said: "We've ironed out our differences and we've established common ground."

His Inkatha counterpart, Blessed Gwala, said: "This meeting was a breakthrough."

Representatives of KwaZulu police, business and clergy also attended the meeting, at which policing, freedom of political activity, local government and the role of tribal authorities were discussed.

Natal signatories to the peace accord were brought together by the regional dispute resolution committee earlier this year after local peace structures collapsed.

While some local dispute resolution committees were continued to function effectively, the regional dispute resolution committee planned to broaden peace structures in Natal's midlands and southern regions, the committee spokesman said.

Good progress had been made in behind-the-scenes peace talks in the midlands, and this could lead to a peace accord meeting soon.

A meeting of peace accord signatories was also planned for southern Natal, he said.

Port Shepstone had been hit hard by a surge in fighting. Matters were complicated by Inkatha's on-off participation in the local peace committee.

However, a meeting between Inkatha and local tribal heads was planned for later this month, when Inkatha's taking part in the Port Shepstone peace committee would be clarified, the spokesman said.

The southern Natal ANC region, which launched a major peace drive a few months ago, was planning a regional summit this weekend at which would practical steps to end violence would be discussed. — Sapa.

ANC repeats call for action on homelands

Biday 22-7-93

THE ANC yesterday repeated its call for the speedy reincorporation of all homelands following a warning by Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope that civil servants supporting the organisation would be dismissed.

The ANC said in a statement that Mangope's threat was only one in a series of examples of a lack of political tolerance and free political activity in the area.

"The threat is particularly unacceptable coming from one of the participants at the World Trade Centre who claims to be negotiating for a peaceful settlement of the country's problems," the ANC said.

Mangope's statement was in total violation of the

STEPHANE BOTHMA

right to freedom of association, a basic tenet of democracy to which Mangope claimed to subscribe.

The ANC said Mangope's threats could no longer be taken lightly.

Mangope told public servants in Mmabatho on Tuesday that his government could not keep employees who were working with organisations which waged war to destabilise and destroy Bophuthatswana. He said the ANC/SACP alliance had launched a campaign to infiltrate his public servants, including the security forces, with the aim of toppling his government.

His government was prepared to die for its independence, he said.

Strange bedfellows miss negotiating point

~~112-111~~ (117)
ALAN FINE

ATTEMPTS by the Inkatha Freedom Party, its Concerned South Africans Group allies and its new strange bedfellow, the PAC, to devise a clear, legalistic definition of "sufficient consensus" are hardly surprising. But, like the ANC's ill-fated attempts at Codesa last year to pin down the precise vote in a constituent assembly required to approve a new constitution, it misses the point about the essence of constitutional and many other types of negotiations.

When the ANC proposed at Codesa that a constituent assembly be permitted to approve a new constitution by a two-thirds majority, it did so in the belief that it would be able to garner sufficient votes from an alliance of ANC-leaning parties to push through a constitution reasonably acceptable to it. The NP, which wanted a 75% majority, had estimated that at that threshold it would be able — with assistance from other anti-ANC parties — to block any unacceptable constitutional proposal.

Inkatha, then as now, knowing it can expect to win no more than 10% of the national vote, was and is opposed to the very idea of a constituent assembly where it would not be

able to block any deal. That figure rises, perhaps, to around 18% for Cosag as a whole. But Inkatha cannot reasonably demand (just to be safe) a 95% constituent assembly majority. And that explains why it has demanded an effective veto right at multiparty talks.

Given the nature of politics, none of this naked self-interest is either surprising or especially contemptible. It is, however, rather unsophisticated — and costly in terms of the delays it has caused in reaching a settlement.

In making these demands, all three have been putting the cart before the horse. And this is why: a constitution sets out society's "rules of the (political) game". Those rules include procedures for passing legislation and even amending that constitution. However, certainly in SA's circumstances, trying to precede constitutional negotiations by attempting to lay out in full detail a set of rules for devising the rules of the game is a wasteful exercise.

SA's new constitution, when it is eventually finalised, will reflect a complex interplay — and a delicate balance — of the interests of the various parties.

Ideally, SA's future constitution should accommodate all parties. The greater the extent to which it does so, the more stable will be our society. Therefore — as the ANC has now accepted by agreeing that comprehensive constitutional principles be determined at multiparty negotiations — the idea of a two-thirds majority or anything like it is inappropriate.

However, total consensus at any cost is also not the answer. Unless they fundamentally moderate their own positions, it is unlikely the demands of either the PAC or the AWB/CP alliance can be accommodated. While there would probably be security costs attached to excluding them, they will be manageable.

Inkatha is a different story. It would, as Mangosuthu Buthelezi has intimated and as the pattern of violence demonstrates, have the ability to destabilise those areas where its support is concentrated — mostly Natal and the East Rand. The ANC and NP blocs would do well to continue bending over backwards to ac-

commodate Inkatha.

Even so, Inkatha cannot expect its main negotiating partners, the ANC and NP, to give it an unrestricted veto right for two important reasons.

The first has to do with the relative urgency with which the three approach negotiations. The ANC is in a hurry to finalise a settlement simply because it remains without any formal constitutional power. It also sees the country it wishes to rule collapsing around it. The NP, too, is looking for a rapid settlement. It believes the country cannot continue in its present limbo. Easing the transition for the NP is that it has negotiated a (so far imprecisely defined) share of power in a post-election interim government.

Inkatha, however, is in no such hurry. While it currently rules over a territory, opinion polls show there is no guarantee that it will retain power in Natal/KwaZulu in an election. For this reason, the status quo may be preferable to life under a post-apartheid constitution. It certainly means Inkatha has a rational motive in seeking the best possible settlement terms. And it has little or no incentive to be hasty in seeking that most favourable settlement.

This is why ANC sources have tentatively suggested a clearly defined time frame would have to accompany any formula that gives the Cosag bloc anything like a veto. This, once again, is an attempt to devise a formula that would reflect the complex balance of forces. It should really not be necessary.

More important is for Inkatha to become more aware of its Achilles' heel. These weaknesses include its limited support base and — perhaps more importantly — the KwaZulu government's reliance on central state funds for survival. The "separate negotiations" (and, implicitly, secession) proposed by Inkatha are a pipe dream too, because Natal remains one of the country's poorest regions and will continue to depend on transfers from central government long into the future.

The ANC, by downgrading the status of a constituent assembly, and the NP in gradually diluting its power-sharing formula, have both made fundamental concessions because the power realities have demanded it. Inkatha's resistance to compromise of any sort suggests parts of its leadership are oblivious to these realities.

LETTERS

Inkatha 'moves goalposts again'

Govt, ANC join forces to save talks

B/Day 22/7/93

BILLY PADDOCK

GOVERNMENT and the ANC have embarked on a joint effort to head off what they perceive as a serious threat to a negotiated settlement, following Inkatha's announcement yesterday that it would not attend any further multiparty talks until its demand for a veto was met. (11A) (11B)

An Inkatha memorandum delivered to the negotiating council yesterday said: "We hereby confirm that we will not attend any further meetings of the negotiating council or its structures until there is a satisfactory solution to the problem of calling sufficient consensus decisions in the face of considerable opposition."

It added that Inkatha would not accept any definition of sufficient consensus if "major players such as government, the NP, the ANC alliance and the Inkatha-KwaZulu government groupings" were unable to accept the ruling. (30FA)

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa were not present at the negotiating council for the day. They met behind closed doors to discuss solutions.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman said Inkatha was demanding a veto right. It was "moving the goal posts" and hiding behind procedural issues as pretexts for not participating in negotiations.

He said the latest Inkatha move was a threat to the legitimacy of the negotiating process and all parties were looking for ways to accommodate their demands and bring them back into the process.

The ANC is to meet Inkatha tomorrow in

an attempt to woo it back, while further government-Inkatha meetings will take place next week.

However, ANC and government sources said that while they were prepared to go a long way to meet Inkatha, there would be a time when they could no longer meet demands which were constantly changed as earlier demands were met.

Inkatha's memorandum said the resolution instructing the technical committee to draw up a draft constitution for discussion by the negotiating council did not meet its requirements and it therefore rejected the draft that was made available confidentially to parties yesterday.

Inkatha said it had reserved its position on the resolution on June 30 because it believed the instructions did not adequately reflect the gains made in two caucus meetings between itself and government and between Cosag and government.

Schoeman said the test of whether the committee had been correctly instructed would be to look at its draft. "Instead they (Inkatha) are prejudging the whole thing before seeing one single word of what the technical committee has produced."

Inkatha's latest decision is a shift from its previous position stated as recently as Tuesday that it would attend the negotiating council meeting as soon as the draft constitution was tabled for discussion.

"We cannot understand or accept that they will be absent when this constitution will be debated. Any party that is serious

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Talks

B/Day 22/7/93

From Page 1

about negotiating a settlement must be present if they want to influence the constitution," said Schoeman. (11A) (11B)

He said Inkatha initially demanded federal principles in the constitution, and now that the new dispensation was clearly federal "they move the goalposts again".

"They are just looking for a reason not to participate in negotiations," Schoeman said. He pointed out what he described as a contradiction in the memorandum where Inkatha states that it is committed to nego-

tiation. "We cannot understand this when they are not here attending the process."

He said the council was building the constitution chapter by chapter starting on Monday. If Inkatha was not present through this process it would not be able to have its views included in the constitution.

He said it seemed Inkatha wanted to wait until the interim constitution had been finalised and then reject it, claiming it had not been part of the process.

See Page 6

ANC wants tax levy for upliftment

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ACT 227/93
Staff Reporter

THE ANC's proposed "reconstruction levy", a one-off flat rate tax on anyone earning an income, was not a "wealth tax" aimed largely at whites.

The ANC's deputy head of economics, Mr Tito Mboweni, said yesterday the levy had nothing to do with race.

"The whole country has to face up to its terrible past. We have to face up to repairing the damage done by colonialism and apartheid," Mr Mboweni said.

Money from the levy would be used for upliftment programmes.

The executive director of the Chamber of Industries, Mr Colin McCarthy, said yesterday the levy would discourage foreign investment.

ANC company owes R10 000

By IDEN WETHERELL ^(UR) ~~W.M. 23-29/7/93~~
A HARARE book distributor is contemplating legal action against a subsidiary of the African National Congress-linked Thebe Investment Corporation. ~~W.M. 23-29/7/93~~

Grassroots Books, a co-operative owned by ex-combatants in Zimbabwe's liberation war, says MME owes it Z\$20 000 (R10 000) for books delivered in 1991. "Our letters, phone calls and faxes to MME are ignored," says Paul Brickhill, Grassroots' managing director.

Brickhill says that, in desperation, he wrote a letter to ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa at the end of last year, and sent copies to ANC president Nelson Mandela and treasurer Thomas Nkobi, asking them to take up the case.

"During the years in Zimbabwe when Grassroots was being physically threatened by the South African regime and had to have an armed guard at its premises, we provided assistance to the ANC in many different ways," Brickhill said in his letter.

Nkobi's response was that "the ANC and Movement Enterprises are not the same entity". MME, he said, was an independent company, and "the ANC is careful not to interfere in the operations of Movement Enterprises in any way".

Weekly Mail reports have recently exposed the umbilical link between Thebe and the ANC. In particular, MME was established as an ANC operation and was until recently operating out of Shell House.

"I am constrained to say," Nkobi warned Brickhill, "that if, despite the explanations I have given to you, you still continue to insist that the ANC is responsible for your plight, I will be forced to regard your attitude as unfriendly."

Mandela's response was more sympathetic. He wrote back acknowledging Grassroots' support in the past and said he had asked Ramaphosa to investigate the matter. "I am confident that we will be able to resolve this matter speedily and in a comradely manner."

But six months later, the bill remains unpaid.

Major peace drive launched by ANC

Sowetan 23/7/93

Sowetan Correspondent

■ SOUTHERN NATAL Door opened to

joint control of security forces:

A MAJOR peace initiative was announced yesterday by the ANC Southern Natal region which could see *de facto* joint control of the security forces in this region.

ANC southern Natal chairman Jeff Hadebe said violence-racked townships in southern Natal were to get Joint Operations Co-ordinating Centres as a result of discussions between the ANC and South African Police.

These JOCCs will involve the SAP, ANC and warring organisations in the community. (25/7)

Hadebe also said the major peace summit planned for the weekend

would involve the ANC branches, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, the SA Communist Party, the SA Democratic Teachers Union, the SA Black Taxi Association, the Congress of SA Students, the National Education Crisis Committee, Diakonia, Inyanda African Chamber of Commerce, Consultative Business Movement and the SA National Civics Organisation (IA 23/7)

"We want peace in this province. Our responsibility and duty is to leave no stones unturned in our quest for

peace," Hadebe said.

He said the JOCCs were the result of a meeting two weeks ago between the ANC and SAP generals in Pretoria.

"That meeting led to a situation where we decided that the security forces need to be accountable to implement all the agreements of the Multiparty Forum," Hadebe said.

The first of these JOCCs is likely to be established within the month in Bhambayi, north of Durban, where violence has claimed more than 150 lives since December last year.

Fighting fit at the dawn of South African democracy

Nelson Mandela, 75 last weekend, reflects on a lost marriage, controversial friends and strange bedfellows. Interview by **David Beresford**

11A
WM23-29/7/93

DAY had just broken across the yellow mine-dumps of the East Rand when he walked in, tall and stately as ever in a grey suit, the smile of greeting coming comfortably to the now familiar creased face so long hidden on Robben Island.

Mr Mandela still gets up at 4 o'clock in response to an internal clock implanted by the regimen of prison days. He has had to give up the 6 o'clock jogs through the leafy streets surrounding his home in Johannesburg's affluent northern suburbs, his security men insisting it is just too dangerous after the assassination of his heir-apparent, Chris Hani. Instead he pedals to nowhere through the pre-dawn hours on an exercise bike; the lifelong habit of training apparent in his slim figure and easy stride.

The austerity of his office, on the 10th floor of the skyscraper in central Johannesburg which houses the headquarters of the African National Congress, also recalls the prison years. On a table a big cake iced in the colours of the ANC wishes him a happy 75th birthday. The coldly political motif seems to symbolise a life that has been robbed of the personal, transformed by the demands of history into a public possession.

Against a wall a row of books waits precisely behind the glass front of a display cupboard, the collected works of Shakespeare prominent among them. His large wooden desk sits solidly on the beige wall-to-wall carpeting. Two bronzes stand on the surface; what looks like a Henry Moore and another of a man emerging phoenix-like from raw earth.

He confessed that he did not know what they were and bent to read the plaque under the phoenix figure, discovering a dedication to the struggle of the oppressed peoples of the world by Ayatollah Khomeini.

The only other ornamentation on the desk are two silver picture frames, one of a grandchild, the other containing a photograph of him with his children and a smiling Winnie.

It is a melancholy reminder of the emotional tragedy. Insiders say he still hides a passion for her, nursing

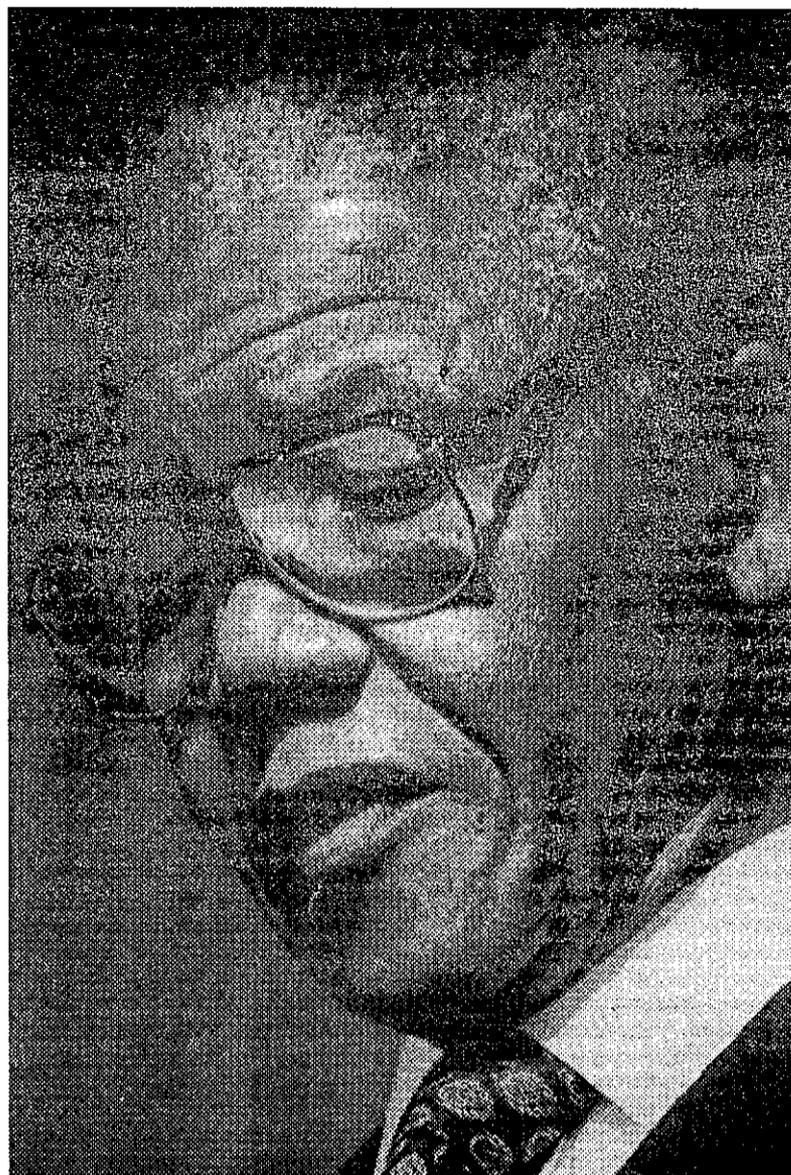
his grief in a solitary existence outside the limelight, his home life enlivened by little more than the conversation of bodyguards.

"Nelson and Winnie: it was one of the great romances of the world..." I prompted, nudging into forbidden territory. She must have had an important place in those 75 years? He grimly nods. "She obviously is a great lady with a great deal of steel in her. But unfortunately our marriage is a marriage just by name," he said, repeating the phrase as if to convince himself.

The angry sun of an African morning is blocked by venetian blinds shielding the big picture windows. They look south and east, towards the townships of Katlehong and Thokoza where lives are daily being tossed on the pyre of the liberation struggle. He once offered his own life in the cause, of course, and I reminded him of the concluding words he used 30 years ago, in a courtroom in Pretoria. "I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

MR MANDELA can be wooden in his speech, conscious of the need to offer clear definitions. But the stiffness evaporated as his mind drifted back to the Rivonia trial and the moment when the judge was contemplating his execution. "I drafted this speech and brought it to my colleagues [his co-accused]. We discussed it and they made a number of alterations and we took it to our lawyers."

The lawyers were horrified by the famous last paragraph, Mr Mandela recalled, warning that if it were delivered in court "they will take them and hang them straightaway". The Observer's Anthony Sampson was attending the trial and he was asked to rewrite it, but his version was rejected by the prisoners, who believed that they were going to be hanged anyway. "We felt that we must go down under a cloud of glory; it was of no use compromising with that last paragraph." The defence team capitulated and the



Dogged diplomacy . . . the ANC president's personal style has changed the political landscape

PHOTOGRAPH: GRAHAM TURNER

world heard one of the great political testaments of the 20th century.

The speech justified the ANC's decision to turn to armed struggle. In what circumstances, I now asked, was the recourse to violent resistance justified? What about the Basques, the IRA, or even Afrikaners threatening violence in defence of what they call their right to self-determination? Curiously for a man who had 27 years in which to contemplate the principle which led to his incarceration, he did not appear to have formulated a simple answer. He explained that the ANC had no alternative once the government "decided to close all channels of peaceful struggle". The Afrikaner was well represented at the present multi-party negotiations, he pointed

out, and progress was being made there.

"I am prepared to recommend to my organisation that we should do something to accommodate the demand for an Afrikaner area within the system of regionalism and I think therefore, in those circumstances, there is no reason to resort to arms."

Reminded of the controversy in Britain over his advice to London to negotiate with the IRA, he indignantly pointed out that the ANC had laid down its arms and talked to its enemy, the government. "It is succeeding and it is therefore natural for me to say that in similar conflicts peaceful negotiations should be used . . . It was in this spirit that I made the suggestion that the British government should talk to the IRA."

And what of western criticism of his support for the likes of Fidel Castro and Colonel Muammar Gaddafi? "When we started the armed struggle, our then leader, Comrade Oliver Tambo, first went to the western capitals to ask for support. The West would not allow him even to see the most junior government officials. They were supporting the apartheid regime and not interested in our case.

"But when he went to Cuba, when he went to Gaddafi, they received him with open arms," he recalled. "No freedom fighter of integrity would now abandon his friends who helped him in hard times. We welcome new friends. The western powers have done a great deal to put us in an even stronger position. But we welcome their support without now rejecting the support of our old friends."

Since the winds of change began blowing through Africa, the continent has been riven by civil wars

and coups and its governments have become notorious for maladministration, incompetence and corruption. How did Mr Mandela answer fears that, with liberation, South Africa might go the same way?

Africa's problems had to be considered in the context of long years of colonial exploitation and oppression, he replied. Africa was changing with the acceptance of multi-party democracy, which was going to lead to more settled conditions on the continent. In South Africa, he added, "we have sufficient vision to avoid mistakes such as those which have been committed in the rest of Africa."

What of his personal campaign to have the franchise extended to 14-year-old children? It was not intended for next year's election, said Mr Mandela. "What I am doing is to open a debate. I am confident that I am going to fight and win that battle." Voters above the age of 18 had failed the country in the past, he said. "They put into power a government which initiated the most brutal form of racial oppression. Fourteen times they returned them to power."

But was that not due to their race rather than their age? "The result is the same. They have condemned the country to a system of government which brought about the most serious hardships for the majority. That is totally inexcusable whatever the motivation was."

What was his view of the "oppressors" in South Africa, the Afrikaners? "There is a great deal of hostility against the Afrikaner from blacks for understandable reasons," he said. "And yet we can't deny the fact that they have nevertheless played a very positive role." Citing the names of anti-apartheid activists like Bram Fischer and Beyers Naude, he said their contribution to the struggle "is why I tend to look sympathetically at the demand for a homeland for Afrikaners".

