

BLACK POLITICS
1993

NOV. — ~~POWER~~

Mandela warns on 'a balkanisation danger'

cr 111193 (11A)

WASHINGTON. — After apartheid, South Africa's central foreign policy goal will be to help make the world "safe for diversity," ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela says in a report on his party's foreign policy plans.

"The growing violence of narrow nationalism, which can lead to the balkanisation of states, is of particular concern to South Africans," Mr Mandela said in the issue of Foreign Affairs published yesterday.

Mr Mandela said he saw the world

changing from prison cells where he was held for 27 years.

"All nations will have boldly to recast their nets if they are to reap any benefit from international affairs in the post-Cold War era," he said.

"A central goal of our foreign policy will ... be to promote institutions and forces that, through democratic means, seek to make the world safe for diversity." The new South Africa would also promote human rights, democracy and co-operation among African nations. — Sapa-AP

Apla talks: ^(11A) CT 11/11/93 Hernus Kriel 'optimistic'

HARARE. — South African Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel was hopeful yesterday that the PAC's armed wing would agree this week to end its campaign of violence against South African whites.

Mr Kriel, in Zimbabwe for talks with the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), said this would help the process towards multi-racial democracy.

"I am optimistic that if we all commit ourselves to a peaceful future, Apla should not find it difficult to stop the violence it is waging on farmers, the police and the general public," Mr Kriel told reporters.

"We are close to a peaceful settlement and all South Africans must help in pushing this," he added.

Asked what would happen if Apla stuck to its refusal to suspend armed struggle, Mr Kriel said: "I don't want to pre-empt the outcome of the talks, but we are optimistic. I am an eternal optimist."

The two-day talks, due to open in here today under the chairmanship of Zimbabwe Defence Minister Mr Moven Mahachi, will also focus on joint control of armed formations during the transition.

PAC foreign secretary Mr Gora Ibrahim told a separate news briefing Apla would negotiate with an open mind.

"For us the meeting is about the mutual cessation of hostilities. We hope we can find some common ground on this," he said. — Sapa-Reuter

ANC 'wants free, fair poll'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. —
The ANC PWV region
wants a free and fair
election without the gov-
ernment's security
forces in townships.
ANC PWV chairman Mr
Tokyo Sexwale said yes-
terday.

CT 11/11/93
Speaking at a news
conference after the re-
gion's annual confer-
ence, he also called for
free and fair elections in
Bophuthatswana and
Ciskei.

He said delegates fo-
cused mainly on the
ANC's preparation to be
the future government
after the election.

ANC to field 400 candidates

Sowetan 1/11/93
By Ike Motsapi and Glenn McKenzie

THE African National Congress yesterday announced that it would contest 400 of the 450 Constituent Assembly seats.

Topping the list of candidates who are expected to steer the ANC to victory during April 27 1994's first democratic elections is the organisation's president, Mr Nelson Mandela. (11A)

And Mandela has been elected by the PWV region of the ANC to become the first president of a nonracial South Africa.

These are some of the resolutions taken after a three-day regional congress of the ANC PWV region held in Johannesburg yesterday.

ANC regional chairman Mr Tokyo Sexwale said the ANC came out "united and much stronger" after the congress he described as the last held by the move-

ment as an organisation.

He also hit out at the Department of Home Affairs for delaying in issuing out identity documents in time to potential voters.

"They are supposed to be doing this at a rate of 50 000 a month but are instead processing only 30 000 for the same period, meaning that during the elections about two million people will be without their IDs," said Sexwale.

Elections for the ANC's new regional office bearers will be held next week. Nominations close on Thursday.

Mrs Winnie Mandela, Mr Obed Bapela, Mr Murphy Morobe and Mr Amos Maseko are candidates for the position currently held by Mr Mathole Molekane, who is deputy chairman of the region. The three front-runners are Molekane, Bapela and Mandela.

Mrs Mandela is tipped to win, while Sexwale is unopposed as chairman.



Hundreds of members of the Inkatha Freedom Party, armed with "traditional weapons", march through the streets of Johannesburg on their way to John Vorster Square police headquarters on Saturday to present a memorandum.
PIC: MBUZENI ZULU

□ Last-minute hitch nearly scuppers today's crucial meeting in Harare

Shaky start to talks with Apla

(11A) ARG 1/11/93

ROBIN DREW, Argus Africa News Service

HARARE. — Crucial talks between the South African government and the Pan African Congress's armed wing Apla got under way in Harare today after a last-minute compromise in the composition of the Apla delegation saved the meeting from breaking down.

Apla had been insisting on an SADF presence but Pretoria remained adamant that the violence by the Azanian People's Liberation Army was a matter for the Department of Law and Order.

The South African delegation was headed by Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel, flanked by Deputy Minister for Constitutional Development Fanus Schoeman and the head of police intelligence "Krappies" Engelbrecht.

Facing them at a separate set of tables a metre away sat the PAC delegation headed by the secretary for foreign affairs Gora Ebrahim.

He sat opposite Mr Kriel with Romero Daniels, the Apla political commissar, facing Mr Schoeman and the key figure, Apla commander Sabelo Phama, opposite General Engelbrecht.

Mr Phama had been scheduled to lead the Apla delegation but Mr Ebrahim replaced him to get round the absence of SADF presence.

No one knew until the last minute whether Mr Phama would attend the meeting. If he had not, the government delegation would have immediately headed home.

Chairing the meeting was Zimbabwe's Defence Minister Moven Mahachi who urged the delegations to sit together as brothers, not as warring parties, and to work for peace and unity. They should put the interests of South Africa paramount, he said, and not look back at what had happened.

After Mr Mahachi's opening remarks the meeting went into closed session.

Mr Ebrahim and Mr Kriel greeted each other warmly at the start of proceedings at the International Conference Centre. But there were no exchanges between the South African officials and the Apla men.

Mr Phama sat stonily, a slightly built figure in a blue opened-necked long-sleeved safari suit.

Other members of the Apla "technical team" included Barney Mzolo, chief of staff, and Willie Brown, director of training, who sat in the front row facing South African trade representative in Harare Andre Brink.

The meeting was scheduled to last all day.

Star 11/193

No need for war - Mandela

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday held out an olive branch to the right wing.

"We are prepared to accommodate them if they are reasonable," he said.

Speaking at the official opening of the Chris Hani memorial hall at Crown Mines, Mandela appealed to the right wing to join the multiparty negotiating forum.

"We want them to be part of the transformation," he said.

But the ANC leader stressed that an ANC government's pri-

mary concern would be to address the interests of disadvantaged South Africans.

Mandela told the audience that he had replied to a letter from rightwinger Piet 'Skiet' Rudolph, saying there was room for him in the negotiating forum. (1A)

It was the ANC's duty to address the fears of minorities.

"There are some preparing for or threatening civil war.

"If democracy wins in the country, there is no need to plunge the country into a civil war," he said.

He also reiterated his organisation's intention to hon-

our all agreements reached in negotiations.

His speech further contained a repudiation of certain actions by young people.

After citing criticism from some traditional and community leaders, Mandela said: "We can't go on like that. We want the democratic forces to win the forthcoming elections. We can't win if our youth — the most active part of our membership — create the wrong perceptions regarding our attitudes."

The ANC's top priority was to address unemployment, crime and the lack of schools.

ANC