THE demand was unacceptable, he hurriedly added, because it would be followed by similar claims from other "ethnic nations" and would lead to the dismemberment of South Africa.

"But I believe, as an individual," he said, "that we should accommodate that demand within the regional system which we have accepted."

And Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi? Mr Mandela hesitated, before saying diplomatically: "I think he . . . has a background of achievements as an individual and could make a positive contribution towards the major national issues facing the country . . . I consider it regrettable that he should play a role which is regarded generally by blacks as that of a spoiler."

Asked about his own status as hero, Mr Mandela demurred at the tag, recalling a recent conversation "with a young lady": "She asked me: 'When were you born?' I said long ago. She said: 'But when?' I said: 'I have forgotten, but long, long ago.' And she said: 'Why did you go to jail?' I said they sent me there. 'Who sent you there?' I said: 'The people who don't like me.' 'How long did you stay there?' I said it was a very long time. 'Was it one or two years?' I said: 'No, it was more.' And she said: 'You must be a very stupid old man.' She said so without blinking an eyelid and after that she just continued conversing, as if she had paid me a tribute. She is about six years old."

Birthday party marred by shooting

NELSON MANDELA'S 75th birthday celebrations at the weekend were marred by the suspension of his wife, Winnie, from the ANC Women's League, and a gunfight between police and bodyguards protecting the organisation's vice-president Walter Sisulu, in which one man was killed, reports **David Beresford**.

The incidents took place amid growing concern about announcements from the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party and the rightwing Conservative Party that they planned to walk out of multi-party negotiations.

The circumstances of the early morning shoot-out between police and ANC bodyguards are disputed. But according to the ANC, police in an unmarked vehicle opened fire on Mr Sisulu's cavalcade as it returned

to Soweto from the Mandela birthday party. Police said Mr Sisulu's bodyguards fired first and a stolen firearm was found in one of the ANC cars which crashed in the exchange of fire.

An ANC statement said Mr Sisulu, travelling with his wife, Albertina, was in Soweto when "a car, travelling at speed, attempted to travel immediately alongside the vehicle in which the Sisulus were. It was the middle vehicle in a three-vehicle convoy."

"When the lead vehicle of the security escort slowed to force the unidentified vehicle to move away from the ANC deputy president's vehicle, shots were fired at the convoy. The driver of the lead vehicle was shot — and subsequently died — resulting in the car overturning. The other occu-

pants were also seriously injured."

The ANC said it was the second incident "in a matter of months involving police firing, or preparing to fire, at Mr Sisulu at virtually the same location". It demanded an immediate investigation and said the incident underlined the need for the police force immediately to be brought under multi-party control.

A police spokesman said the convoy was travelling at between 90 and 100 mph when one of the ANC drivers, in a Toyota, attempted to force a flying squad car off the road. "The occupants of the Toyota fired shots at police who returned fire. The Toyota overturned and police arrested three seriously injured people. Police confiscated a Makarov pistol, a shotgun and a stolen Llama pistol in their car."

Huge spiders in an eensy-weensy web

The fatal shootout between police and Walter Sisulu's bodyguards highlighted the weak threads in the ANC's security web. By **STEPHEN LAUFER**

WM 23-29/7/93
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ONGOING difficulties facing the African National Congress security detachment have been thrown into sharp relief by the fatal incident involving police and ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu's bodyguards on the Soweto highway last Sunday morning.

The detachment faces a challenge on two levels, according to a major internal assessment of ANC security after Chris Hani's assassination in April. The report, sent to the ANC's national executive committee in June, referred to areas which could rapidly be set right, and to those in which external circumstances presented the department with virtually insurmountable obstacles.

Informed observers had noted a laxness affecting operational practice and readiness, a situation exacerbated by a culture within the ANC in general and often shared by top leadership, which tended to underestimate the potential threat.

Bodyguards have told *The Weekly Mail*: "Our leaders believed for too long that the whole country loved them. It was very hard to persuade them to accept security measures which, of course, limit their freedom of movement to some extent."

But, while issues of internal management of the security detachment and security awareness in the organisation as a whole can be dealt with at relatively little cost, it is the larger context of the South African political situation which gives most cause for concern.

Short of resources and manpower, and unable to rely on the police for regular assistance, ANC security's greatest problem is the essentially hostile environment in which it is forced to operate.

Sunday's pre-dawn shootout is a prime illustration. Precisely who opened fire first will remain contentious, but there can be little doubt that, at least subjectively, Sisulu's guards were acting defensively and in accordance with standard international procedures.

The motivation of the policemen involved — they may have felt justified in chasing a speeding car, they may just have been looking for some excitement on a slow Saturday night, or they may have been specifically tasked with testing ANC security's readiness — is secondary. Perceiving a threat, Sisulu's bodyguards moved — very professionally, in the opinion of security experts — to counter it.

The fact that the encounter ended fatally is less a reflection on their professionalism than on the circumstances under which they are forced to



Is he safe? ... Even African National Congress president Nelson Mandela's bodyguards are hampered by police restrictions on firearm licences

Photo: KEVIN CARTER

work. Close personal security resembles a spider's web: everything radiates outward from the person to be protected. Except for the most adverse circumstances, such as in Somalia, it relies on and is in constant touch with local security agencies such as the police and intelligence services.

For the ANC, this does not apply. Unlike government bodyguards, who receive regular advance reports on the security situation in the area to be visited by a VIP, and who can rely on local police to search for bombs and

occupy roofs and other vantage points, the ANC's security agents receive only sporadic assistance from the authorities, if any.

Every police patrol in the entire area would know, for example, were a government minister to travel the Soweto highway. In the case of the Sisulu incident, the police have claimed not to have known who was involved.

When VIPs travel, convoys are assembled to protect their cars, which

should be armour plated. The armoured limousine is central to security practice. A security "cell" available as a refuge to a VIP in dangerous situations or to speed him away from them, many countries also ensure that a spare is always included in the motorcade. Ideally, the lead or follow car transporting most of the bodyguards will also be armour plated.

This is where a major problem facing ANC security becomes evident: that of resources. A new BMW 750 with armour plating and an engine large enough to move the weight costs

R1,5-million, over half of it on duties and taxes. A locally produced Mercedes 500SE costs about R1-million.

Bodyguards are trained to use their vehicles to push other cars away, should they attempt to get too close to the VIP vehicle. This is apparently what the driver of the lead car in Sisulu's motorcade attempted to do, more than once.

But he had a problem: he was driving a medium-sized car, which had neither the weight nor the engine power to decide the duel in his favour. And because the vehicle had a "soft" body, police were able to shoot and kill bodyguard Ishmael Moloane, who was sitting in the back seat.

Security experts have also pointed to the way in which police restrictions on firearm licences seriously disadvantage ANC security.

Given the overall threat, bodyguards in the South African situation should as a matter of course carry Uzis or other light automatic sub-machine guns.

But most ANC security people are limited to pistols, if they are granted gun licences at all.

Carrying the necessary weapons illegally is also no solution, as one of Nelson Mandela's bodyguards discovered on the ANC president's most recent trip to the Natal Midlands — he was arrested for possession of an unlicensed AK47.

And faced with critical situations like last Sunday's, ANC security agents are likely to be inhibited about using their weapons. Experience has shown that they are likely to be arrested and charged with using them improperly.

Staffing levels were identified in the ANC security assessment as problematic. The effective protection of one VIP requires at least 15 trained bodyguards, including a driver and two travelling security men available on a three-shift basis, and two guards per shift at the home of the VIP.

Costs involved include not only salaries, but facilities for continual training, and transport.

Even if one assumes that this level of security would only be afforded to the 10 most endangered ANC people — Mandela, Sisulu, Cyril Ramaphosa, Joe Slovo, Thabo Mbeki, Peter Mokaba, Tokyo Sexwale, Jacob Zuma, Joe Modise, Harry Gwala, for example — the costs would quickly become astronomical.

Commented one ANC insider: "Resources on this level are simply not available. We have to fight an election in the next nine months, and competition for funds within the organisation is intense."

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Inkatha prises open cracks in NP

~~STANDARD~~ L.M. 23-29/7/93

TENSIONS within the ruling National Party are slowly reaching breaking-point — a fact that is being actively exploited by kwaZulu's Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

With this week's resignation of a senior Nat member of the Natal Executive Council, Peter Miller, to join the Inkatha Freedom Party, concern is growing in NP circles about the possibility of an exodus to the IFP before the first democratic elections.

This week even a cabinet member — Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte — took a pro-Inkatha stance, which runs contrary to the position taken by his negotiating colleagues, Roelf Meyer and Leon Wessels.

The faultlines in the NP run along two different approaches towards Inkatha by NP caucus members. Most Nats are instinctively sympathetic towards the IFP. They feel strongly that the Zulu-based organisation is sold down the drain by their own negotiators, under the leadership of Constitutional Affairs Minister Meyer.

Inkatha's present boycott of the negotiations in Kempton Park is creating serious frustrations among the government's negotiators. While they are considering seeing the process through, even if it means that the IFP is completely sidelined, fears are growing that such a step may be the final straw convincing senior NP MPs — and even some cabinet members — to break ranks and throw their weight in behind Buthelezi.

In an amazing development this week, Schutte came out openly in support of the notion

The Inkatha Freedom Party's walk-out from the negotiating forum has deepened faultlines within the National Party — with hardliners coming out in support of an own constitution for kwaZulu. **CHRIS LOUW reports**

of an own constitution for kwaZulu/Natal. This is in direct defiance of the stance taken by his negotiating colleagues.

Regional constitutions are an extremely contentious issue, and are at the centre of the deadlock between negotiators — including Schutte's colleagues — and the IFP.

Schutte, in fact, went further. At an NP congress on local government held in Pietermaritzburg, he said Inkatha's constitutional proposals did not go far enough. They only made provision for the recognition of traditional and cultural structures, he said.

"That is not good enough. The Zulu king and monarchy are so important that they must receive specific recognition in the constitution of kwaZulu."

Realising the NP's vulnerability, Buthelezi in the past two weeks went on what can only be described as an election campaign, addressing predominantly white audiences in an effort to woo whites away from the NP. The main theme of his speeches was that the NP was selling out to the ANC and its communist ally.

Schutte attended the negotiations this week

and took part in the debates on the establishment of an Independent Broadcasting Authority as well as an Independent Electoral Commission.

To observers it was clear that his cabinet colleague, Dawie de Villiers, who was in the chair on Monday, could sometimes hardly contain his irritation with Schutte's critical and highly technical interventions during the debate.

Sources close to the NP say that the "hardliners" are making life very difficult for negotiators Meyer and Wessels.

Meyer finds himself in the unenviable position of first having to negotiate issues within the multi-party conference, only to negotiate again within his own caucus to get decisions accepted which have been agreed on in Kempton Park.

The "hardliners" know they cannot stop the negotiations, but they are determined to make life as difficult as possible for Meyer because of a perception that he is not "tough" enough, especially with the ANC.

Schutte was recently appointed to a full cabinet post. He immediately joined the "hawks", led by Hermus Kriel and including Tertius Delport and Kobie Coetsee (popularly known as "Koos Skerpioen").

Schutte, observers say, does not seem to realise that his term of office will not last more than nine months, until the first democratic elections. He is adamant about establishing his authority and trying to show the ANC that he

still has political clout.

The resistance from within the NP notwithstanding, it is clear that the majority of the negotiating partners want the process to go ahead — if needs be, without Inkatha. The mood in the negotiating council is that if the IFP should refuse to rejoin the talks, decisions will be taken without them and they will just be confronted with the final constitution.

Neither the government nor the ANC is prepared to compromise further. They insist that the correct procedures have been followed up to now. What they will do in their bilaterals is to explain their position to the IFP negotiators and try to convince them that their fears are unfounded.

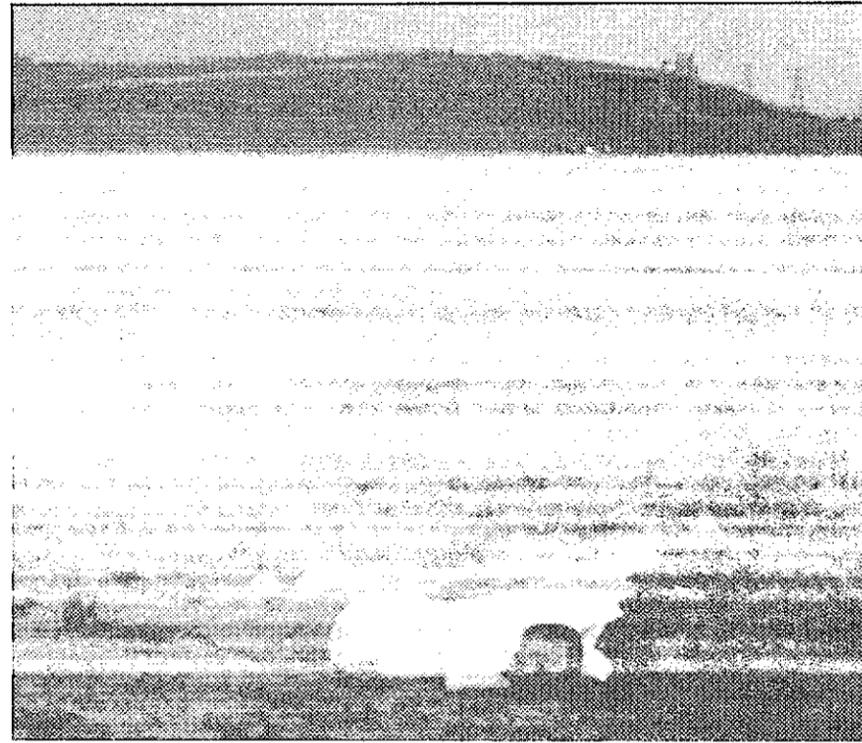
In the two days preceding the meeting of the negotiating forum from which Inkatha walked out, government negotiators had regular discussions with Inkatha, both bilateral and as part of the debates in the meeting.

They were under the impression that an understanding was reached — which at the forum transpired not to have been the case.

The situation at the moment is that the 26 parties at the negotiating council negotiate on issues, come to decisions — and then find that the decisions agreed upon have to be negotiated once more with Ulundi. Buthelezi in effect acts as a one-man council on equal level with the World Trade Centre negotiators.



Mangosuthu Buthelezi



Execution-style

...seven men identified as IFP supporters. Six bodies were later found — the seventh man may have survived.

Kitskonstabels did take sides — SAP

By GAYE DAVIS: Cape Town
POLICE in the Western Cape this week admitted special constables had taken sides in conflict racking the Crossroads squatter settlement — three years after residents first complained of this.

Special constables, or police assistants, comprise the backbone (65 percent) of the South African Police's 80-member deployment in Crossroads, a committee of the Goldstone Commission of Inquiry investigating the causes of violence in the settlement heard this week.

Police assistants living and working in the area were intimidated to the extent that they had no choice but to choose sides — resulting in their misinforming police or forewarning their allies of pending raids, Crossroads station commander Lieutenant Jurgen Grobler told the committee.

His submission painted a dismal picture of inadequate policing in the area which, although it has the highest incidence of violence in the Western Cape, has only a satellite police station. Chief factors were the difficulty of the terrain and insufficient numbers of police, armoured vehicles

and bullet-proof gear — but police assistants also hindered effective policing, the committee heard.

Crossroads had only five Xhosa-speaking permanent SAP members who had to do most of the charge office tasks of hearing complaints and taking statements. Police assistants who acted as interpreters for white and coloured policemen did not always give true accounts of what was said, according to a report by Grobler laid before the committee.

Grobler's testimony also hinted at friction between police assistants and permanent SAP members. He said police assistants "ran away" when foot patrols were attacked, leaving their SAP colleagues on their own.

Manpower shortages (caused in part by attacks on policemen) meant that at times there were only two policemen on duty in Crossroads, when at least five times that number was needed, the committee heard.

While several police assistants had been discharged and some had been transferred, this was not wholly a success as the men still lived in Crossroads, Grobler said.

He suggested their withdrawal

from Crossroads as a solution to the problem, which was fuelling public perceptions of police bias.

According to police documents before the committee, alleged misconduct of police assistants was first brought to the attention of the SAP during July 1990, when women residents claimed they had sided with Crossroads squatter leader Jeffrey Nongwe during a power struggle.

Residents refused to make statements for fear of attack and would not report incidents to the Nyanga police station as it was guarded by police assistants, a 1990 report by Colonel JM Benadie, then district commissioner for Athlone, noted. However, said the report, the allegations were "not without substance" as Nongwe's section of Crossroads — guarded by special constables — had not been attacked when shacks in another section were almost all destroyed.

This week Lieutenant Grobler conceded that Crossroads residents were "justified" in saying the SAP had been ineffective in protecting human life — but claimed the SAP had done its utmost with inadequate manpower and equipment.

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ANC, IFP leaders talk of the immense acrimony that leads to fighting on the East Rand

Pointing fingers at each other

Sowetan 2317193



The heartbreak that violence leaves behind.

SPEAKING to ANC and IFP leaders in Katlehong and Tokoza about the violence is a frustrating ordeal.

The amount of acrimony, passing as reasons for the violence that has claimed hundreds of lives in the area, is immense.

Mr Mondli Gungubele serves on the ANC PWV regional executive. A close friend of the late SACP secretary-general Chris Hani, he is responsible for the peace desk.

Gungubele explains the fighting in the two townships in terms of the over 60 percent unemployment, which created a pool of people ready to be misused.

The failure so far of the political reform process to deliver tangible results, adds up to a recipe for violence.

is how you media people call them — are attacking residents.

"The attacks that are taking place against hostels and the shooting during the aborted march here in Tokoza, were done by fully trained people and we all know who has an army of trained cadres roaming the streets."

She said criminals had also spread rumours of imminent attacks on Zulus, starting a stampede into the hostels, and then moved in to steal from abandoned houses.

Asked whether she would admit that some IFP members engaged in violence, Mzizi said many of her members reacted to violence against them.

People living in so-called IFP areas have now joined the

organisation in order safeguard these areas. The violence has therefore produced a spin-off of increased membership, we found. The ANC also confirmed renewed interest and new members.

But for her and the IFP, as confirmed by interviews with hostel indunas such as Mr Simon Mchunu, Mr Mpsendlini Mthethwa and Mr Nosenye Mncube, the violence is a result of the expansionist intentions of the ANC, who want to eradicate opposition in the coming elections.

And so, as people lose homes and sleep in halls and open spaces, the two organisations at the centre of the war continue to trade accusations as they reap the fruits of these ravages — more members.

Elements of a Third Force

The ANC is concerned about the way elements of a Third Force are able to use the ANC-IFP conflict to start sporadic mini-wars.

Attempts to resolve the conflict between the two organisations has so far floundered because the IFP rejects the existence of a Third Force stirring up trouble, saying instead that MK is the third force, he says.

The IFP has also refused to co-operate in ridding hostels under its control of killers who terrorise communities, such as the Toasters in Thembisa's Vusumuzi Hostel and the Khethisi Kheswa gang in the Vaal.

The ANC, however, sees the IFP as an insignificant force which the organisation does not need spend any effort on trying to obliterate, Gungubele says. The ANC has always fought white racism and its supporting system and not Inkatha.

Asked about alleged attacks by "comrades" aligned to the ANC on "Zulus", Gungubele says the IFP is responsible for the perception that all Zulus are IFP.

"The IFP always explains every attack on itself by whosoever as an attack on Zulus, thereby creating the impression that all Zulus are IFP members. But we have warned our members strongly about this," Gungubele says it is possible that people who have infiltrated MK and renegades are operating from within ANC structures, on orders of other forces, to create mayhem.

The ANC has struck an agreement with the IFP on the need for refugees to return to their homes in safety to create a climate in which elections could be held.

Also, there is a need for freedom of movement and the right to belong to any organisation without regard to the section of township in which people resided.

Mrs Getrude Mzizi, an IFP official who serves on its peace desk for the Transvaal with special responsibility for the East Rand, said the declaration of areas within the townships as pro-ANC or pro-IFP, had led to killings, with organisations claiming those killed as their members to create the impression that they were being attacked.

Dragged to civic meetings

She said residents were being dragged to civic meetings dominated by ANC people, who turn what ostensibly seem to be community meetings into exclusive platforms for the ANC.

"At all these meetings, it is "Viva Mandela" and "Viva ANC" with flags. After that they pass resolutions against the IFP and hostels. Pamphlets call for the demolition of hostels."

She said hostel residents had been attacked daily since the assassination of Chris Hani. Trains carrying hostel residents were set alight. The media did not play these events up, she alleged.

"But when these people regrouped and defended themselves, the media came in and said hostel dwellers — that



The IFP always explains every attack on itself by whosoever as an attack on Zulus, thereby creating the impression that all Zulus are IFP members. But we have warned our members strongly about this

Mondli Gungubele (pictured above) of the ANC PWV regional executive

ANC and police *Star 23/7/93* joint monitoring plan welcomed

DURBAN — The South African Police and the ANC are to begin joint monitoring of southern Natal violence flashpoints in what is being hailed by the ANC as a step towards joint control of the security forces.

Joint operation centres (JOCs) — already operating in some East Rand townships — are to be established within a week in Bhambayi near Durban, where factions aligned to the ANC have been involved in a war which has claimed about 150 lives in eight months.

The Inkatha Freedom Party and others linked to political conflict in the region will also be involved in areas where their supporters are affected, according to ANC southern Natal secretary S'bu Ndebele.

"This is a step towards joint control of the security forces,"

southern Natal ANC chairman Jeff Radebe said in Durban yesterday.

He said the ANC had held talks with Natal police commissioner General Colin Steyn and would meet him again.

Ndebele said the first JOC would be established in Bhambayi, possibly next week, and the ANC hoped to expand the joint operation to other violent areas, particularly Port Shepstone.

IFP spokesman Ed Tillet said his party would welcome joint monitoring but warned of obstacles.

"It could become bogged down in suspicion and mistrust."

JOCs will be discussed at a weekend peace summit in Durban for ANC-aligned organisations. — Sapa.

(IA) ~~SECRET~~

government uses the special session in September to announce an April 1994 election."

Inkatha, however, has set its sights on October 1994 elections under a constitution agreed by September.

He added that Inkatha must decide whether to take part in the election of a constituent assembly. "We need a mandate to remain outside the formal negotiation process while we take crucial constitutional issues to the people for their judgment."

- The mandate was given in resolutions adopted by the conference, which decided:
- To stay out of negotiations unless government clearly declares its position on the continuing deployment of MK and MK arms caches in SA and the TBVC states;
 - To establish an election fund known as the Chief Buthelezi fund;
 - To reject the constituent assembly election as the constitution-making body for SA, along with the right of government and the ANC/SACP alliance to make decisions on a sufficient consensus basis; and
 - To consider the feasibility of an alternative negotiating forum or national multi-party constitutional convention if the impasse at the World Trade Centre isn't resolved.

Buthelezi, nevertheless, expressed profound optimism for the future because the negotiating process is so entrenched that there can be no other way forward. "Failed revolution seems to be behind us, though failed attempts to establish a dictatorship of revolutionary structures do not."

He said the Inkatha team at Kempton Park is negotiating in enormously difficult circumstances. "They have to achieve results and bring home democratic victories for all South Africans to remain credible and justify what they are doing to people facing AK47s at home."

INKATHA

FM 23/7/93

Filibustering away

Though Inkatha stormed out of the negotiating forum over the April 27 election date, leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, amid a stand-off with government and the ANC, has given the strongest hint yet that if push comes to shove his party may contest it.

That doesn't mean he's backing down on demands (largely met) for an entrenched constitution and federalism before the election. On the contrary, the walkout, along with the CP, to force a showdown shows that he's as determined as ever. The terms for Inkatha rejoining the talks that emerged in a leaked confidential document this week have no face-saving devices.

And Buthelezi warned the Inkatha National Council at the beginning of Inkatha's annual general conference in Ulundi, attended by 5 000 delegates, that failure to heed him could split SA. He even mooted an alternative negotiating forum but conceded that this could sow the seeds for civil war — a war, he stressed, not of Inkatha's making.

Theme of the conference was "The Hard Road to Liberation after Democracy".

Buthelezi said that Inkatha must begin fund-raising and establishing itself on an election footing, which includes selecting between 1 000-2 000 candidates for a national parliament and nine regional legislatures.

"We need to announce a count-down timetable and if current legislation holds good, technically we could find ourselves (unable) to raise funds abroad after November 28 if

(IA) ~~SECRET~~

Buthelezi argued that the ANC wants a free hand to write a constitution after elections, rather than take the route of many African countries during decolonisation, where constitutions were negotiated by consensus before elections. He did not, however, touch on how many of these constitutions have since been unceremoniously scrapped or ignored.

He again accused the ANC of trying to destroy KwaZulu and absorb it in Natal through an interim authority and by calls for the scrapping of the Black Authorities Act, under which KwaZulu was established.

KwaZulu, he claimed, has a sovereign right to self-determination. It was conquered by the British, annexed to the colony of Natal and later dragged into the Union through the barrel of a gun. The people's consent was never sought.

"We will not be dragged into the New SA without having a say," he warned.

But he has every opportunity for having a say — as opposed to having his way — and that statement implies that he has not put himself irrevocably outside the process. ■

Other media ~~planners~~ ^(11A) who believe the ANC is being over-optimistic about advertising say, however, that the paper could get a lot of initial "guilt advertising" support.

The limited market penetration of papers like *Sowetan* and *City Press* (according to the Amps figures) would seem to indicate that blacks (and perhaps others as well) are increasingly turning to radio and TV. For one thing, simmering black education unrest since 1976 seems to have produced a generation of semi-literates — in a society which is 50% illiterate.

Amps shows there are 3,2m blacks (19%) with no schooling and 4,5m dropouts at mid-primary school level. This suggests the ANC would do better to launch a radio station — especially for election campaigning — and to improve its public relations among the established press. Temporary broadcasters' licences are possible to obtain; Rhodes University, for example, has one.

A spokesman for the ANC project counters that if half the black population is illiterate, that still means 50% of adults, at least 7m, can read and if only 1,5m of them (despite the penetration figures) buy the paper, the paper will be in business. There is a strong belief that many do not buy existing papers because their editorial line is anti-ANC.

This, it is hoped, is where the special appeal of an ANC paper will be.

The ANC will not have a stakeholding; it will only promote the newspaper, for which R60m is projected for launching costs. Lonrho's Tiny Rowland is said to be only one of 12 parties interested in investing.

A mechanism to protect the editor from the owners is being looked at, based on similar schemes covering some British newspapers. ■

NEWSPAPERS

Fond dreams

~~(11A)~~ (11A)
Fm 23/7/93

The arguments against setting up an ANC-supporting daily newspaper are dismissed by movers behind the project. They say objections are "hogwash, hiding the fact that the established press in general doesn't support the ANC and isn't reflecting the sentiments of the African majority, 80% of which supports the ANC."

It is that political support base, it is maintained, that will buy the new paper and ensure commercial success — despite the All Media Products Survey (Amps), which indicates limited penetration (14,9%) by the *Sowetan* with its 1,3m readership in the Transvaal, or *City Press's* 5,8% (960 000 readers) nationally.

In addition, observes Hunt Lascaris's Lyncall Campher, the electronic media are eroding the print media's advertising client base. In the present economic climate, advertising budgets are decreasing. It is difficult for new publications to cut into established media such as the *Sowetan*.

Look at *The Weekly Mail*, for instance, which since moving from fringe to mainstream media is to intersperse its sought-after *Guardian* supplement amid the rest of the paper in an attempt to pull in ads. If the ANC venture is relying on advertising, therefore, the outlook is not good; if it's relying on outside funding, it is in a better position, says Campher.

NEGOTIATIONS

Buthelezi's bridge too far

There is a growing perception that Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is overstepping the mark in his quest to become, or remain, cock of the walk in KwaZulu/Natal.

He hints as usual at civil war if he does not get exactly what he wants — and people are getting tired of him. Between his main rival, the ANC and his one-time ally, government, a great deal has been conceded in the spirit of negotiation to meet the chief's concerns.

Thus the new constitution — to be built on sound principles accepted by Inkatha just before it again walked out on July 2 — has basically already been drafted, as Inkatha demanded, by the multilateral negotiating process. This includes a technical committee of constitutional experts chosen by the parties. Yet Inkatha bleats on.

Similarly, the ANC long ago moved from its original stance on a unitary State to accepting strong regional or federal government that is not out of kilter with systems generally accepted as federal. The list of regional and central government powers already agreed to demonstrates this.

There is tentative agreement also on the demand that regional constitutions be in operation at the same time as the national one and on full acceptance of a constitutional court and special majorities for changing what will be entrenched principles.

The latest cry from Inkatha (and others) concerns the meaning of "sufficient consensus" and Inkatha's attempt to secure for itself a veto right on decisions. Don't be surprised if Inkatha turns the draft constitution into another battleground when it returns to the talks next week.

At this stage, no party in the negotiating council is prepared to say whether the transition process will proceed without Buthelezi if he decides to pull out altogether. It will be a political decision should the time come, says a government spokesman, adding that no party of consequence has decided what its strategy would be. If any has one, it is unlikely to divulge it now.

"The point is that there is no alternative to the negotiations," says the government spokesman. "Over the next two or three weeks, all parties, including the ANC, will do everything possible to get the IFP back."

Belief is that the best moral weapon will be the draft constitution, expected to be presented by the technical committee on Monday and which Inkatha and KwaZulu (and

the CP) have said they will return to examine before finally deciding whether to stay in the process.

Government is convinced that the draft constitution will be as accommodating as possible and if groups like the IFP still aren't satisfied, then "Buthelezi will be seen to be completely out of line."

Some in government believe that the process has to go on to the point of an election, which will be the true test of the IFP's power. But Buthelezi knows the limits of his support and that "this is the very best deal that he will get," avers the government source.

Chief Buthelezi insists that violence must be ended before an election, while government and others maintain that the result of an election will largely assist in controlling it. Would government ultimately consider cutting off funds to KwaZulu if Buthelezi refused to fall into line? No, because that would fuel the fire of a civil war.

While the IFP and CP cannot really be compared, if the two got together it would cause more problems. But, it is asked, what kind of support will Buthelezi get in his own constituency — black and white — for hatching a revolution with the far Right?

And if they were somehow to win such a war, would they divide the country in two, creating an Afrikaner State and a Zulu State, or what?

The perception is that Buthelezi is engaged in brinkmanship and is worried. While it is believed that he can be beaten, it is difficult to say whether he can be controlled.

"We'll have to cross those bridges when and if we come to them," is the view from opposing negotiators.

Inkatha/KwaZulu met government twice last week in an attempt to build bridges. Interestingly, the team was led by Walter Felgate and Ben Ngubane, with

their foreign adviser Mario Ambrosini (who deeply irritates government) in tow. It seems the IFP's Joe Mathews and Frank Mdlalose, who are regarded as relatively moderate, will now concentrate on talking to the ANC and Cosag respectively.

At last Saturday's bilateral meeting, the IFP spelled out its demands. It wants full federalism along the lines contained in the draft KwaZulu/Natal constitution; acknowledgment of the special role and unique

status of KwaZulu/Natal with its Zulu kingdom; more clarity on a possible administrative hiatus between now and the election; and the fact that the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and repeal of the status of self-governing states, would take power out of the hands of KwaZulu and hand it over to a lesser body such as the old provincial council.

They refused to accept anything which looked as though a grain of power would have to be given to the TEC or its sub-councils.

Without properly discussing the controversial decision-making mechanism of "sufficient consensus," the IFP demanded a veto in the process — saying that if it did not get veto power it would not return to the table. However, the IFP indicated that if the draft constitution were acceptable, then the veto would assume less importance.

When it was pointed out that the new draft constitution is likely to emerge in chapters over a couple of weeks (as it gets referred back from council to technical committee for improvement), the IFP members said they would not take part in that either.

But how, Inkatha were asked, could they not be part of the process and at the very end decide whether or not they liked what it had produced? They replied that they'd go back to their principal in Ulundi.

Though the IFP maintains it is not in favour of a confederation (which the CP wants) or secession, government sees their cherished Natal/KwaZulu constitution as confederal in the extreme. A senior Cosag member agrees that it contains confederal elements. It is believed that when newly appointed Unisa rector Marinus Wiechers (a member of the technical committee) terminated his contract as an Inkatha adviser, he informed Buthelezi that he could not associate himself with the proposed KwaZulu/Natal constitution.

With the prospect of fundamental change within months and backed as he is by dubious advisers, Buthelezi appears to be walking on a knife-edge, weighing his options between civil war and being part of the process. He will pursue brinkmanship as far as he can in order to secure maximum gains before the election. Having built his support on a system of patronage derived from the homelands set-up, his power-base is beginning to erode.

Another problem for him is that his Cosag allies do not seem to be going with him all the way. Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volksunie returned to their seats in the negotiating council last Monday, leaving out Inkatha (and KwaZulu) and the CP, whose position is totally inflexible. ■



23/7/73
Youth groups

want vote at 16.

JOHANNESBURG

The ANC Youth League and the Azanian National Youth Unity, the youth wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, want the voting age to be reduced to 16, they said at a press conference here yesterday. (117)

An ANCYL spokesman said, however, the league was bound by an ANC decision that the voting age should be 18.



ANC wants area debate with DP

By BARRY STREEK

THE ANC said yesterday it wanted a regional debate with the Democratic Party as well as one in Elsie's River, but that it was still waiting for the DP's address in Elsie's River to deliver its original challenge.

The DP said the question of an Elsie's River debate could be resolved by the local ANC and DP branches.

It added that the key issue was the ongoing disruption of its meetings that in two cases was organised by the ANC itself or in which ANC members played a prominent role.

In a statement yesterday, ANC Western Cape leader Dr Allan Boesak rejected the DP's claim that the ANC did not want the DP to organise public meetings in Elsie's River because it feared the party enjoyed more support than the ANC.

Dr Boesak said a public meeting would allow the community in Elsie's River to demonstrate their support for the organisation of their choice and for this reason should be open, without restrictions, to Elsie's River residents only.

Only after these conditions had been met, he said, would the ANC discuss plans for a debate between himself and DP Western Cape representative Mr Jasper Walsh.

'Wisdom, in the end, must prevail'

African National Congress
general secretary

Cyril Ramaphosa spoke
to **CHRIS LOUW** about

Lesotho, Transkei,
Roelf Meyer and the

prospects of peace

(TAM) 23-29/7/93

LOUW: Where are we with the negotiations?

RAMAPHOSA: We are now in the final phase. We are dealing with details that will constitute the elements of the final package which, when it is implemented, will bring about an end to apartheid rule.

Q: Do you foresee any obstacles?

A: The major obstacles have been overcome. What remains are minor issues which are not insurmountable. They can be resolved if all the parties continue negotiating in good faith, putting the interests of South Africa first.

These include the depth of the powers of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC). Or how far one should go with fundamental rights during the transition phase, how many should be included.

Q: What exactly will be the relationship between the TEC and the cabinet? Are there any differences between the National Party and the African National Congress on this?

A: We don't want the TEC to be a toy telephone. It must not be a structure without teeth, a rubber stamp.

It must effectively signal that we are now in the transition process. It should make a difference to the way things have been done in this country, particularly when it relates to law and order and defence.

The TEC is not meant as a structure that will rule the country. It is meant as a structure that will level the playing field...

We don't want to run the South African Police. We don't want to run the defence force. Our objective is to make sure that the playing field is level. The joint command or control structures will ensure this.

Q: In government circles it is said that you want to be in a position where you can criticise without having to take responsibility.

A: Responsibility cannot be there without authority. Therefore, we must first have real authority through the TEC and its sub-councils. To the extent that we are involved and have real authority, we will accept responsibility.

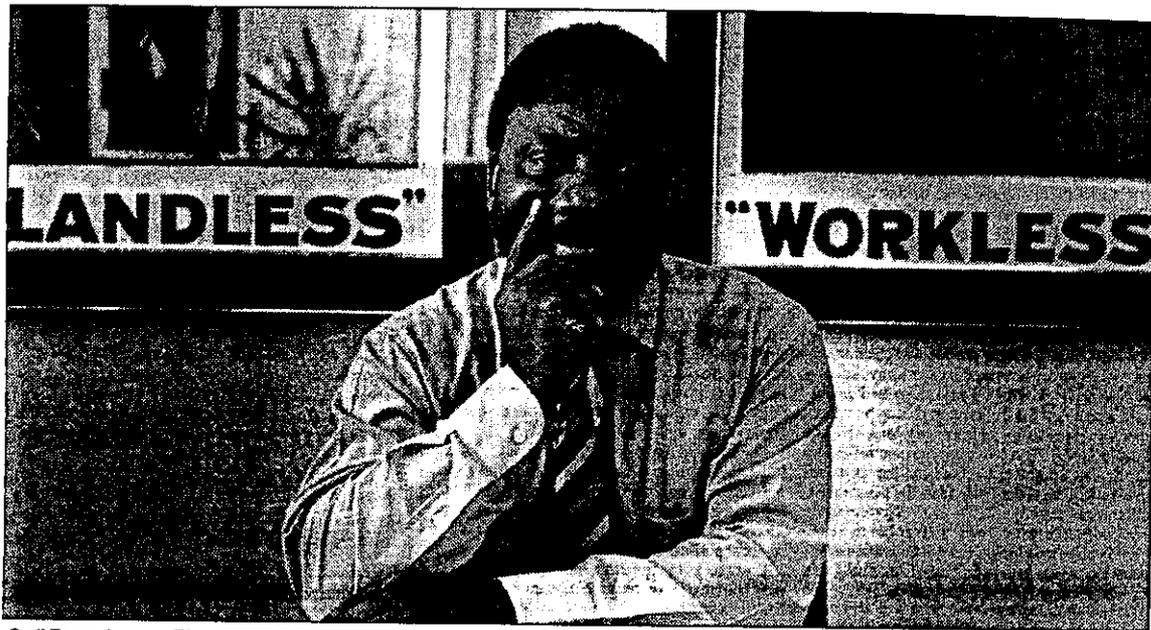
Q: What does it mean — that you can tell troops to go to a certain area, you can determine what they are allowed to do?

A: The military armed formations will have to be confined to barracks. What is going to strengthen the hand of the TEC is the establishment of a national peace-keeping force...

We have decided that a national peace-keeping force must consist of men and women from the various armed formations in the country. They will have the legitimacy and the credibility that is required to usher the country through the transition period.

The national peace-keeping force should have not less than 10 000 men and women. You will need such numbers, and more, as their tasks are going to be difficult and their area of operation wide-ranging. They will be involved in patrolling the streets of our towns, controlling crowds in a humane way, preventing disruption of political activity and protecting polling stations.

Q: There was a time when it seemed as if Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa was moving very



Cyril Ramaphosa ... 'The major obstacles have been overcome'

close to the ANC, but it looks as if he's becoming his own man again.

A: I was talking to General Holomisa just before you came in. The relationship is cordial, harmonious; it lends itself to good co-operation on a whole range of issues.

You must remember that Transkei is part of the Patriotic Front. We are able to discuss matters. Whatever problems may come up, now and in the future, can be resolved in a cordial manner because we built a strong foundation of how we should relate to each other. We are agreed on the direction the country should go.

Q: Also as far as the reincorporation of Transkei is concerned?

A: Yes. The Transkei government is committed, like us, to the reincorporation of all TBVC areas.

Q: At what stage will that happen?

A: We're discussing that. The people in general prefer reincorporation to take place immediately so that, as you go through the transition process and begin levelling the playing fields, you know you are dealing with one country and not with little pockets of states.

Q: But Holomisa's argument is that Transkei does not want to be reincorporated into an apartheid South Africa. Transkei only wants to be reincorporated after the elections.

A: His fears are valid. These are concerns that he has raised throughout. But in discussing things mutually, we reach points of understanding. In the negotiating process you have positions that you have to match with the positions of other parties.

Wisdom, in the end, should prevail.

Q: It doesn't at present seem to be prevailing in the case of Inkatha.

A: Yes, you are right. I think it is a matter of time. And it is going to take a lot of discussions on a bilateral and on a multilateral basis.

These discussions must be stripped of all emotions, of clichés, of labels like federalism and unitarism ... In a hard-nosed fashion we should be able to discuss what is really at stake. It is the future of our country that is at stake, it is democracy itself. I am convinced that political good sense will prevail.

Q: Have you had bilateral discussions with the Inkatha Freedom Party since its delegates walked out of the negotiating forum?

A: We are going to have discussions with them on Friday, July 23. Thereafter, we will set up a whole series of bilaterals with them.

Q: Will you be able to accommodate their conditions as far as the powers and functions of regions are concerned?

A: I don't see them as conditions. I see them as concerns. We should read what the IFP is saying at the negotiating level as concerns. We need them to focus their attention on what has already been achieved at the negotiating table.

Their concern about having strong regional governments has been addressed to a large extent. We have agreed to constitutional principles on regional government. We believe these principles are adequate to make regional government effective, and to bring government closer to the people so that the people can enjoy meaningful participation.

We have agreed to entrench the powers of regional government in a constitution. We have agreed to a devolution of power. We have agreed that regions should have exclusive powers in certain matters. We have agreed that there should be concurrent powers on others.

I think we have agreed to a progressive form of regional government. It is a South African hybrid of regional government.

Q: The key phrase you use is "interim constitution". IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi says an interim constitution can be rewritten in an elected constituent assembly which will be dominated by the ANC.

A: No constitution, interim or otherwise, can guarantee that it will not be amended, rewritten and/or replaced in future.

A clear understanding of the scenario of political transformation which has been adopted by the negotiating forum will reveal that it is necessary to have transitional structures such as TECs, independent media commissions and so forth.

It is also absolutely clear that an interim constitution is essential. And it is also absolutely necessary — in order to give full meaning to democracy — to have the final constitution drafted by an elected constituent assembly which will be bound by the constitutional principles we have already agreed to.

Those constitutional princi-

ples are cast in political stone. The constituent assembly will not be able to deviate from them. This is what the IFP needs to understand.

The IFP's fear that the constituent assembly is just going to do as it likes is misplaced. It is completely unfounded. I think it arises from a deep misunderstanding of the scenario of transformation.

Q: All the things you have mentioned — the strong regions, the way you are trying to accommodate the IFP, the fact that the principles are cast in stone — seem to indicate huge compromises by the ANC.

A: No. Our positions are based on the Harare Declaration, the document that has been guiding our negotiating positions. Our positions have been enriched as the negotiations progressed but never deviated from the principles enshrined in the Harare Declaration.

Q: But regions aren't mentioned at all in the Harare Declaration.

A: Ah! But you see, that is where the confusion is. You could never govern a country like South Africa by decree at national level. You have to govern effectively right from the top to the bottom.

The Harare Declaration said that an interim government should govern the

country. That means the interim government should govern the entire country. You can't half govern.

Government at regional level is not mentioned, but just imagine government in a country like this on a national level only, and not at regional level. It is inconceivable.

Q: Let's turn to the white rightwing. How seriously do you take them?

A: The rightwing remains a threat because they are heavily armed. They are also to a large extent deeply embedded in the fabric of the security forces. But they are a small minority.

We believe that to the extent that they want to frustrate our march to democracy, all South Africans have a responsibility to stop them in their tracks and to frustrate their plans.

However, to the extent that they want to raise their concerns, they should come to the negotiating table and their concerns can be addressed through the negotiation process. We should then see how their concerns can be accommodated.

Q: What is your personal relationship with Roelf Meyer?

A: We are negotiators, representing two parties with different policies, histories and backgrounds.

Photo: LUANNE CADD



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A POPULAR 1980s joke in left-wing circles about the role of different races in the struggle against apartheid went something like this: whites would do the thinking, Indians would do the financing, blacks would do the fighting and coloureds would do the celebrating when liberation was won.

Sadly, this came very close to reality. While blacks and coloureds have been doing the fighting and dying over the years, the thinking part of the struggle has been left to whites and Indians.

It is as if South Africa suffers a dearth of black intellectual talent: from the unions to political organisations and non-governmental development organisations, social and political policy is being determined by people other than those whose liberation is being sought, people whose only experience of apartheid is sympathy for the victims.

So immense is the influence of non-blacks in supposedly non-racial organisations that it is said that no less a personage than African National Congress president Nelson Mandela values white advice higher than black input.

And the blacks, fearful of tearing away at the veneer of hunky-dory non-racial harmony in their organisations, have been content to do the legwork and leave the strategising to others. In the words of one activist: "It simply borders on intellectual laziness."

Take the union movement, the voice of the overwhelmingly black working class: when you look past the functionaries and organisers to the theoretical engine rooms of the "legal" and "education" departments, you find hardly any black faces. It is in these engine rooms that the ideological inclinations of the unions germinate and wage policies and strategies are deliberated.

Political movements are no different. Sure enough, the leadership of movements like the ANC may be black, but the real policy-makers unfortunately do not share the same physical features.

A glimpse at its constitutional department illustrates this. It is names like Kader Asmal and Albie Sachs that one instinctively associates with ANC constitutional thinking. Even the economics and planning department (DEP) comes off better in that it has a credible thinker like Tito Mboweni; but it is hardly autonomous. Behind much of the DEP's thinking lies the macro-economic research group, based at universities and staffed by mainly white economists.

Even more indicative is the placing of a white person at the head of the ANC's land commission — an issue so close to the hearts of black people. The movement's department of information and publicity is headed by a black person, but its two most visible spokesmen are white.

The walls are crumbling but not the whitewash

Very little has changed in the struggle industry, argues
MONDLI MAKHANYA:
policy is still largely determined by white minds who presume to know what the 'natives' need and want



11A
WM 23-29/7/93

The ANC may argue that this is true non-racialism at work — but is it? Is it not a perpetuation of white power under a different guise?

Even the Inkatha Freedom Party, which has Zulu ethnic nationalism as its drawcard, is dominated by white thinkers. The rising influence of whites in the IFP over the past few years has been very marked, and has now reached a point where the ear of the Big Chief in Ulundi hears only the voice of Walter Felgate and Mario Ambrosini, who is not even South African. More irritating is that the individuals involved appear fascinated by Zulus because they associate Zulu culture with all that is wild and primitive about Africa.

The sway which non-blacks hold over the direction in mainly black organisations is evidenced by the current two-phase transition process.

The author of the transition was the South African Communist Party's Joe Slovo who, while having impeccable struggle credentials, is nonetheless white. With all due respect to his suffering at the hands of the apartheid regime, Comrade Joe never experienced apartheid firsthand, and perhaps that's why he was prepared to share power with those who perpetrated apartheid policies.

He had the ear of the leadership, as evidenced by the speed with which his "Strategic Perspectives" were accepted, despite heavy opposition from mainly black quarters, including one of the ANC's few black intellectual heavyweights, Pallo Jordan.

Academia and the media are also terribly lacking in black voices. Open any newspaper and you will find that the experts quoted on political developments are most likely to be white. And don't be surprised to find that the writers of those articles are also white.

Development organisations — those bodies which pride themselves on being in tune with the grassroots — are no exceptions to the rule.

White minds study the needs of the "black disadvantaged", white minds plan possible solutions and strategies, and the disadvantaged communities are then "consulted" and told how to implement the solution.

Also perpetuating this are think-tanks like the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, Human Sciences Research Council and South African Institute of Race Relations, which are again staffed by white thinkers. Conferences organised by these bodies have just a smattering of black speakers, and the remaining input about South Africa's future emanates from white minds who supposedly understand what the "natives" need and want.

This dearth of black thinkers has bred a situation where South Africa's transition and future are being planned by non-black "experts".

Then there's the National Peace Secretariat, whose overwhelmingly white officials and peace monitors suggest a case of the white master making peace among the warring "natives". The rationale for this appears to be that blacks are killing each other, and it is well-nigh impossible to find neutral blacks south of the Limpopo.

Are blacks incapable of thinking for themselves, or are they too lazy to do so?

A knee-jerk reaction to this is to put the blame squarely at the door of Bantu education. But a more credible reason is that pointed out by Centre for African Policy Studies director Eugene Nyathi, who reckons that white liberals who agitated on behalf of blacks in the repressive past are now unwilling to let go of the power this gave them. Because of an inferiority complex and an unwillingness to rock the non-racialism boat, blacks have been unwilling to challenge this.

"Apartheid has worked in many ways that people don't realise," says Nyathi. "There are many capable black thinkers out there, but some of them just think they are inferior. So, instead of influencing policy, they are happy to have ordinary jobs and impress the girls in Soweto with their degrees."

But this may be changing: resentment of the status quo is growing. In Cosatu unions there are increasingly loud calls for a "redistribution of skills". And in student organisations there is an increasing move towards having black spokesmen to counter the growing influence of white students brought about by the merger of the National Union of South African Students and South African African Students' Congress.

In the ANC, this trend has been more lethargic, although the undercurrents are there.

South Africa faces "liberation" with a white intellectual elite determining policy for the black majority. And with a minority elite running the economy, blacks will still not control the country where they are overwhelmingly in the majority.

FM 23/7/93



Nthato Motlana ... heading
Metropolitan Life

NTHATO MOTLANA

Dispensing health

From the outside, it looks like any other matchbox house in Soweto. But inside the modest surgery, Dr Nthato Motlana (68), one of SA's most active community organisers and corporate board members, tends to his patients six days a week, six hours a day.

Some have known Motlana since 1957, when he was one of only two black general practitioners in the township. The former ANC Youth League leader continues to serve as personal physician to the Mandelas and the Tutus. But many of his poorer patients are treated free.

Recently appointed chairman of the Population Development Council, Motlana has become one of the first blacks to serve in the Nationalist government. His responsibilities will include limiting population growth.

His zeal for the job comes from the knowledge that his own success is due to the fact that he was an only child. His mother, a widowed domestic worker, would otherwise not have been able to send him to school. Vehemently pro-choice, Motlana wants family planning clinics readily available in the rural areas and the townships. He says the State should provide immunisation facilities and health care for mothers and children. He has six children.

Only one person has criticised him for accepting the appointment — Winnie Mandela, an old friend whom he has known since the Fifties. At a recent event, she shook her finger at him and said: "Don't talk to me. You've become a government servant."

Motlana laughs off the encounter. He says most people, including Nelson Mandela, believe blacks should now accept appointments to senior government positions.

Being the first black to pioneer a new project is not new for Motlana. He founded Kwacha Holdings, which opened the first black-owned private clinic in SA — Soweto's Lesedi Clinic. Kwacha then started Sizwe Medical Aid, the only black-owned scheme.

His newest challenge will be heading the board of the new Metropolitan Life — a company with R5bn in assets and 2,5m policyholders, most of whom are black. For three years he and others negotiated for a group of black businessmen to buy the insurance company — a subsidiary of insurance giant Sankorp. Shares will be sold to the black community.

Says Motlana: "It took an Afrikaner company, Sankorp, to make this move. I've always said that when a conservative Afrikaner mindset changes, they leapfrog over the liberals and land to the extreme left."

The deal was based on sound economic principles. "Decisions based on any other criteria have always failed," says Motlana, who worries about company social responsibility programmes that lead to welfarism.

Motlana's desire to help others stems from an obligation he feels to a community that provided him with bursaries to Fort Hare University and Wits Medical School.

He spends his mornings in board meetings for companies like Adcock-Ingram and Putco, as well as community groups such as the Get-Ahead Foundation and the Soweto Civic Association — which he founded. Motlana sits on three corporate and seven community boards. He chairs 12 projects.

Asked why he doesn't close his surgery and work only on development projects, he says: "None of the other things pays my rent. And I believe it's important to stay in touch with the heart and soul of my people." ■

South 2417-2817193

ANC to present its economic policy

THE ANC will be spelling out its economic policy at a seminar in Cape Town on July 27.

Mr Tito Mboweni, the acting deputy head of the ANC Economic Planning Department and co-ordinator of trade and industrial policy, will be speaking at the conference.

The seminar will include top

businesspeople and the debate is expected to be "lively", says organiser Pam Herr.

Among the issues to be discussed are: (11A) (11A)

- Management of the national economy
- Income distribution
- Building confidence in the new regime

- Access for all South Africans to productive assets
- Stabilising society (dealing with levels of violence)
- Environmental protection
- Protecting retirement annuities and endowments
- Redistribution of land: the Land Claims Court System
- Affirmative action in the work-

place

- The voter education and information process
- The future of business after national elections.

For more information contact Pam or Mervyn Herr at (021) 782-5892 or fax (021) 782-1774.

The seminar is being held at the Woodstock Holiday Inn.

Assassins' bullets can't stop Whitey's crusade

ARG 24/7/93 (239) (118)

DEPOUTCH Elles speaks of the prospect of assassination with the casualness used by nature-lovers discussing the antics of birds.

In matter-of-fact style he says he knows many people "are out to get me".

Depoutch, nicknamed Whitey, is the organiser of the African National Congress's Unathi branch in Crossroads, and is locked in a battle against squatter leader Mr Jeffrey Nongwe.

Last year Mr Elles went into hiding after hearing there was a R30 000 price on his head, but the plan floundered when a hitman confessed to him.

So far, the 28-year old activist has escaped assassins three times.

The closest shave was two years ago when Whitey had to jump out of a window when a hitman drew a gun during a meeting and opened fired. He crawled to the Crossroads police station where he made a statement.

But his mother, Mrs Joyce Elles, an organiser of the ANC's Women's League, and his cousin, Sicelo Paulo were not so lucky when masked gunmen burst into their house in March this year while they were eating supper and killed them.

Whitey's elder brother Tinie, who was shot five times, and nephew Ayanda Ndiniso, who was struck in the leg, survived.

But Whitey believes the danger facing him should not deter him from his goal of restoring genuine democracy in trouble-torn Crossroads.

Together with other "Young Lions" who also subscribe to ANC policies, Whitey believes the crusade to crush the alleged dictatorial and corrupt induna system in the sprawling squatter camp is noble.

Ironically, the main adversary of Whitey is Mr Jeffrey Nongwe, the controversial Crossroads ANC chairman.

In August 1990 Whitey's family fled Mr Nongwe's section after their home was torched by unknown people.

Though seen as leader of the Unathi branch, Whitey says he is "merely doing what is right". He is not in charge, he says;



■ The leader of the ANC's Unathi branch, locked in fierce battle with the controversial ANC chairman Mr Jeffrey Nongwe, speaks about his uphill struggle — and his constant fear of assassins. A report by Weekend Argus correspondents.

□ □ □

□ **BATTLE LINES:** Depoutch Elles, the ANC's Unathi branch leader wears dark glasses and an air of awareness. He says many people are "out to get him."

Picture: OBED ZILWA, Weekend Argus Photographer.

This week he recalled the killing of his mother. "A woman came screaming while we were in an ANC meeting and told us that people at home were shot dead in an attack.

"I jumped over yard fences and raced home. But I was warned not to go near home because the gunmen might get me."

After the funeral, Whitey left home and went into hiding for a few weeks.

It was not the first attack on Whitey's family or home.

He described how, in August 1990, gunmen doused his family home and adjoining spaza shop with petrol and set it alight. This house was in the area controlled by Mr Nongwe.

"Earlier my family had vacated the house because we were told it would be attacked. We were quite vocal against the system of enforced payment of fines and monies for the lawyers.

"We then moved to Unathi section — and organised the resistance against Mr Nongwe," he said.

Like many political activists, Whitey cut his political teeth at school during struggles for "books and establishment of student representative councils."

He also joined the radical Cape Youth Congress after moving to Crossroads in 1981 from the Eastern Cape.

Born in Ugie, Whitey first studied at a coloured school until standard two.

But he had to start from scratch when he moved to Crossroads because he could not "understand or write Xhosa".

He studied at various schools until he passed his matric at Nelson Mandela High last year.

Like many other pupils, Whitey wanted to pursue a career at the Peninsula Technikon but had to give up the idea because his involvement in the struggle meant a lack of funds.

Whitey believes his trump card is that his people will protect him because he speaks with their voice.

Next year he hopes to study engineering at Cape Technikon — if there is peace in his area.

that is left to "the people on the ground".

The Unathi branch of the ANC, which covers residents of the brick house section of Crossroads, was established after the Young Lions objected to the rule of warlord Jeffrey Nongwe who allegedly ruled with an iron fist — contrary to the the ANC's democratic ideals.

This refusal to be governed by Mr Nongwe, coupled with squabbles over Cape Provincial Administration developmental housing schemes supported by Mr Nongwe, exacerbated the conflict in the camp.

This week Whitey's account to Weekend Argus of his struggles against Mr Nongwe's rule made him an unlikely veteran of threeyears of intermittent Crossroads warfare which have claimed more than 45 lives.

Recalling his attempts to set up the Unathi branch, Whitey said:

"I remember going from door-to-door ask-

ing people to join the ANC to do something about the hardship they were living under.

"Many people in Unathi signed up and we linked our branch with the established Nyanga unit. But later we launched our own because we did not want to be ruled by Nongwe."

Several times Whitey tried to use the ANC to stop Mr Nongwe in his tracks, but all in vain — he even addressed the ANC's consultative conference in Johannesburg about three years ago.

For a long time before the current Goldstone commission hearings into the Crossroads violence, the local ANC regional leadership favoured a pragmatic approach that entailed keeping Mr Nongwe and his power-base within the movement.

This policy angered Whitey and his followers, and they vowed to use their own strength to oppose him.

ANC 'sure of 55% of vote'

We can't afford to be complacent - Molefe

PATRICK LAURENCE

THE ANC was poised to win between 55 and 58 percent of the vote in April elections, ANC elections commission head Popo Molefe said this week.

His statement was made quietly, without bravado, over a working lunch. He went on to detail the level of ANC support in different sectors of the population.

He claimed it was strongest in the black community, with 75 to 80 percent of the black electorate. ANC support in the white, coloured and Indian communities was low but growing, Molefe said.

White support had grown since the April assassination of South African Communist Party chairman Chris Hanu and the invasion last month of the World Trade Centre by right-wing zealots.

Propaganda

An ANC branch had been established recently in Bloemfontein North, a once impregnable fortress of Afrikaner nationalism. Molefe was the guest speaker at the branch's inaugural meeting. "I was satisfied that the people had a better understanding of the ANC after I had answered their questions."

Molefe identified the National Party as the ANC's biggest opposition in the pending election, and acknowledged that it would try to exploit the ANC's alliance with the SACP in its propaganda.

While the SACP might be a liability, it was also a source of strength: with the labour movement, it provided ANC election strategists with dedicated activists who "assist us to reach out to the voters".

However, Molefe was far from complacent. He

admitted frankly that the ANC faced major problems, such as a shortage of financial resources.

As Molefe detailed the difficulties, he gave the impression of going through a mental check-list, ticking off each problem after he mentioned it. It included:

- The huge number of voters, about 18 million, who had been excluded from national elections in the past. Half were functionally illiterate. A huge voter education programme in 11 languages was needed.

- A negative attitude to voting, induced by the fact that blacks had been able to vote only for "dummy institutions" such as the Native Representative Council, urban Bantu councils, and bantustan legislative assemblies.

- The negativity created by the ANC when it urged people to boycott elections for these institutions: the ANC now faced the challenge of persuading voters that this election was different.

- An urgent need to reduce violence to facilitate the election campaign and to gain access to black voters on white-owned farms and the homelands.

The ANC had to change, Molefe said. It was not enough for leaders to stomp around the townships booming out liberation rhetoric; they would have to concentrate on addressing issues that mattered to voters, including housing, education and employment.

Its campaign was divided into four phases: June 1 to August 31 - creation of campaign machinery and voter education; September 1 to December 31 - take the ANC to the people; January 16 to March 31 - door-to-door campaigning; April 1 to 27 - projecting the ANC as a winning team by donning a "victory face".



THE RED DEVILS: Manchester United squad members Ryan Giggs (left), Darren Ferguson, Mark Hughes and Peter Schmeichel keep hordes of their youthful fans happy at Eastgate shopping centre yesterday.

● Photograph: JOHNNY ONVERWACHT

Adoring young soccer enthusiasts mob British glamour team

PHIL MILLAN

IT WAS like the 1960s all over again for Manchester United when the English Premier Division champions were mobbed by hundreds of teenage fans at the Eastgate shopping complex yesterday.

Teenage girls threw themselves at Welsh youngster Ryan Giggs as if he were the new George Best, and hundreds of little boys pressed around veteran Bryan Robson and manager Alex

Ferguson for autographs.

"We're supposed to be the most famous club in the world but this is ridiculous. The big welcome is part of our tradition but it feels particularly good if you're champions," he said, visibly overjoyed at the rapturous reception.

The 15-man squad were forced to abandon their team bus and get into

the complex in unmarked cars through a back entrance. Security guards whisked the players through a maze of maintenance passages to the car park where hundreds of fans wearing the club's famous red-black-and-white had been waiting for hours to catch a glimpse of their heroes.

When they did, the crowd burst into song and pressed forward to get their autographs and shake hands. The new

multimillion signing from relegated Nottingham Forest, Roy Keane, shook hands with a compatriot Irishman, tears coursing down his face, while Giggs was nearly drowned in a sea of outstretched female arms.

After a quick question-and-answer session with the public, the players vanished as quickly as they had appeared. Giggs was still fighting off the girls and Manchester United were still the most glamorous club in the world.

CROSSTALK

The Azanian Peoples Organisation joins in the debate on regionalism. Azapo's publicity secretary, **JIMMY YEKISO**, argues that those proposing regional demarcation are attempting to impose the discredited bantustan system in a new form.

Regionalism means more bantustans

South 247 - 28/7/93

THE struggle of the broad liberation movement has all along been to topple the racist regime that has brutalised black people for centuries. The object striven for by the liberation movement has all along been the creation of a unitary state where all its people, regardless of race, colour or religion, will enjoy common citizenship and define the future system of government through a democratically elected constituent assembly.

With regard to the constituent assembly, Azapo's view is that the constituent assembly should come into being if and only if there has been more than one liberation movement involved in the destruction of the ruling class.

The constituent assembly is a forum where new-found power is transferred to the true representatives of the people.

This new-found power presupposes the collapse of the ruling class be it peacefully or through struggle.

A constituent assembly is the only body which would enjoy a legitimate function of shaping the form of the state of a future Azania and how it would be governed.

The ruling class — which is still strong and clinging to power — and its apologists are playing around with the idea of dividing our country into mini-states, one of which is supposed to be the so-called Boerestaat.

It is a process of embarking on yet another Balkanisation of our country into regions along subtle ethnic, linguistic and cultural lines, with a view to producing some form of Bantustans.

It is interesting to note how this proposed division of our country into regions along subtle ethnic lines manifests itself in, for example, the proposals by one of the liberation movements involved in talks at Kempton Park.

It is proposed that the Western Cape which is predominantly Afrikaans-speaking be demarcated into a region of its own; the Northern Cape (including western districts of Bophuthatswana) which is predominantly Tswana speaking, into yet another fully-fledged region; while the Eastern Cape which is proposed to be divided into Border, Southern Transkei and Border-Kei is predominantly Xhosa-speaking.

This process of demarcation along racial lines also manifests itself in the proposals of the right-wing Afrikaner Volksunie for two regions with a strong Afrikaans influence, namely the "Afrikaner land" which is proposed to include Pretoria/Verwoerdburg/Akasia metropolitan areas as well as the Eastern Transvaal.

It is quite clear from the examples cited in the preceding paragraphs, that ethnic, cultural and linguistic considerations, rather than economic cohesiveness, are the deciding factors in the proposed regional demarcation. This is implicit in the attitude of one of the liberation movements involved in talks at Kempton Park wanting to accede to a racist demand by one of the groups for a Boerestaat.

Some other groups are opting for a federation or confederation of states of Azania. Gatscha Buthelezi of the KwaZulu Bantustan is a case in point and so to a considerable extent is the Bophuthatswana government.

The whole idea is to Balkanise our country in such a way that the discredited Bantustans are turned into respectable concepts and whites are given their own state.

No group has a state in Azania, least of all the whites. The proposed regional demarcation of our country is an attempt to achieve that objective.

However, if the attempt succeeds, the racist whites will avoid being ruled by the majority of the people and the resulting weak state will not be able to serve the interest of black people. Azapo will have no truck with any racist concept or with measures that are intended to deny black people freedom and their liberation.

It is also interesting to note that whilst some of the parties involved in talks at Kempton Park acknowledge the constituent assembly as the democratic institution to frame the constitution of the country and how it should be governed, they seek through agreements on the regional demarcation of our country, to compromise the constituent assembly merely reducing it to a rubber stamp institution.

Azapo asserts that Azania is one country with one people. It will strive by all means necessary to establish an anti-racist society in Azania where political rights are guaranteed to individuals, regardless of race, religion, colour or sex. Of course, all will be free to speak, write and develop their languages without hindrance. However, racist or religious bigotry will be fought relentlessly.

Azapo is not opposed to the demarcation of our country in order to facilitate economic cohesiveness and viability. But once any form of demarcation goes hand in hand with political autonomy, then Azapo has a problem. The proposed regional demarcation along ethnic and racial lines, as indicated in this article, smacks of this.



JIMMY YEKISO

Divisions don't have to be on ethnic lines

South 247 - 28/7/93

By Jeff McCarthy

THE regional diversity of South Africa is now recognised to be such that few now argue for either a political or developmental framework based exclusively upon centralised control.

Indeed, regionalism has now become the political buzzword within almost all South African political parties (but with the notable exception of the Pan Africanist Congress).

What is striking about present political shifts on the regional level is just how rapid the shifts have been, and quite how closely aligned the different parties' visions have become.

This rapidly derived consensus, in turn, appears to have been linked to the perceived political need to urgently reincorporate the homelands into South Africa.

The nine development regions have also played an important role in shaping political debate about the boundaries of a future regional tier of government for the country.

One of the primary problem areas associated with recent regional political debates in South Africa has been the conflation of regional issues with development issues, and issues of ethnicity.

The association between race, region and inequality is, however, by no means self-evident from a geographic point of view. The ethnic complexity of South Africa has now been so thoroughly scrambled by the urbanisation process that it is hard to find an empirical link between ethnicity, race and regional income inequality.

In terms of estimated political allegiances, there are only three regions which could potentially fall outside ANC control on the basis of either the NP or ANC regional breakdowns. These are the Western Cape, the Northern Cape and Natal.

Carefully constructed regional economic growth strategies, on the part of possibly more conservative regional regimes in Natal and the Western Cape in particular, could provide important forms of economic competition.

It is most likely that high levels of devolution and original powers for the regions could threaten ANC political and economic dominance, and its associated programmes of nation-building. Yet it also seems probable that devolution would lead to enhanced regional competition.

No party that strongly subscribes to a nation-building or a nationalist vision can easily contemplate regional federalism or strong regional devolution of powers and responsibilities within the national domain. Unless, of course, it is likely to lose the political centre.

The NP's recent conversion to regionalism comes, ironically but predictably, in the twilight years of its national political abilities and ambitions, and during a period when it now seeks to constrain the central powers of its main competitor: the ANC.

That the ANC should be wary of regional/federalism and high levels of regional devolution under such circumstances is understandable.

The ANC's resistance becomes even more understandable in the context of an historical legacy of grand apartheid, and the consequent perception that strong regional government can be coincidental with ethnic balkanisation, and political coalition-building strategy based upon maximising ethnic divisions.

However, given the extent to which regional economic inequalities and urbanisation processes have recently become disentangled from race and ethnicity, it seems unlikely that such problems could recur.

That would be particularly so if regional boundaries are drawn in deliberate ignorance of those created during the apartheid era.

Inter-regional or, more likely central-regional money transfers will be necessary to offset regional economic inequalities however the boundaries may be drawn.

Moreover, and importantly, it will be necessary to decide how significant macro-regional divisions really are to the construction of the regional tier in comparison with pressing issues of the construction of metropolitan government and rural equivalents.

The latter are the more salient scales at which developmental and regional institutions should operate in the future.

For this to occur, however, the debate on the regional tier will have to move out of its current phase of linkages with political coalition building, and servicing of constituencies. It must move into a new phase informed by the practical developmental challenges of urban and rural reconstruction.

Jeff McCarthy is professor and head of geography at the University of Natal. He is the author of numerous research articles and books on urban and regional development in South Africa.

CROSSTALK debates are presented in association with the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, a non-partisan organisation not affiliated to any institute or political party. Its mission is to promote multi-party democracy, political tolerance and national reconciliation in South Africa. For more information, telephone (021) 25 1120/54/55.

SOUTH readers are encouraged to respond to any of the viewpoints presented on this page.

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WINNIE KEPT ON ICE

BY ZANELE VUTELA

THE ANC Women's League this week dug in its heels and extended Winnie Mandela's suspension from the league's PWV leadership for another year.

In the strongest terms yet, the ANCWL referred to Mandela, Gwen Mahlangu, Marjorie Nkomo, Sally Peterson and Nompumelelo Madlala as being "totally disloyal, defiant and insubordinate".

The entire 20-member PWV Regional Executive Committee was suspended in May 1992, effectively removing Winnie Mandela from the region's chairmanship. Last week 15 of its members were reinstated while the five were given extended suspended sentences of one year.

Asked by City Press to explain the apparently hardened attitude, Lindlwe Zulu, spokeswoman for the ANCWL, said that the five members had shown "disloyalty to the ANC by involving themselves in a demonstration against the organisation "without proper consultation".

She said the group had refused to vacate their offices at the time of suspension.

"Those offices should have been used by the interim task force, but they went ahead and opened them and continued to use them and this cost the league a

ANCWL digs in over suspension of five

City Press 25/7/93

fortune in telephone bills." She said the group had also printed T-shirts without permission and the league had to pay for them.

The saga contains all the hallmarks of a power struggle, but Zulu denied this to City Press. She said: "A group of individuals were backing Winnie Mandela and fighting for her reinstatement."

Zulu also refuted claims that the ANCWL was under the "authoritarian and undemocratic control of exiles who made up 90 percent of the National Executive Committee", saying that the present leadership had been elected at a conference by a mostly internally based constituency because at the time most people had not returned from exile.

Nompumelelo Madlala, who was one of the 20 members of the REC suspended last year after leading a march to ANC headquarters demanding that Mandela be reinstated as head of Social

Welfare, told the press: "Winnie Mandela lived all her life in the ANC. Now that she is a rotten potato for them, nobody wants her."

Madlala said to extend the suspensions was "typical of the actions of state agents".

Madlala recently emerged as leader of the pro-Winnie Concerned Women's Group of SA, whose mission, according to her, was "to challenge undemocratic practices within the ANC and to bring women together".

The pro-Winnie PWV executive had defied their suspension, labelling the move as "unconstitutional and unprocedural". They had also "condemned the barbaric behaviour" of the league for "acting in a biased manner by endorsing the suspension from a report of five self-appointed women".

But the league had denied this, stating: "The 33 branches which arrived at

the decision after extensive discussion were more than a quorum and had a right to address what they correctly perceived as a political problem."

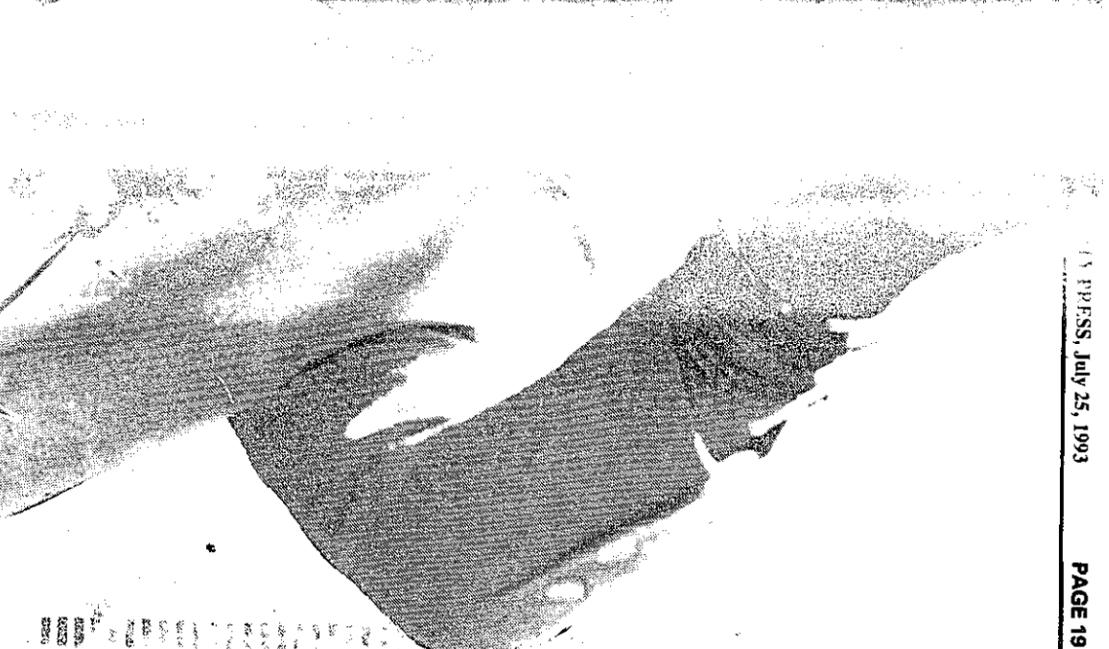
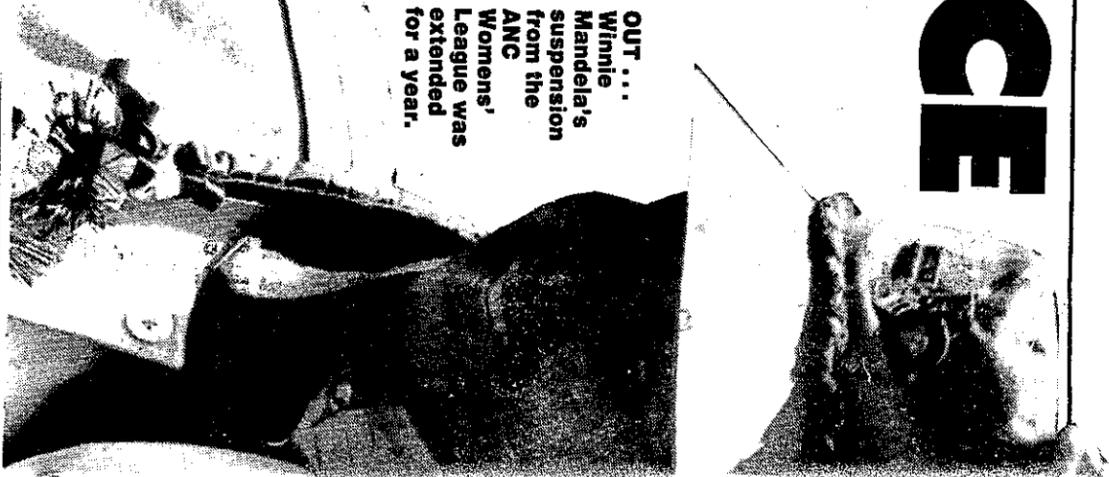
Gwen Mahlangu, the then PWV league deputy chairwoman, had said in June 1992 that her group would continue recruiting members and were preparing for the August 9 Women's Day services.

This statement had led to speculation that Mandela was forming a new organisation, causing the league's secretary general Baleka Kgosisile to say: "We have sent word to all branches that if they attend a meeting which she has called they should know that the meeting they are attending is illegal."

Madlala said she knew the ANC to be a democratic organisation. "After all, it is their teaching that people have a right to voice their dissatisfaction. If I can do it to my employers why can't I do it to them if they are going to be the government tomorrow?"

She also said that it was not true that they had cost the league a fortune by forcibly using the office. "It is true that we went to the office while we had access to it but later they put in a woman called Theresa to live in it. They turned that office into a flat. Maybe she ran up all those bills."

OUT ...
Winnie Mandela's suspension from the ANC Women's League was extended for a year.



Second union votes to end ANC link after poll

By RAY HARTLEY

THE 170 000-strong SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union (Sactwu) has thrown its weight behind a National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) initiative to terminate Cosatu's alliance with the ANC once an interim government is in power.

At its congress in Cape Town last week, Sactwu passed a resolution calling for the ending of the alliance after an elected

S Times 25/7/93
constituent assembly has agreed to a new constitution. *(NUM) (UA)*

Sactwu is SA's third largest union after Numsa, which has around 240 000 members, and the 300 000-strong National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). NUM is known to support the continuation of labour's alliance with the ANC.

Sactwu said it would support the ANC in first elections provided the ANC:

- Included union members on its electoral list without sapping the strength of unions;
- Accommodated union rights, such as the right to strike and collective bargaining, in its electoral platform; and
- Guaranteed to constitutionally protect centralised bargaining institutions, provident funds and joint government, labour and business forums.

Plot to murder Sisulu?

By MOSES MAMAILA

City Press 25/7/93

ONE of ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu's bodyguards, who has been charged with attempted murder, this week alleged that three white men plotted to assassinate Sisulu at the Nelson Mandela birthday bash at the Carlton Hotel last Saturday.

An ANC source, who asked not to be named, said the matter had been reported to the police.

He said: "All I can tell you is that we have information that three white men were surveying the activities at the hotel. I cannot give any further details because we are trying to stick to an agreement reached on the matter between the ANC and the SAP." ~~(SAP)~~

Reggie Makhubo, who was involved in the shootout between police and Sisulu's security men on the Soweto Highway in the early hours of Sunday morning on their return from the party, told City Press three suspicious-looking whites had asked hotel staff what type of cars would be transporting Mandela and Sisulu to the party.

Carlton Hotel security manager Brian Sharkey, denied any knowledge of the incident.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus confirmed the information about the surveillance at the Carlton Hotel had been forwarded to the police.

The police laid charges of attempted murder against Makhubo and others but later agreed after ANC insistence to open a docket on the attempted murder of Sisulu.

On Friday afternoon after a meeting between an ANC delegation led by Matthew Phosa of the ANC legal department and Witwatersrand Attorney-General Klaus Von Lieres und Wilkau, agreement was reached that an independent investigation into the shootout would be launched.

Police spokesman Col Dave Bruce said police could not comment on the matter because it was under investigation. (WA)

He said all those who have information about the incident should contact the Soweto police.

its as



Mortuary

SI Times (Cimetro)
25/7/1973
**PAC 'definitely'
set to fight election**

By **NORMAN WEST**, Political Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress will "definitely" contest the coming elections, irrespective of what is revealed tomorrow when the new draft constitution for the country is unwrapped, says publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai. (IA) (30/7)

The PAC has been on a collision course with the government ever since the controversial arrests of senior PAC officials and the confiscation of certain important PAC documents in May.

Since then the PAC has restated its demand for a "neutral venue and a neutral chairman" to discuss final details of a new constitutional deal. This cast doubt on whether the PAC would participate in the coming elections.

Mr Desai has now for the first time confirmed that the PAC will contest the elections.

"Otherwise, we would be misleading the people and acting contrary to their aspirations," he said.

Mr Desai, one of PAC's chief negotiators and strategists, said contrary to published results of "jaundiced" polls the PAC was experiencing "phenomenal" growth.

Next Saturday, the organisation's national president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, will launch the PAC's election campaign at a rally at the Athlone Stadium.

Township rallies would follow this. He said the PAC did not aim to share power in any form of coalition "because powersharing inhibits reconstruction by vested interests".

He said it was a known fact that the economy of South Africa was controlled by a minority of the population and that blacks possessed only two per cent of the wealth of the country and whites the rest.

He said it was not the PAC's policy to confront the private sector "in an antagonistic way".

But the PAC could not just leave socio-economic solutions to market forces.



BARNEY DESAI

PAC will accept result if poll is 'free and fair'

ARC 26/7/93



The Argus Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS asks the Pan Africanist Congress about its prospects for the April election.

THE Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) would accept the result of "genuine" free and fair elections, but had no faith in a ballot overseen by the present State establishment, according to national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani.

The PAC would be unlikely to take part in next year's elections if it meant "betraying the demand of the masses for a constituent assembly".

Mr Nemadzivhanani is in Cape Town to help arrange the movement's July 31 rally at the Athlone stadium at which a national campaign to oppose the transitional executive council and elections for an interim government will be launched.

He acknowledged that while the PAC was taking part in the talks process at Kempton Park, it was constantly reviewing its role to ensure this was in accord with "the interests of the African people".

The movement was concentrating its efforts on developing a national campaign to demand internationally supervised elections for a constituent assembly.



Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani ... PAC attracting defectors from other parties.

Admitting that he was "biased", Mr Nemadzivhanani said he was confident the PAC would "not come second to any party" in free and fair elections supervised by the international community.

But if it did not win under these circumstances, it would abide by the result.

He said the PAC had no

confidence in elections in which the SADF and SAP remained the law and order instruments of the State "because they will make sure we do not win".

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu would launch a national campaign at the Athlone stadium on Saturday to mobilise support for the demand for internationally supervised elections for a constituent assembly, and for the rejection of the TEC and elections for interim government.

There would be further rallies next month in Um-tata, Port Elizabeth and East London.

Mr Nemadzivhanani said he had encountered growing support in the Western Cape for the call for a constituent assembly.

PAC recruitment — particularly of defectors from other parties — was also high in this region, and in the Border and Transkei.

"We don't release figures of our membership for strategic reasons, but I can tell you there has been an upsurge in membership, nationally."

Star 26/7/93
Nats 'recruiting aliens'

ANC PWV regional executive member Dr Abbey Nkomo yesterday accused the National Party of recruiting aliens to vote for it in the country's elections in April next year. He was addressing ANC supporters in the Bophuthatswana district of Stinkwater. — Pretoria Bureau (11A)

ANC plans major rally for Natal

Star 26/7/93

DURBAN — The ANC is to host a major rally in Natal in September, aiming to show the majority of Zulus support a united South Africa and want elections in April.

(11A)
The ANC will invite the Zulu monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, and ANC president Nelson Mandela to address the rally.

"The point of the rally is to put to rest the myth that Zulus only support a confederal system and don't want a constituent assembly," said the southern Natal ANC chairman, Jeff Radebe.

Speaking yesterday after a two-day regional "peace summit" of the ANC and its allies in Durban, Radebe said it would be proved at the rally that the majority of Zulus supported a united South Africa.

ANC southern Natal secretary S'bu Ndebele said Inkatha was mixing the issues of the Zulu kingdom with the KwaZulu "bantustan" for political gain.

The Zulu kingdom would always remain a powerful part of South Africa while the KwaZulu homeland — created by apart-

heid — had to be dismantled, he said.

Zwelithini would always be accepted as the Zulu monarch and would be afforded the respect he had always been paid by all Zulus.

Radebe said progress had been made towards a meeting between Mandela and Zwelithini, at which the ANC leader would address the king's fears for the future of his nation.

On the issue of violence, the meeting resolved to establish a national peacekeeping force, a peace corps and joint (security forces/ANC) operation centres.

It also resolved to establish a full-time "peace desk" in the region and to mount a "peace offensive".

This was spelt out in the region's eight-point peace plan, announced several weeks ago and endorsed at the weekend.

To strengthen the plan, which involved engaging Inkatha in peace talks at local levels, the ANC would implement a regional peace forum to serve as a consultative forum to foster peace initiatives in the future.

— Sapa.

Draft constitution unveiled today

Sowetan 26/7/93

(Sowetan)

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

AN interim new constitution for South Africa will be tabled in the Negotiating Council today and the Inkatha Freedom Party and Conservative Party will not be there.

The interim constitution, which, it is hoped, will lure the IFP and CP back to negotiations, was handed out to parties for scrutiny last Thursday. It will be made public today.

The IFP's Mr Walter Fellgate refused to comment on the constitution.

The IFP has said that if it was satisfied with the interim constitution

it would return to talks.

This was one of three conditions put forward by the IFP. Another was that it should be given veto powers over any decisions made (through sufficient consensus) in negotiations.

The CP would also make its position known today *(IA)* *(IB)*

The ANC and Government would not be drawn on their views. Both seemed satisfied with progress in talks as symbolised by the constitution.

The Democratic Party's Mr Ken Andrew was encouraged by the document and said while it "needed tightening up" it should inspire political parties to work on perfecting it.

BOOKINGS NOW OPEN



'No special ANC deal for Border'

(11A)

CT 26/7/93

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — The Border region should not expect special favours from an ANC government even though it was a stronghold area for the organisation, said ANC international affairs head Mr Thabo Mbeki during a weekend visit to the region.

All regions were important, he said.

Mr Mbeki said there had to be positive development in the Border-Kei area, where human resources were a major asset.

However, as a good part of the population was unemployed, training and upliftment would have to receive special attention.

Other areas to be explored were agriculture and tourism, which had tremendous growth potential, and industrialisation, particularly the harbour, which needed developing.

On investment, Mr Mbeki said this rested on the shoulders of South Africans with money to invest. South Africa could not wait for foreign investment. If domestic investors showed no confidence in the country then overseas investors would lack confidence.

Mr Mbeki said the proposal of a reconstruction levy by the ANC's deputy head of economics, Mr Tito Mboweni, could not be discussed in isolation and was merely part of a debate on generating funds.

Focus on Wosa

THE Workers Organisation for Socialist Action acknowledges that it is a small and fledgling group.

Wosa accepts, too, that it could never swell into a burgeoning political beast overnight.

But Wosa feels that as a vanguard movement it is committed to encourage and continue to work for the establishment of a mass workers' party that would place their needs first.

The present political process in South Africa, explains Wosa chairman Mr Neville Alexander, cannot deliver workers' demands as it is specifically aimed away from their needs.

It is geared primarily towards bringing the black middle class into the mainstream, Alexander says.

He feels that the process would, therefore, split the left — unions and other formations — completely.

Hence the need for a mass workers' party which "will become clearer once the masses find their leaders trapped in the logic of power-sharing and especially if the talented leadership agrees to repress mass struggle".

At Wosa's Third National Congress which was held in April this year, Alexander was particularly critical of the present political process.

He said at the time that the ruling National Party had been forced by the international community, through economic pressure, to discard Verwoerdian apartheid.

They could do this and retain power, he said, because apartheid had by and large been a success because "through the scaffolding of the laws and policies of and practices of apartheid, the house of racial inequality has been built on firm foundations.

"Dismantling apartheid for them meant no more than repealing the pro-white, especially pro-Afrikaner, affirmative action laws they and their predecessors had put on the statute books since 1910 and especially since 1948.

"By doing so they would accommodate within the continuing albeit racial capitalist system the rising black middle class and the skilled black working class without in any fundamental way affecting the real power relations between the bourgeoisie and the working class.

"For the overwhelming majority of black people, the cosmetic changes of the system would make very little real difference. For many they would lead to a dramatic worsening of the quality of life unless there was some unplanned-for economic windfall such as a steep increase in the price of gold," Alexander says.

He is particularly sceptical, therefore, about compromises made in negotiations with the Government and believes that the ANC leadership has "gone for broke".

In terms of Alexander's argument, the objective of negotiations at the World Trade Centre can best be described as a blur of white, bourgeois and

Sawetam 26/7/93
The vociferously socialist Wosa organisation may be small but its adherents believe it has a major role to play in the changing dynamics of the South Africa society, writes Political Correspondent **Ismail**

Lagardien:

capitalist protectionism.

The fundamental difference between Wosa and those parties involved in negotiation lies in their orientation.

He says that while "nationalist organisations" such as ANC, PAC and Inkatha Freedom Party, for example, have a social base that is distinctly working class, their orientation is middle-class.

"One is not saying this in some sort of derogatory way — this is the case. Their demands and their preoccupations are those of the middle class even though there is a rhetorical commitment to working class demands.

"Being a worker's organisation, therefore, and in terms of Wosa's ideas, is not so much about the social base — this is working class anyway because of conditions on the ground in South Africa.

"It is about the orientation towards workers demands — the leadership cannot remain primarily student academics and intellectuals," Alexander says.

Wosa's analysis of various social, political and economic issues is rooted in the working class — rural and urban.

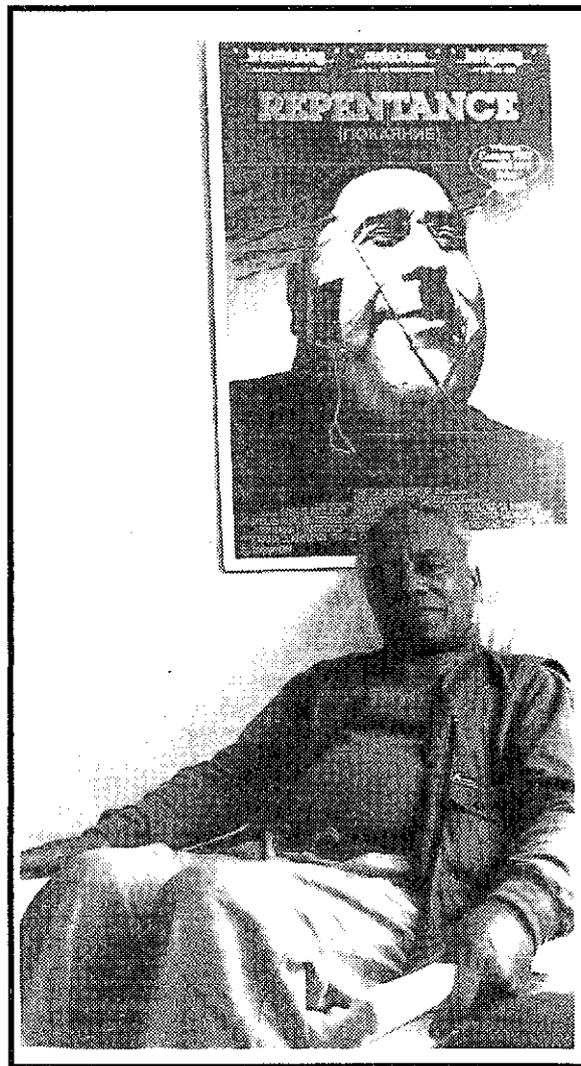
"For example, with the issue of model C schools, the first question we asked is: How does it affect the working class?

"We realised that no worker can afford those fees. And that is why we opposed Model C."

A particularly glaring contradiction lies in Wosa's structures and body politic, which is loaded with intellectuals. How does he, Alexander, justify this?

"Historically intellectuals have always been more critical of the capitalist system than workers.

"Workers, directly, make the system work, they derive certain benefits from the system, they adapt and conform to the system, while socialists



Wosa chairman Neville Alexander.

PIC: ISMAIL LAGARDIEN

bring a more critical approach into the system — they don't get beyond simply being part and parcel of the system.

"Generally speaking, the job of intellectuals is criticism and analysis. They tend, therefore, to make the move from the critique of the text to the critique of society. It's a very short step to take."

Music tour could swell ANC funds

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The ANC might have set the scene for a huge countrywide concert involving big-name US bands which could tour South Africa from December 3 to February 5. (11A) CT 26/7/93

If the tour goes ahead it could help swell the ANC's election coffers, but the word from the organisation is: "If they (the tour organisers) want to contribute that is their decision."

The ANC will not be directly involved in planning the concert and organisations like the South African Musicians' Association will have to give the thumbs-up to artists.

The names of participants given by the ANC were: Nirvana, Boyz II Men, Arrested Development, Anita Baker, Naughty by Nature, Metallica, Ice Cube, Natalie Cole, Beverly and Maze, Kriss Kross, Public Enemy and Red Hot Chili Peppers.

1 nation

Star 27/1/93

Sisulu: ANC briefs EC team

ANC representatives appointed to the investigation into the fatal July 18 shootout between police and bodyguards of ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu, yesterday briefed members of the European Community observer team. One bodyguard was killed and two were injured when their car rolled after the shootout on the Soweto highway. — Staff Reporter (11A)

Star 27/1/93

Dams lower than last year

Major storage dams are on average 10 percent lower than a year ago. Worst affected are dams in the northern Transvaal, north-eastern Cape and Namaqualand. The Cape is the only area with an overall increase over last year. — Sapa.

lu-king • DET schools re-open today

Natal rally plans for a unitary state

Sowetan 27/7/93

Sowetan Correspondent

■ POLITICAL MOTIVES Moves to

disprove allegations of Zulu anger:

A RALLY HAS BEEN organised by the Southern Natal region of the ANC to "prove that the majority of the Zulus in Natal are in support of a unitary South Africa".

It will take place in September and also support "the decision taken at the Multiparty Forum to hold elections by April next year". (IIF)

Making the announcement at a Press conference in Durban on Sunday, ANC Southern Natal regional head Mr Jeff Radebe said the rally was aimed at disproving claims that most Zulus in Natal were against a unitary state and the forthcoming elections.

"On July 11 — during an *imbizo* called by the Zulu monarch King Zwelithini Bhekuzulu — the world

was told that the Zulus were against a unitary state and the April 1994 elections. At the forthcoming rally Zulus who are members of the ANC will pronounce and endorse their support for a nonsexist, nonracial and united South Africa," said Radebe.

King Zwelithini, addressing thousands of Zulus during another *imbizo* at the First National Bank Stadium in Johannesburg on Sunday, said: "That suggestion of removing whatever administration we have for the region of KwaZulu-Natal before there is anything to replace it, justifies my fears that there are plans to emasculate the Zulu nation."

ANC Southern Natal regional secretary Mr Sbu Ndebele yesterday accused the Inkatha Freedom Party of using the king for their political motives: "We want to liberate even the king from the clutches of party politics."

Ndebele said although the IFP leader was accusing Zulus who supported a united South Africa of being "traitors", the IFP had so far failed to explain whether it regarded King Zwelithini's grandfather, King Dinizulu, as a traitor.

"As the first honorary president of the ANC, King Dinizulu stood for a united South Africa," he said.

It's a basis for further negotiations, say Govt and ANC

Star 27/1/93

Two cheers for first draft

SAPA (11A)

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

The Government and the African National Congress have cautiously welcomed the first draft of the Interim Constitution as a basis for further negotiations, while the Inkatha Freedom Party and Conservative Party have rejected it out of hand.

The first draft of a constitutional blueprint for a new South Africa was tabled yesterday at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

Debate on the draft Interim Constitution has been postponed until tomorrow at 1 pm after the Negotiating Council yesterday unanimously resolved to request the IFP, KwaZulu government and CP to return to "participate fully in the debates".

Supporting the resolution, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said it went "a long way in walking the extra mile with the CP and IFP".

Despite the absence of the CP, IFP and KwaZulu government, the Negotiating Council continues today with discussion on a draft Bill for a transitional executive council.

The CP yesterday rejected the draft Interim Constitution as a "recipe for civil war". The document made it impossible for the CP to continue in the negotiations process, party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said.

Rejecting the draft Interim Constitution, IFP negotiator Walter Felgate indicated that it was highly unlikely his party would return to the Negotiating Council tomorrow.

A debate on the application of sufficient consensus was yesterday postponed until Thursday to allow the

Violence could skew election, says survey
— Page 3

Blueprint for a new SA
— Page 17

IFP to be present.

Felgate said the IFP would resort to the Supreme Court for a ruling on the application of sufficient consensus. The IFP would return to the negotiating table only once the issue of sufficient consensus was satisfactorily addressed, he said.

Although his organisation had some concerns about elements of the document, the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa said the first draft of the Interim Constitution formed a basis "on which negotiations to bring about democracy can now take place in a much more focused way".

"The document can provide the solutions and compromises necessary to reach a political settlement."

The ANC national working committee had met early yesterday morning and would continue discussions in the next two days, after which a thorough response would be issued, he said.

In a joint statement, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and National Party chief negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers said more certainty about the federal aspects of a future constitution should have been included in the draft.

"The proposals in respect of a new regional dispensation, however, do not meet all the requirements of the Government. Accordingly, the Government will make recommendations during the debate for proposals to strengthen these clauses," the statement said.

Democratic Party chairman Ken Andrew said the draft provided a framework to develop a liberal, demo-



cratic and federal system of government.

The DP had two problems with it. Firstly, the deadlock breaking mechanism for the adoption of the constitution provided no incentive for a majority group to compromise. Secondly, the powers and functions of regional governments were inadequate, he said.

The PAC voiced its princi-

pled opposition to an interim government and Interim Constitution but welcomed a clause providing for the total revision of the Interim Constitution which would leave the constitution-making body "unfettered".

Afrikaner Volksunie leader Andries Beyers said federalist principles were not catered for strongly enough in the document. His party

would stay in the negotiations process to influence it in a direction of federalism.

The South African Chamber of Business yesterday reacted cautiously to the draft, saying its members would be welcomed by businessmen, who would also want to see deliberations successfully concluded as soon as possible.

Drafting committee . . . the legal minds who produced the first draft of the Interim Constitution are: (back) Professor George Devenish (University of Natal), Bernard Ngoepe (Pretoria Bar), Dr Francois Venter (Potchefstroom University), and (front) Dikgang Moseneke, SC (Pretoria Bar), Michelle Olivier (legal adviser, Foreign Affairs), Arthur Chaskalson, SC (Legal Resources Centre), and Professor Marinus Wiechers (Unisa).

Picture: Ken Oosterbroek

News in brief

Sowetan 28/7/93

Mbeki slated over sanctions

ANC international affairs director Thabo Mbeki has been severely criticised by the PAC and Azapo following his announcement that sanctions could be lifted in just more than two weeks. (11A) (S)

Azapo publicity secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae said yesterday that weapons of the anti-apartheid struggle, such as sanctions and cultural boycotts, should only be abandoned on "the day of liberation".

Cops in bid to fight violence

Sowetan 28/7/93

ABOUT 2 000 former policemen are to be re-employed to improve security and combat crime and violence, Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said yesterday. In addition, 4 000 civilians are to replace trained policemen in administrative posts. (S)

'Give guns to Apla' — PAC

Own Correspondent

LUSIKISIKI. — The PAC has urged supporters to hand unlicensed firearms to its military wing, Apla, and not surrender them to police. (IA)

PAC official Mr Gilbert Seneke said whites owned more than 2.5 million guns and a way of distributing these to "our people" had to be devised. (IA)

He urged PAC members to form "shooting clubs" in response to General Constand Viljoen's call on whites to prepare for war.

NP MP Brigadier Kobus Bosman yesterday slammed the call as "arrogant and audacious".

focus on PAC

Soubhani 28/7/93

NO, we are not in favour of power-sharing and if we get some kind of majority in the constituent assembly, we will say to hell with whatever they agreed to in the negotiations."

This is the language of tough-talking Patricia de Lille. And as usual she means business.

In her office in Cape Town she is at once the aggressive politician, while also showing her often overlooked "nice" interpersonal style. Either way she talks straight: "We will write the constitution the way our people want it."

She feels strongly about grassroots input: "I can shout and talk about things, but we must reinforce what I am doing inside the World Trade Centre by talking to the people directly; the people I claim to represent there."

As a result the PAC president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, will start off a nationwide tour at the end of this month with a rally at the Athlone Stadium. The venue is an indication that the PAC wants to draw in the "so-called coloured people".

Now the mother of 18-year-old Alistair, the wife of bus driver Edmund and living in Mitchell's Plain, De Lille says she could never accept being "classified coloured".

"The PAC was the first organisation that showed me an African, which showed I belong."

African location

One of seven children of an Afrikaans-speaking, PAC-supporting schoolmaster in Beaufort West, she spent her first decade in a "African location", until the family had to move to a coloured township due to the Group Areas Act.

Now 42, De Lille recounts tales of working for the PAC underground in the '70s, hiding information, among other places, under a cupboard in the room a policeman rented from her mother.

She ascended the ranks of the PAC during the '80s through the trade union movement — first as a member of the South African Chemical Workers Union and later as vice-president of the National Council of Trade Unions.

Before the unbanning in 1990 she was instrumental in unifying the Africanists Movement as the PAC's counterpart to the UDF.

She sees herself first and foremost as a Capetonian and she has vowed that she will spend the months before the election right there, spearheading the Western Cape campaign with publicity secretary Barney Desai.

"The Western Cape is politically more aggressive, co-ordinated and organised than the rest of the country," De Lille says.

"Our growth here is phenomenal, especially among the African youth. In Cape Town alone,

An interview with the frank, tough-talking **Mrs Patricia de Lille**, secretary for relief and aid of the Pan Africanist Congress, which was published in the Cape Town weekly *South*:

(11A)

After the Apla attacks in November, people saw immediately that the number of African people being killed dropped. People will see us in this light. I think they understand that whether we like it or not this is a struggle between black and white, and from this we would like to see a nonracial South Africa emerge

we now have 52 branches."

But she concedes that membership among the "so-called coloured people", is lacking. Could that be due to the perception that the PAC and its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, are involved in killing and violence?

Identity crisis

"They (the coloured people) have an identity crisis. We will tell them that they are Africans and not coloureds. From that perspective they will be in a better position to understand our vision.

"We say there are two types of violence. The PAC is not involved in black-on-black violence. If you are, you are seen as a major political player. But if you kill whites, you are terrorists.

"After the Apla attacks in November, people saw immediately that the number of African people being killed dropped. People will see us



in this light. I think they understand that whether we like it or not this is a struggle between black and white, and from this we would like to see a nonracial South Africa emerge," De Lille says.

"It harps on the violence in the election campaigns, because they are the very parties responsible for the violence."

In the actual election campaign the PAC will go big on the land issue and education.

"I foresee the election being fought more on issues than on political parties," De Lille says. "We will have national issues and won't fight the Western Cape as a separate entity."

Forced removals

In the Western Cape the PAC will focus on the forced removals from places such as District Six, Claremont and Kenilworth.

"I feel the land issue in Cape Town should be addressed immediately after the election. There is a lot of state-owned land and the PAC will tell people we will provide back-up for development of the land.

"We are also going to talk to white farmers and tell them they can't farm by day and become vigilante *skietkommandos* by night."

De Lille's own inroads into the "coloured vote" have been mainly through her work for the PAC. After the unbanning she became foreign affairs secretary but last year she became secretary for relief and aid. Although working at national level, she spends a lot of time on community work in Elsies River, Uitsig and Ravensmead.

"My profile is that of the PAC but people must make up their own minds about starting branches," she says.

"You do not ask people their party before giving them water. I say you cannot take dead people to vote for you."

She is also involved in other developmental projects, such as the South African Drought Relief Task Force and vaccination programmes for all.

And she has NO political ambitions. "After the election the expectation for socio-economic upliftment will be even higher than the need. I want to continue working in a non-governmental relief capacity."

RAU students cheer, jeer Mandela

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela was greeted with hisses and jeers yesterday when he told Rand Afrikaans University students that 14-year olds were as competent to vote as 18-year-olds.

Students alternately clapped and jeered as Mr

Mandela spoke about issues ranging from the creation of a boerestaat to the lowering the voting age to 14 years.

The ANC leader received sustained applause when he first arrived to address about 1 000 predominantly white students, but his visit was cut short during question time

when a student falsely announced there was a security problem outside.

Many of the students did not take kindly to Mr Mandela's view that the white electorate — all 18 years of age and older — had shown little or no judgment when they had voted 14 times for a party with a brutal

racial policy.

Most of the white students remained stony-faced and silent while black students cheered Mr Mandela's statement that improving the living conditions of black people remained the ANC's top priority.

"But the ANC is also con-

cerned about the fears of minorities," he added.

● Mr Mandela's international fund-raising drive for the ANC election campaign wings its way to the Far East today when he leaves for a week-long trip to Taiwan and Malaysia. He will be spending most of time in Taiwan. — Sapa

(11A) CT29/7/93

White fears concern ANC, Star 29/1/93 says Mandela

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Correspondent

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday reached out to white South Africans and appealed for their co-operation in the reconstruction of the country.

Addressing students of the Rand Afrikaans University, Mandela said that although top priority was the improvement of blacks' standard of living, the ANC remained concerned about the fears of whites.

The ANC would try its best to address these. "We don't consider any group — especially the Afrikaner — as our enemy."

Mandela said he had held numerous meetings with various Afrikaner leaders — including top generals in the SAP — since the beginning

of this year. Mandela referred to his two meetings with Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) leader Andries Beyers, whom he had advised against placing demands for a Boerestaat on the negotiating table, but rather to give him a map of the part of the country where the AVU wanted its people to constitute a majority in a regional dispensation.

"I am still waiting for him to come back. I am prepared to recommend to my organisation that we try to accommodate these demands," said the ANC leader.

Mandela said police officers who wanted to serve and protect all South Africans equally would have a vital role to play in a new police force.

He denounced the Cape Town church massacre as "barbarism of gruesome proportions".

Star 29/1/93

Mandela off fundraising

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

(11A)

African National Congress president Nelson Mandela leaves today for a seven-day fundraising visit to Taiwan and Malaysia.

The administrative head of the ANC department of international affairs, Yusuf Saloojee, said the organisation had informed China — its traditional ally — of the visit.

Mandela will be accompanied by, among others, ANC treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi and Trevor Manuel, the head of

the department of economic policy.

The ANC president is due to meet businessmen and industrialists in Taipei tomorrow night.

On Saturday Taiwanese President Dr Teng-hui Lee will decorate him with the Order of the Brilliant Star.

The following day, Mandela will receive an honorary doctorate in law from the Soochow University in Taipei.

Before returning to South Africa, the ANC president will meet Malaysian Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad in Kuala Lumpur.

NEWS Alexander backs ANC's motion at talks ● Application against NCCR dismissed

Sowetan 29/7/93
PAC, ANC find each other

By Ismail Lagardien
Political Correspondent

THE African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress yesterday joined forces in the Negotiating Council to support a clause which provides for an unfettered constitution-making body after next year's election.

ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said a democratically elected constitution-making body had to write a new constitution for South Africa and not simply amend the interim document.

Ramaphosa's counterpart in the PAC, Mr Benny Alexander, seconded the motion "because the ANC can not second itself".

Both spoke in defence of a clause in the draft interim constitution that was

tabled in the Negotiating Council on Tuesday. The draft interim constitution provides for the "total revision" of the transitional document.

The debate on the draft interim constitution was resumed with vigour and candour yesterday despite the absence of the Inkatha Freedom Party and Conservative Party.

The CP and IFP had until noon yesterday to return to the Negotiating Council after they were given four days to study the interim constitution. Both parties rejected the document.

The role of traditional leaders — a recurrent and contentious issue in the negotiation process — was also raised yesterday, especially in the constitution-making body.

Traditional leaders from the various provinces raised the matter and the PAC

and ANC supported their inclusion in the constitution-making process.

Ramaphosa said it was unacceptable that the draft interim constitution failed to deal with the role of traditional leaders in the country's first Parliament.

"It is inconceivable that we proceed on these matters without giving attention to traditional leaders," Ramaphosa said.

Dr Kaliphele Sizane of the PAC said: "It is strange that traditional leaders were not considered."

Sizane also raised the issue of two voting lists — regional and national — saying that the high level of illiteracy would complicate the voting procedure for ordinary rural folk who will be expected to vote twice.

He said it was difficult enough to vote once — for the first time.

Sowetan 29/7/93
Pair lose bid to take over NCCR assets

Sowetan Correspondent

TWO members of the National Returnees Forum yesterday lost a bid in the Rand Supreme Court to take over the finances of the now disbanded National Co-ordinating Committee for the Repatriation of South African Exiles.

Mr Justice WP Schutz ruled that returned exiles Mr Manase Sefatlhe and Mr Jan Maluleka did not have the *locus standi* to bring the urgent application as they were not members of the NCCR.

The pair said allegations of fraud had been levelled at the NCCR. They asked the court to declare the NRF the owner of the NCCR's assets and funds and to interdict the NCCR from disposing of its assets and funds.

The judge said there had been no obligation on the NCCR to provide funds to returning exiles. The most the returnees could hope for was to have benefitted from the NCCR's largess.

The returnees had embarked on their own course of action without going through the NCCR's member organisations. These were the South African Council of Churches, Catholic Bishops Conference, World Conference on Religion and Peace, ANC, PAC and Azapo.

SACC general secretary the Reverend Frank Chikane, who is also a member of the NCCR's dissolution committee, said the funds outstanding after an audit had been done would be returned to the donors. The application was dismissed with costs.

YOU CAN'T STOP YOUR DAUGHTER SEEING HER BOYFRIEND INDEFINITELY... RATHER DEPART HER FOR LIFE'S

Why must Buthelezi wait to find out what Natal's powers will be?

Star 29/1/93

Facing up to Inkatha's concerns

IT WOULD be tragic if the very process designed to bring peace and democracy to South Africa exacerbated, rather than healed tension. Yet it is increasingly apparent that the constitutional talks at Johannesburg's World Trade Centre are fudging some of the most important issues in a way that could undermine their achievements to date.

If the ANC and National Party are intent on an outcome that serves their de facto alliance but fails to address the legitimate concerns of other parties, notably Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, the constitution that emerges will be seriously flawed.

Things have not reached such a pass yet. The pace has been tortuous, but South Africa has come a long way since Nelson Mandela's release more than three years ago. The draft outline published this week shows how far: racial discrimination is banned, human rights entrenched, and all citizens will be entitled to vote for a 400-member National Assembly, with a senate elected by regional legislatures, which together will draw

up a final post-apartheid constitution on principles previously agreed.

Fundamental issues have yet to be properly addressed: how the executive of a new government is constituted, how it exercises its powers and precisely what powers the provincial assemblies will have. The outline constitution leaves South Africans little the wiser.

The executive will comprise representatives of political parties occupying a specified percentage of the seats in the national assembly. But how will this executive take decisions by consensus, as De Klerk demands, or by majority, as Mandela insists?

An equally serious flaw is the failure of the draft to define the powers of regional governments — the key concern of Chief Buthelezi, who has a strong regional base among the Zulus of Natal province. The draft fudges the issue of regional powers: The buck is passed to a commission to be set up only after the first elections.

It will have regional representatives but the final say will rest

with the Cabinet and the constituent assembly, which are likely to be dominated by the ANC and NP.

The experts who drew up the draft argue that the constituent assembly will be bound by constitutional principles agreed already, calling for significant devolution of power to regions. And they list an impressive array of areas where regions will have at least some power: health, education, housing, local taxation, local policing. But they refuse to say how these powers will be shared with the centre, while the constitutional principles are vague and open to interpretation.

Moreover, asking Inkatha to rely on them misses the point. Inkatha is being asked to give up powers it now exercises as a self-governing black homeland in exchange for an uncertain status in future. It is hard to see Chief Buthelezi waiting until after an election to find out what Natal's powers will be in the new South Africa.

Until this issue is resolved, one can scarcely be sanguine about the prospects for elections next April. The trouble is, by boycot-

ting the talks with his customary belligerent rhetoric, Buthelezi is merely making it more likely that he will be dissatisfied with the outcome and creating the risk of a further descent into violence in the coming months.

He needs to understand that no resolution can come about until he returns to the negotiating table.

Equally, the ANC and the National Party need to look beyond short-term party objectives and consider the type of political structure that a regionally diverse as well as multiracial South Africa really needs. For all the statist, centralising instincts of the two main parties, it is not a country that can be ruled from the centre alone, its regional inequalities are too great and the regional rivalries too powerful.

An attempt to impose a constitution that does not allow for sufficient regional autonomy will merely prompt demands for secession, both from Buthelezi's followers or from the white Right. If South Africa is to have a hope of a period of stability before elections, these issues need to be settled. — Financial Times News Service □

Mandela on Boerestaat

Sowetan 29/7/93

■ CHEERS AND BOOS The ANC

will not accede to demands for volkstaat:

By Lulama Luti

WHILE THE AFRICAN National Congress was sympathetic to the Afrikaners' demand for a Boerestaat, there was no way this demand could be acceded to, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday. (11A)

Addressing about 2 000 cheering and booing students at the Rand Afrikaans University, Mandela said the demand was based "purely on ethnicity" and was therefore unacceptable.

This was during RAU's Youth Week which was addressed by high-profile politicians, including State President Mr FW de Klerk and Mr Lionel Mtshali, a member of the central committee of the Inkatha Freedom Party. General Constand Viljoen of the Afrikaner Volksfront will give his address today.

"We've decided to end the homeland system and we want a united, undivided South Africa. If we agree to give Afrikaners their own Boerestaat, the

Shangaans will demand their homeland, the Xhōsas as well and the Tswanas," Mandela said.

However, Mandela said he was prepared to recommend to the ANC that it meet this demand if Afrikaners could point out a region in the country where they could exercise autonomy.

In a mainly reconciliatory speech, Mandela said while the official position of the ANC was that the voting age should be 18, he would continue to campaign for 14-year-olds to be voters.

Cowardly act

Mandela praised ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer for the progress in the negotiation process.

"They have been at the centre of the most vicious criticism in this country and I would like to appeal to you to support them," he said.

Mandela condemned the attack on the St James' Church in Kenilworth, Cape Town, in which 11 people died, as a "barbaric and cowardly act".

Sexwale denies call to attack police

PRETORIA. — ANC PWV regional chairman Mr Tokyo Sexwale yesterday denied claims that he had told a rally in the Vaal Triangle township of Bophelong in March last year that policemen should be attacked and killed.

Mr Sexwale was giving evidence before a Goldstone Commission committee inquiring

into attacks on policemen, following earlier evidence by witnesses. He told Mr Gert Steyn, chairman of the committee, that he had never attended such a rally and had never been in Bophelong.

Mr Sexwale said the ANC had a policy of attacking security formations before the organisation was unbanned and since its

armed struggle had been suspended it had not called for the killing of policemen.

He said he had meetings with top police generals in Pretoria last week. (S) (S)

He said he had never heard the police accusing the ANC leadership of inciting attacks on policemen. (S) (S)

The sitting continues today. (S) (S)

Star 29/1/93

Parties to debate consensus today

By Esther Waugh
Political Correspondent

Differences between the 26 negotiating groups at Kempton Park emerged yesterday over aspects of the first draft of the Interim Constitution.

Discussion on the draft document went ahead without the Conservative Party, Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu government — all three having rejected the document.

But debates on sufficient consensus and a confederal option were postponed until today, allowing time for these parties to return to the negotiating table.

In a letter to the 10-member planning committee, IFP chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose requested that debate on sufficient consensus be postponed until after the party's central committee has met.

However, negotiators said last night the discussion on sufficient consensus would continue today as scheduled.

Although the Negotiating Council has agreed to a series of constitutional principles which will be the framework for the Interim and final Constitutions, sharp differences exist between the negotiators.

The main points of conflict

which emerged yesterday in the council's four-hour session were: the powers and functions of regions during the transition; the role of the constitutional court; citizenship; the implementation of the Interim Constitution; a time-frame for writing the final Constitution; the status of the final Constitution; and the name of a constitution-making body.

Disagreement arose over whether the powers and functions of regions should be entrenched before or after the first elections for an interim government.

Bophuthatswana government

negotiator Rowan Cronje argued that no provision had been made for the exclusive powers of regions in the draft document. But the technical committee on constitutional matters said regions would have more powers during the transition than provinces had enjoyed previously.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, supported by the South African Communist Party and PAC, objected to a constitutional court determining whether the final Constitution adheres to the constitutional principles accepted by the Negotiating Council.

MANGOSUTHU BUTHELEZI

FM 30/7/93

Tragedy beckons

It is an alliance that nobody predicted: the former Marxist revolutionaries of the African National Congress and the former white supremacists of the National Party. Yet here they are, the ANC and the Nats, striving to keep the transition to democracy on schedule.

Another paradox for bewildered South Africans is that greater progress has meant greater instability. This is because politics is not so much about ideological belief as the securing and protection of interests. As that shrewdest of political animals, Napoleon Bonaparte, noted: "A man will fight harder for his interests than for his rights." And progress always threatens someone's interests.

It is in the interest of both the Nats and the ANC to push through an interim constitution based on the draft published this week. The ANC has some wise leaders who know very well the costs of delay: they do not want to rule a wasteland.

As for the Nats, they know that their time began running out in 1948. Having enjoyed power for longer than they deserved, they experienced a sudden moral conversion and are now resigned to bargaining for the best possible settlement they can get. Believing, quite rightly, that they have just about got that settlement, the Nats want to put it in place. They might differ ideologically from the ANC — but the interests of the two major national players coincide.

This cosy agreement is threatened from two important sources: Afrikaner nationalism and Zulu nationalism. Or, if you wish to be less noble, white reactionaries and black secessionists. Both groups threaten the fledgling constitution — but the most powerful spoiler at present is undoubtedly the Inkatha Freedom Party under Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Buthelezi has the potential to become the tragic figure of South African politics. In the Sixties and Seventies, there was something Churchillian in his refusal to be seduced by Pretoria into accepting the fake independence so readily lapped up by Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei.

As long as Buthelezi, the leader of the most populous black nation, held out, the policy remained discredited. It was a stance much appreciated at the time by the ANC in exile.

In the Eighties came the increasing divergence between, on the one hand, Buthelezi and his rural conservative power base; and on the other, the ANC and its internal surrogates in the SA Council of Churches and the United Democratic Front. Buthelezi disagreed with the UDF on making the townships ungovernable; he disagreed with clergymen like Desmond Tutu on the need for economic sanctions. He lent his weight to sensible projects like the KwaNatal Indaba.

But in Natal and on the Witwatersrand, territories were marked out. Fighting increased as a result of tribalism, uneven access to resources, unfair patronage, the breakdown of families, the spiral of vengeance. However complicated it all was, the analysis became self-fulfilling: Inkatha versus the ANC in a battle for power. Now the violence is endemic.

It is not clear to outsiders where exactly Buthelezi's own interests coincide with those of the Zulu people, but he perceives them to be severely threatened. Perhaps he does not want to lose his historical domain; perhaps Zulu does not wish to be ruled by Xhosa; perhaps it would have been better to let KwaZulu and Natal go it alone. But politicians cannot be wistful; they must deal in realities.

Buthelezi's arguments and political aims are generally consistent; it is his tactics in pursuing them that are open to question. The question is not whether he is wrong in demanding so much devolved power, but how much he will risk.

It must surely be clear to him that his party's rigid federalist option will simply not be tolerated by the other major players, and that the time is fast approaching when they must move on without him.

If that happens, he might pull us all down with him — which is the measure of the risk that he must calculate as he considers his own interests. ■

and turned the gun on himself.

Sowetan 30/7/93
Mandela in the Far East (11A)

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela left South Africa yesterday on a visit to Taiwan and Malaysia.

He will be in Taipei from today until Sunday and then travel to Kuala Lumpur on Monday, where he will be until Wednesday. He returns on Thursday.

Cops attacked in the Cape

TWO traffic officers were shot and wounded in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, yesterday while issuing a ticket to a taxi driver. *Sowetan 30/7/93*

Police said the officers were approached by a man near the Tembani Centre. The man allegedly fired several shots, hitting traffic officers Francisco Malambo and Joseph Damani, both of the Lingeletu West traffic department, in the legs.

He escaped after taking a 9mm pistol from one of the officers. (SFB)

Join forces, Nats and ANC urged

Sowetan 30/7/93

LONDON — *The Times* newspaper said yesterday South Africa did not have the luxury of time to produce a settlement.

"Three years after President (FW) de Klerk took the momentous decision to negotiate a future with his government's sworn enemies, South Africa is close to social disintegration," the newspaper said in an editorial.

"As political and criminal violence has spilled over from the black townships into white suburbia and white farms, support has drained from the government.

Secure order ~~SECRET~~ (IA)

"Today, its ability to administer the country, secure order, even to protect the negotiating process itself, is seriously in question."

"The only answer is for the government and African National Congress to join as soon as possible in the transitional executive, sharing responsibility for the maintenance of peace and order in a country in which the social contract has lost all meaning." — *Sapa*.

RT0837

World in brief



A time for good tactics

"Extending a hand of friendship and accommodation" to Inkatha, KwaZulu and the Conservative Party to rejoin the talks, the other 23 parties present in the negotiating council on Monday resolved to delay debate on the first draft of the interim constitution and the issues of confederalism and sufficient consensus, until (last) Wednesday. A week's grace was considered too much.

"The absence of the IFP and the CP is of great concern to us," says ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, adding that the resolution "walks that extra mile" in an attempt to get them back to where their concerns could be properly addressed. The NP's Dawie de Villiers urged the two parties to stop making threats of violence and to put the interests of the country first.

Signs of their return were hard to detect as the *FM* went to press. On the contrary, Inkatha suggested that it would bring Supreme Court action against the council over the controversial issue of decision-making by sufficient consensus, which is how the April 27 election date was decided at the Negotiating Forum on July 2 (*Current Affairs* July 23) (JIA) (11A) (11A)

The other hurdle Inkatha has erected is the draft interim constitution, which it rejects completely because, it claims, the draft fails to meet its demand for federalism. Not only that — Inkatha demands that federalism must be implemented in one phase and be immune to an elected constitution-making body. Until something like this is "at least put on the table," say Inkatha, it will not return. (11A)

Behind-the-scenes attempts are being made by government and the ANC to prevail on the boycotting parties to get back to negotiations.

The CP might just return for the debate on confederalism, but its initial reaction to the draft blueprint was utterly negative and it ruled out any chance of rejoining the talks. The idea of an alternative negotiating forum has been mooted by the CP and IFP.

Other parties in the Inkatha-led Cosag alliance — Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and the Afrikaner Volksunie have stayed on board so far.

A rumour at the talks suggested that Afrikaner Volksfront co-ordinator Gen Constand

Fm 2017/93

Viljoen could again put in an appearance at the World Trade Centre — this time to take part in the debate on confederalism, as part of Andries Beyers's Volksunie team (JIA)

It seems there's something of an internal battle going on between the CP and the generals over who controls the Volksfront. Viljoen is said to have been "discovered" politically by the Volksunie, not the CP, and the hope is that he will join this more moderate rightwing group instead (11A) (11A)

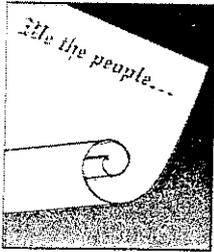
According to the Afrikaner Stigting's Carel Boshoff jnr, his group sees an opening for the pursuit of a largely Afrikaner-dominated region, thanks to government's proposal to the regional boundary commission of two regions in the western Cape (*Current Affairs* July 16). (11A)

THE DRAFT INTERIM CONSTITUTION

The end of the beginning

FM 30/7/93

Not a bad start — but further progress depends on leaders, not lawyers



At last we have something to show for nearly three years of multiparty democracy talks — but undermined by economic decay, punctuated by mass action, and constantly threatened by violence.

The draft interim constitution tabled at the negotiating council on Monday brings us closer to a point of no return, which is why it has drawn some emotional responses. It represents a remarkable compromise between two former bitter enemies, the African National Congress and the National Party. Yet it also appears to have driven some parties — notably the Conservative Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party — further away from the two major players. Thus it prompts both hope and despair.

But we must bear in mind that the draft is just that — a draft — and we must be quite clear about the intended role of the final version.

This document is not the proposed ultimate constitution for the country; it is merely the first draft of an interim constitution. It will take force after the general election in April 1994 and will be used to govern the country while the elected constituent assembly formulates a final constitution. That process is expected to last as long as two years from mid-1994. (Before the April 1994 election, the country will be governed by an

appointed multiparty Transitional Executive Council, which is expected to be set up by the present parliament in September.)

But there is little time. A feeling of desperation grows in the country, with many wondering whether to emigrate because of rising crime and violence — such as the barbaric church massacre in Cape Town last Sunday. First draft it may be, but there will not be an opportunity for many more — which is why careful criticism and responsive statesmanship is vital.

Within the negotiating council itself there is, paradoxically, a pall of gloom brought on by the absence of Mangosuthu Buthelezi's IFP and his CP allies. Though decisions can be taken without them, these decisions may have to be revisited should the recalcitrants decide to return — or should they work to subvert the transition and next year's general election. Government, the ANC and others want the process and solution to be as inclusive as possible — but the time may soon come when the risks of moving ahead without the CP and IFP will have to be faced.

All constitutions have a lot of mom-and-apple-pie stuff on which everyone can agree and this one is no different. It is often general or vague and it leaves out entire sections pending formulation by other technical committees.

But it is an important step, symbolically and practically. It sets out broad and democratic constitutional principles. It also constructs a transitional political framework. According to a leading US expert on transi-

tions to democracy, the Hoover Institute's Larry Diamond, the draft "allows for proportionality, power-sharing and the devolution of power — both in the governance of SA during the period following the election of a bicameral interim parliament, and in the drafting of a permanent constitutional system for after the interim period."



Diamond

The most ominous objections to the draft come from the IFP, which is "gravely concerned about much of the content." Inkatha spokesman Walter Felgate says it is "not even a starting point." While the IFP takes no exception to the work of the committee, which "correctly fulfilled its brief and

instructions" from the Negotiating Forum on July 2, the problem, says the IFP, is in those instructions.

"The IFP," says Felgate, "walked out of the negotiations precisely because it felt that the instructions would lead to a constitution which excludes federalism and leaves the shaping of SA's destiny to a constituent assembly. This is precisely what has happened." So Inkatha will rejoin the negotiations "only once a model for the establishment of a federal system in a one-stage process is at least put on the table." This is a familiar refrain: increasingly, the IFP seems to view the talks as a means simply of getting its way.

The IFP alleges deep political dishonesty and misrepresentation by government and the ANC, which "totally ignored IFP objections" to the technical committee's brief. It says the draft is not fully comprehensible, with important sections (such as that on the constitutional court) not yet written. It claims that the document "has no purpose other than to empower a constituent assembly."

This assembly, the IFP continues, will be charged with completely re-drafting the constitution — which could be adopted by a 51% majority after the deadlock-breaking mechanisms have run their course. The requirement for a 60% majority in a referendum, says Inkatha with considerable justification, is meaningless if the ultimate deadlock breaker is a simple majority.

Inkatha is on shakier ground when it maintains that the regional powers in the draft are limited and that they will not in any case vest in the regions. But it argues that this decision, including the extent of those powers and whether they will be exclusive or

THE DRAFT IN A NUTSHELL

Proposals to build on ...

- A multiparty executive;
- Entrenched independence of judiciary;
- A national assembly elected by proportional representation, based on party lists;
- Direct election of regional assemblies at the same time as the national body;
- Regions to have own constitutions;
- A directly elected senate with real power to protect regional functions;
- Asymmetry among regions an option;
- Abolition of TBVC/homeland administrations;
- Adequate room for more bargaining on regional powers;
- Establishment of an expert financial and fiscal commission, to ensure fair allocation of national revenue;
- The separation of powers between the

legislature, executive and judiciary; and

- Acceptance of a common market and a common currency.

Crucial problem areas ...

- No specific protection of property and economic activity rights offered beyond April 1994;
- Deadlock-breaking mechanism for adopting a new constitution heavily favours the ANC;
- Lack of clarity over intended powers for regions;
- Possible over-representation of regions through own assemblies, central assembly and central senate;
- Likely financial burden of too many elected representatives and a bureaucracy to service them; and
- Important aspects, such as a constitutional court, are not yet addressed.

concurrent, "is left to the full discretion of the new government and the constituent assembly." Regional constitutional autonomy is totally ignored; there is no assurance that the territorial autonomy of the TBVC and self-governing states will not be ended when they are re-incorporated into the present provinces.

These objections seem persuasive — but are they rational? Unisa expert Prof Marinus Wiechers, a member of the technical committee which produced the draft and a former Inkatha constitutional adviser, disagrees totally with the IFP interpretation. He says there is enough in the draft to meet Inkatha's federal demands: "Federalism is a pragmatic form of State government. It is a relationship between central and State governments with protections and checks and balances.

"Test all the classic criteria against this draft: having a rigid constitution, division of powers, a body to solve conflicts between the regions and centre, and the main thing is protecting the autonomy of the regions. If that's not federal, I don't know what federal is."

Wiechers describes the draft as a "constitutional scheme, within strict parameters in order to make a constitutional democratic State possible. It's not a fixed constitution — but any good constitution should take the form of an evolving scheme. I would certainly call this federal — that is, a pragmatic form of State where you have very well-protected autonomies of the component parts."

Regional powers, Wiechers maintains, are in fact spelled out, including a mechanism for their implementation and protection. He describes the IFP model as a crude form of confederalism — which is to the IFP's own detriment, "because in the model envisaged by the committee, there is a give-and-take, and there's much to be given from central level to KwaZulu/Natal. In their model, they wouldn't be able to get any allocation from the top."

As for the CP, there is provision, Wiechers points out, "for establishing cultural rights, collective self-determination, and so on. But it's something they've got to work for. It's not something they can claim historically or otherwise. So, if they want to sit back and have a static claim, they're not going to get it."

The view of the Democratic Party — the one genuine, longstanding federal party — may be instructive. Reacting to the draft constitution, DP national chairman and negotiations co-ordinator Ken Andrew says: "It provides a good basis for further negotiation and contains many of the essential ingredients required for a liberal, democratic and federal system of government for SA."

Though many of the details still have to be spelled out, Andrew continues, "one can already identify many good features which the DP can support in a constitution for the transitional period." (See Draft in a Nutshell.)

But Andrew says there are important

flaws in the first draft that need attention. He detects two major problems — and both are also identified by Inkatha.

The first is the provision that if a new constitution cannot be agreed by a two-thirds majority, or by 60% in a referendum, then a newly elected constitution-making body can adopt a new constitution on the basis of a 51% majority. "This is most unwise. It gives any majority group no incentive to compromise, because it will know that if it holds out long enough, it will simply be able to write its own constitution. It also gives rise to the possibility of SA having a constitution rejected by 49% of the population — surely a recipe for disaster, as the constitution will inevitably have become the centre of bitter political controversy."

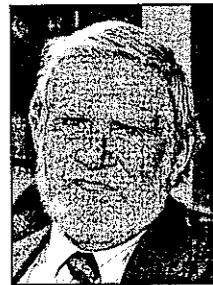
The second major problem for the DP is "the inadequate way in which the powers and functions of regional governments are provided for in this draft." Andrew reckons



Buthelezi



De Villiers



Felgate



Andrew

that too many powers and discretions are left in the hands of the National Executive and the State President to decide how, when and what regional powers will be allocated.

The NP government says the document cannot be regarded as more than a first draft. In a joint statement, Ministers Roelf Meyer and Dawie de Villiers — clearly offering the olive branch to Inkatha and the CP — say the document is meant to facilitate discussion.

Government is satisfied with the overall approach and the fact that many of the features it proposed are included. However, the proposals on a new regional dispensation "do not meet all the requirements of the government." Accordingly, it is to make recommendations in the negotiating council "intended to strengthen these clauses" as it believes that more certainty about federal aspects of a future constitution should be built into the draft.

According to the ANC, the tabling of the first draft "opens the way for substantive debate and decision. It does not reflect the option of any single party, yet skilfully caters for the real and legitimate concerns of all the participants." The instinctive response of parties, adds the ANC perceptively, will be to emphasise the aspects that do not conform exactly to their own proposals — but it says this should be resisted in the interests of the country.

ANC regional policy chief Thozamile Botha says the ANC doesn't necessarily agree with everything in the draft. "For example, the asymmetry of the functions and powers of regions. Our view is that there should be certain basic minimum powers and functions that are allocated to all regions. And because the centre has to set national standards, it's crucial that there should be an enforcement of minimum standards one way or the other.

"There should be provisions for the financing of the regions to meet those minimum standards. You cannot, for example, have compulsory education for so many years in one region and not in another. It's also important that regions should know the implications of asking for more powers; regional politicians should know that they must also take responsibility for taxing people. There are different viewpoints on all of these things, they have still to be debated, and we will fight for our positions."

According to Botha, "the catalogue of powers and functions (in the draft) covers quite a lot. But when it comes to the final constitution, you will still have to decide what are the concurrent, exclusive and original powers of regions.

"These are not finalised. In the interim constitution, everything is supposed to be supervised from the centre, so that is not necessary at this stage — but it will be when it comes to the actual drafting of the new constitution."

ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli says the draft shows that negotiations have finally reached maturity and it provides "an acceptable framework within which detailed negotiations can take place."

While the ANC national working committee is discussing the document, its regional branches have raised questions over:

- Whether or not the inclusion of members of the proposed senate in the constituent assembly means regional "over-representation in what is essentially a national body";
- The provision for the adoption of regional constitutions (though they'll be subject to the national one) "raises the spectre of Balkanisation and conflictual regional chauvinism";
- The justification and affordability of having a possible 900 legislators — 400 in the national assembly, between 80 and 100 in the senate, plus 400 in the regional assemblies; and
- The two-year time frame for adopting the final constitution is unduly long — the ANC regions say nine months would be enough.

PIC 7

Valli adds that the draft makes extensive provision for the establishment of regional powers, functions and structures — 17 of its 30 pages are devoted to regional government. While this is an attempt to meet the concerns of the IFP and other Cosag members, “the irony is that the IFP will not be there to discuss these issues.”

The chief negotiator of Bophuthatswana, Rowan Cronje, says he is disappointed. “It is an indication of the difficulties caused by following a two-phase process: you have a transitional constitution, but in terms of regions you can’t make any decisions because eventually they may be reversed. The implementation of a new regional dispensation, as has been indicated, is going to be a very complex and long process. And unless one is very clear from the beginning what your ultimate objective is, it is very difficult to do it.

“The lack of regional powers, the fact that any Bills will have to be referred to the central government, that any proposed constitutions have to be referred to central government — these provisions really undermine the fundamental decisions which we’ve taken on constitutional principles. If those are accommodated and we work towards them, it will lead to a far more structured, more sensible and comforting way of dealing with it.

“The draft gives no security. It puts everything into limbo for another two years. The



Botha

restructuring process should be on far more solid ground than is being provided for.”

In direct contradiction of Marinus Wiechers, Cronje thinks that the powers allocated to regions in the draft constitution “give them less powers and put them in a weaker position

than the provinces right now. They have no original powers. Everything is dependent and to be decided by central government.”

The arguments and counter-arguments can become bewildering. Many of the players are superb at finding good legalistic arguments to back the case which suits their own interests. (IIF) (IB) (SPP)

This is why the Hoover Institute’s Larry Diamond offers a valuable perspective. Diamond argues that the draft and the constitutional principles together represent an obviously necessary compromise between incompatible negotiating positions.

“If this draft is embraced by the ANC in more or less its current form, outside observers will no doubt be struck by the very great distance that party has come from its original preference for unitary, centralised government.”

However, Diamond adds, “even if all of

the remaining questions and gaps are filled in to the satisfaction of the most vigorously doubting sceptics, this draft constitution will fall well short of the demands of the IFP for full federalism that is rigidly embedded into the constitution at the outset of the transitional government. One can only hope and pray that there remains room for negotiation in the IFP’s position.”

Looking at the experience of other transitions, says Diamond, it is crucially important to the success of the transitional constitution that Inkatha is represented on the Transitional Executive Council.

There comes a point, of course, where all the structures and fine words can mean nothing. The success of a constitution — transitional or final — must depend on the will and good faith of important political leaders, as well as on peaceful conditions. Otherwise it is not worth the paper it is written on — as the citizens of many African and Soviet bloc countries will testify; they have suffered oppression under wonderful constitutions.

Of course, we still have to adopt an interim constitution. Assuming that our politicians are listening — those from Inkatha in particular — let Diamond have the last word: “Democratic transitions often reach the point of deadlock that can only be broken by the personal statesmanship and diplomacy of political leaders . . . such leadership may well make the difference in the days and weeks ahead.”

Sexwale invites Viljoen to talks

ET 30/7/92

11A

PRETORIA. — ANC PWV leader Mr Tokyo Sexwale yesterday invited the Afrikaner Volkfront's General Constand Viljoen to discussions on a "boerestaat".

He was speaking at a meeting to launch an ANC branch at the University of Pretoria.

Mr Sexwale said "we should not run away from chatting and form small quarters of resistance".

He said the ANC wanted an undivided South Africa, not a state based on ethnicity.

His message to the ultra-right was that they were not the true leaders of the Afrikaner.

He said: "Come, let's talk," in a message to Gen Viljoen, who he said was seen as their leader by some "misguided people".

No-one should overlook white fears and black anger, he said, adding that elections next April were "the only thing standing between us and disaster". — Sapa-AFP

China syndrome for SA's communists

(11A) W/M 30/7-5/8/93

A TOP official of the Chinese Communist Party is to visit South Africa next week — and is to hold talks with the cash-strapped South African Communist Party on an SACP request for financial aid.

The *Weekly Mail* has seen a secret SACP draft protocol which requests material assistance and a cash grant of over R9-million to be paid into a London bank account. This may have been presented to the Chinese by former SACP secretary-general Chris Hani during a trip to Beijing last year.

The official, Zhao Xueli, is a member of the international liaison department of the Chinese party's central committee — but he is not

advertising the fact. Officially a guest of the South Africa Foundation, he is described in his CV as "a council member of the Chinese Association for International Understanding".

Zhao will head a four-person team on a 12-day fact-finding visit to South Africa from Sunday.

He is the most senior representative of the Chinese establishment to visit South Africa and will discuss a SACP request for material assistance and cash funding to the tune of US\$2,7-million (R9,1-million) contained in a hitherto secret draft protocol submitted to the Chinese some months ago. The SACP has experienced a funding crisis since its traditional sources in the Soviet bloc dried

up after 1990. The draft protocol emphasises the SACP's potential influence in South Africa and the region. It provides for Chinese assistance in the form of office equipment, motor vehicles and opportunities for SACP members to study in China. In addition, the protocol provides for the cash grant to be channelled through a London bank account thought to belong to party

By Iden Wetherell

up after 1990. The draft protocol emphasises the SACP's potential influence in South Africa and the region. It provides for Chinese assistance in the form of office equipment, motor vehicles and opportunities for SACP members to study in China. In addition, the protocol provides for the cash grant to be channelled through a London bank account thought to belong to party

veteran Mannie Brown.

"The pervasive element of violence is not conducive to free and fair elections," the SACP says in its pitch to the Chinese funders. "In this context the party sees as its primary objective the need to expand its role in the country and strengthen its alliance partner, the ANC.

"For this purpose the party is desirous of obtaining office equipment and furniture, motor vehicles, opportunities for its members to study, receive vocational training and ideological instruction in the People's Republic of China, and a cash grant of US\$2 736 000".

The SACP is hoping, according to the protocol, that China will take at least 10 students into its universities and that key regional officials and trade unionists can be sent to China for instruction in ideology.

In a less than subtle attempt to entice China's strategic interest, the protocol points out that "South Africa is the dominant player in the Southern African region. Although the evolution of a new world order has led to a redefinition of priorities, none of the major players has absolute influence in the region, and ample opportunity exists for the SACP, in conjunction with its alliance partner, the ANC, to re-evaluate foreign policy objectives

of a future government of South Africa."

SACP spokesman Jeremy Cronin acknowledged the existence of the protocol but suggested it was unlikely to go forward in its present form. He said discussions about Chinese assistance were currently on hold but there would be "an exchange of political perspectives" with the Chinese delegation, while the SACP would facilitate trade contacts. This could include credits for "companies aligned with the SACP" to purchase Chinese goods for resale in South Africa.

SACP insiders suggested the protocol could have been circulating for some time within the party's hierarchy, but that the Chinese might not yet be ready for such high-level assistance. "It could be a reflection of our urgent needs rather than a firm deal at this stage," one party member confided.

Observers believe that independent funding of the sort requested by the SACP would strengthen the party's position within the ANC alliance as elections loom. But the Chinese are evidently awaiting a formal end to sanctions and the formation of a transitional executive council before making a firm commitment to the SACP.



DEVELOPMENT MANAGER

The Serviced Land Project, Cape Town

The Serviced Land Project is a joint initiative of community organisations and public authorities with the object of creating serviced plots with secure tenure for low-income families that are presently housed within informal settlements, overcrowded hostels and the backyards of townships. This would be the first step in an incremental housing process. After more than 2 years of planning and negotiation the project is ready for implementation. A Project Manager has been appointed, who now seeks a Development Manager to join the project management team.

The Development Manager's prime function shall be to assist a number of

sta 311-7193
Malawian exiles to return

THREE members of the Malawi Democratic Party, including the party's president who has been in exile for nine years, are to return to Malawi today after having being granted amnesty. They are MDP president Kamlepo Kalua, Ismail Milanzi and Peter Simaka. The MDP was formed in Johannesburg in 1991. — Sapa (117)

sta 311-7193
50 000 members, says SACP

THE South African Communist Party celebrated its 72nd anniversary yesterday. The SACP claims its membership has grown from 2 000 in 1990 to just less than 50 000. — Sapa (117)

Indian N...

NINE MONTHS TO GO in countdown to democratic elections

and opponents look set to be brushed aside

Star 31/1/93

The ANC juggernaut

11A

In another study of voter trends of all races, based on data obtained in February 1993, the HSRC puts the IFP's national support at between 8 and 11 percent, depending on whether the criterion is definite preference for the IFP or broad identification with it.

The IFP does not have enough national support to emerge as a serious challenger to the ANC juggernaut on its own. Even an IFP-NP election alliance — which, for the moment, seems unlikely — will, at best, win 39 percent of the vote, not enough to deny the ANC victory.

These figures do not, however, mean that the IFP is a spent force, destined to be pushed aside even in Natal. According to HSRC surveys in Natal, the IFP remains the biggest single party there.

Buthelezi is now playing his trump card: a call to Zulus to fight for their right to self-determination and to resist the projected threat to their kingdom and their king by the ANC and its SACP ally. The call, a call to blood and history, is being issued by the Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelithini. For that reason it should not be dismissed lightly.

But, from the ANC's perspective, the most dangerous threat — latent but potentially menacing — comes from the PAC.

THE HSRC investigation into the attitude of rural blacks and those in the squatter camps and hostels discloses that although support for the PAC is but a tiny bleep on HSRC computers — a mere 2 percent — when these deprived people are asked which parties they feel close to or identify with, it grows spectacularly to 16 percent.

The same process is noticeable in relation to the Azanian People's Organisation. Its support rises from a subliminal bleep to an audible 9 percent.

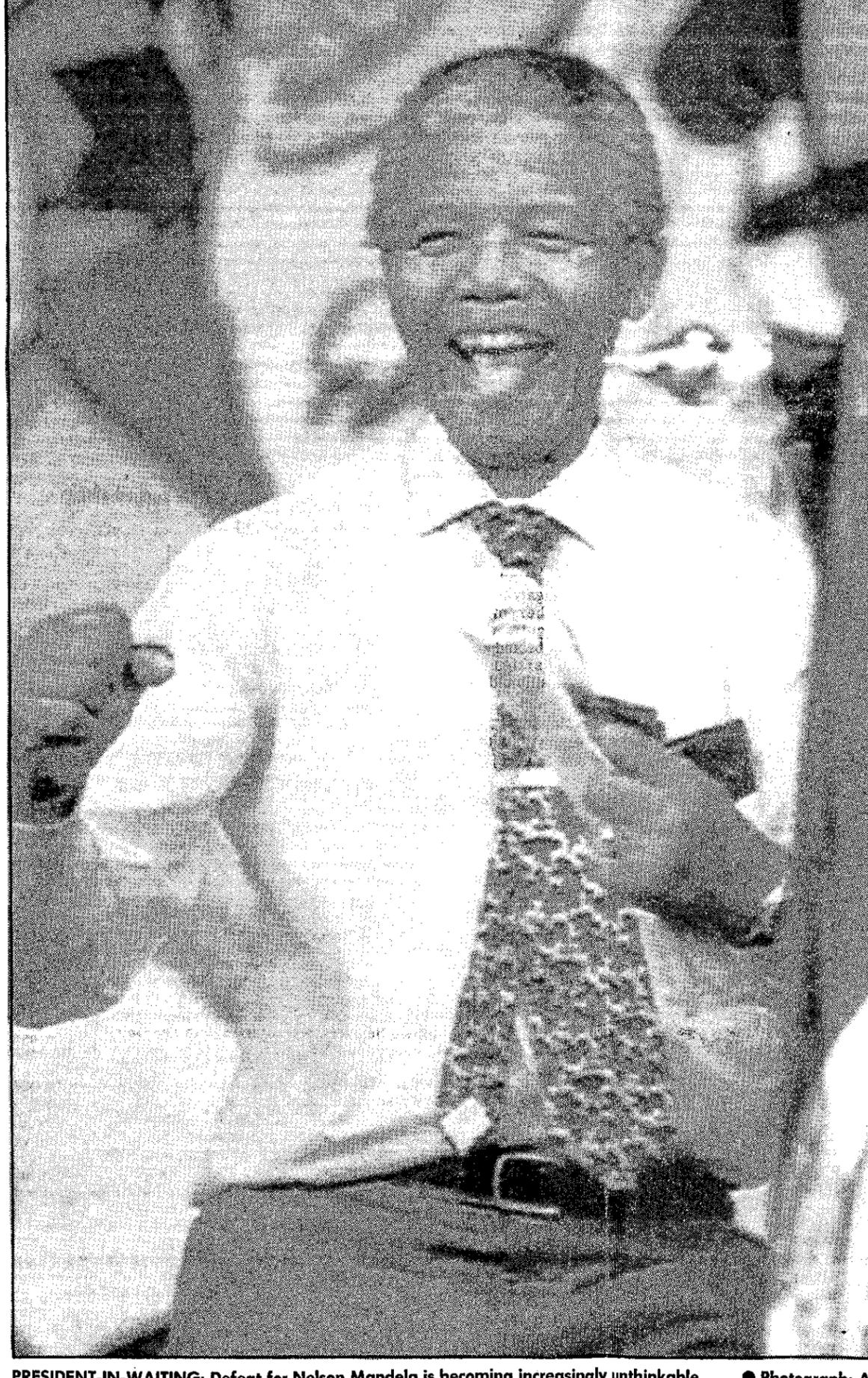
The PAC and Azapo share two major ideological points in common: they attach overwhelming significance to black leadership (although they may use different terminology) and they have made the return of the land to indigenous black people a priority.

The HSRC study findings show there is substantial sympathy for the PAC-Azapo perspective among the ANC's deprived black followers, the people whom the veteran community leader, Dr Nthato Motlana, once described as the "black blacks".

The sympathy co-exists uneasily with the disproportionate presence of whites and Indians in ANC leadership ranks, as the black journalist, Mondli Makanya, made clear in the Weekly Mail last week.

If an ANC-led government disappoints its black supporters, if it is seen to be too sensitive to the concerns of non-black minorities, it may well find itself confronted with massive defections to, and a major challenge from, the PAC and Azapo five or six years down the line.

As ANC elections commission chief Popo Molefe has told Saturday Star: "The PAC is a



PRESIDENT-IN-WAITING: Defeat for Nelson Mandela is becoming increasingly unthinkable. ● Photograph: AP

Rural millions have already chosen, study finds

ment of the population. It is, however, by far the largest segment, comprising 74 percent of the population and 68,5 percent of the electorate.

Its political allegiances are thus vital to the election result. Parties without significant black support cannot hope to win.

With the scheduled election now less than nine months away, the question arises of whether any countervailing political force — or coalition of forces — is strong enough to stop the ANC juggernaut

juggernaut may be vulnerable to challenge in the election after that, scheduled to be held between 1995 and 1999, after the dissolution of the envisaged transitional government of national unity.

The NP's dream of leading a grand coalition — the Christian Democratic Alliance — to victory against the ANC has crumbled and is no longer a viable proposition. The NP, in what may turn out to be a major error of judgment, has quarrelled with its potential coalition partners and let it be ack-

the NP has chosen to declare political war against the Rev Allan Hendrickse's LP by wooing its members into its own ranks. By incurring the enmity of the surviving LP members and by taking "opportunists" aboard, it may have lost more than it gained.

JUST as important, the NP — or sections of it, — has turned its back on the IFP, preferring to strike a deal with the ANC on a transitional govern-

among its Natal-based MPs, who incline towards the IFP, seeing the IFP — rather than the ANC — as the NP's natural alliance partner.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi, once the NP's preferred ally, is now its deadly foe. Believing that he has been betrayed, he has turned on the NP, actively seeking to woo De Klerk's supporters into the IFP by presenting the IFP as a more effective bulwark against the ANC.

On the electoral front, however, Buthelezi's IFP appears

PARTIES without significant black support cannot hope to win. The election countdown has already begun and the question arises of whether any countervailing political force — or even coalition of forces — is strong enough to stop the ANC winning by a wide margin. PATRICK LAURENCE reports on the evidence.

AS NEXT year's nonracial election approaches, Nelson Mandela's ANC seems increasingly to resemble an irresistible juggernaut, and its opponents, midgets destined to be brushed aside.

A recent investigation by the Human Sciences Research Council confirms the ANC's position as the preponderant force in the pending election contest. The findings are particularly important because they probe the thinking of a large, but hitherto unexplored, section of the electorate.

The investigation, carried out for the Department of Constitutional Development, focuses on black people normally not included in standard opinion polls: rural folk, within and beyond the tribal homelands; inhabitants of the burgeoning squatter camps on the edges of cities and townships; and occupants of hostels from Pretoria to Maritzburg.

These people are in broad terms poorer, more likely to be illiterate or semi-literate, and less sophisticated politically than their compatriots in the cities and townships.

But, according to Chris de Kock, one of the investigation supervisors, their allegiances will be of critical importance to the outcome of the pending election: they account for 79 percent of the potential black electorate or 57 percent of the potential total electorate (including the nominally independent TBVC states). Three salient findings emerge:

- Political violence functions as a disincentive against voting.
- ANC (and South African Communist Party and Pan Africanist Congress) supporters are less inhibited by the violence than their Inkatha Freedom Party counterparts and therefore more likely to vote.
- The ANC is the overwhelmingly favoured.

TO DEAL specifically with the last of these findings: 56 percent of these potential black voters favour the ANC, against — in diminishing order of popularity — 9 percent for the IFP, 2 percent for the PAC and a tiny 1 percent for the National Party.

There is, however, a fairly large category of potential voters — 30 percent — who are either undecided in their political loyalties or who have no definite political allegiance.

Assuming that, however, these potential voters divide on the basis of the existing pattern of loyalties, then, the HSRC calculates, the final result will be: ANC 81 percent; IFP 14 percent; PAC 2 percent and NP 1 percent.

But another important factor works in favour of the ANC: a greater determination on the part of its supporters to vote, even if it means risking violence en route to or from, or at, the polling booth. A whopping 90 percent of those who identify themselves as ANC loyalists intend to vote, against a mere 72 percent of those who claim to be IFP supporters.

If levels of violence increase in the run-up to the election, the determination to vote will simultaneously increase among ANC supporters, the HSRC states.

Believing that violence is being orchestrated to prevent an ANC victory, ANC voters will be even keener to assure an ANC win by voting, the HSRC reasons. "Victory, they believe, will bring peace," it concludes.

These HSRC findings must be supplemented by those of Markinor's recent poll of 1 000 blacks in metropolitan areas. Markinor research identifies the ANC as the most popular black political organisation by a long way.

The ANC is the first choice of 68 percent of metropolitan blacks, against — again in diminishing order — 5 percent for the PAC, and 3 percent each for the IFP and NP. If second choices are taken into account the ANC emerges even

Too much depends on central government, say delegates

Clearing way for debates

Star 31/7/93

JOHN PERLMAN
Chief Reporter

THE Negotiating Council at the World Trade Centre yesterday continued to try to clear the ground for the tough debates ahead on the draft constitution and a Bill of Rights for the transition — with mixed success.

Debate on the council floor produced some clarity in the complex wranglings over what powers regional governments should have, but consideration of the technical committee's report on the Bill of Rights saw traditional leaders insisting that customary law was not being accorded its due place.

Opposed

Delegates — excluding those from the Inkatha Freedom Party, the KwaZulu government and the Conservative Party — heard debate about how constitutions for the state, provincial and regional governments would be drawn up.

The Afrikaner Volksunie (AVU) and Bophuthatswana government again opposed the idea that the elected legislature of the governments — as opposed to appointed regional representatives — should draw up a constitution or even decide it did not need a constitution.

They argued that regional powers still de-

pend too much on central government for their granting.

"Regions in this constitution remain a big 'if,'" said Corlia Kruger of the AVU. Everything, she said, "hangs on the balance" of the central government.

Joe Slovo of the SACP said the ANC and its allies had already made concessions, "a 180-degree turn", on regions.

"One aspect from which we cannot depart is that whatever texts are prepared it is still the elected representatives of the people in the region that must decide. We can't bind them in this forum," he said.

Moolman Mentz of the AVU said the constitution of a region should be drawn up by "a body like this one".

Bophuthatswana's

chief negotiator, Rowan Cronje said that while regions were "provided for", they were "dependent on and controlled by central government without a little bit of autonomy to think and do for themselves".

That, he said, was "our central problem".

The council was not looking to make any decisions. This week's discussion was intended to

air views so that the technical committee which drew up the Interim Constitution could produce a second draft.

Even so, Slovo said the debate was "one of the most important discussions we have had. This whole question of regions goes to the future of our country and the future of our negotiating process."

The document tabled



TO THE POINT: Bophuthatswana's chief negotiator at the World Trade Centre, Rowan Cronje, gets his views across to a fellow delegate.

Photograph: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

on "fundamental rights during the transition" — the seventh report of this committee — included several changes made after debate on July 21.

Among them was a detailed description of what constituted discrimination, which would not be allowed on the grounds of race, gender, ethnic origin, colour, sexual orientation,

age, disability, religion, conscience, creed, culture or language".

The document prompted strong objections from Chief Mwele Nonkonyana of the Cape Traditional Leaders. It also drew criticism, on different issues, from the Democratic Party. Nonkonyana said the "whole thing" was based on "Western culture" which was being "imposed over

and above our culture".

Traditional leaders' submissions about this had been ignored. The question of "culture and custom to the people of this country is fundamental", he said.

Professor L M du Plessis, convener of the technical committee which drafted the document, said traditional leaders' objections had been addressed by a clause which stated that rights recognised and conferred by indigenous law remained in full force. However, these could not limit any right entrenched in the document. Nonkonyana said this was contradictory, reflected "an urban bias" and made customary law subordinate to Roman-Dutch law.

Challenged

The DP's Tony Leon argued that the Bill of Rights should not just have "vertical application" — where citizens could challenge the State — but also "horizontal", where citizens could challenge each other as well as non-governmental institutions.

The DP also challenged the proposed "interpretation" of the Bill which would seek to promote "the values which underlie a free, open and democratic society based on a principle of equality". Leon said liberty should be included as a principle of equal standing with equality.

"The courts should evaluate where liberty should prevail and where equality should prevail," he said. "I regard this Bill as more important than the constitution."

Taiwan extends a hand to Mandela

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ESTHER WAUGH

TAPEI — Taiwanese Prime Minister Dr Chan Lien says his country is ready to aid SA's economic reconstruction.

Speaking at a dinner in honour of ANC president Nelson Mandela, Lien said: "If there is anything my government can do to help, all you need to do is to give the word. We are ready to give assistance to a new South Africa because we believe in you, your wisdom and your statesmanship."

It is the first visit by an ANC delegation — which has traditionally had stronger ties with China — to Taiwan.

Speaking at the dinner, attended by Taiwan's top businessmen and industrialists, Lien said he was convinced a democratic SA, with its rich natural resources and potential for development, should be able to attract foreign investment.

"While there may be at present a lot of violence, foreign exchange control coupled with dual exchange rate, and absence of an environment conducive to free competition, there is nothing that cannot be

corrected with a commitment to free market economy and judicious macro-economic policies on the part of a new government under your wise leadership."

Unfortunately, constitutional negotiations were still continuing. Insufficient progress at the negotiating table did not allow for cementing the bond between the two countries with the agreement of a series of bilateral protocols, Mandela said.

Substantial sums

He anticipated that a Transitional Executive Council would be in place by "early September at the latest" and the ANC would then proactively campaign for the lifting of trade and economic sanctions.

Mandela said: "South Africa will require substantial sums of both foreign direct and portfolio investment. We will turn to you, the successful business community of Taiwan to present the opportunities."

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Censorship

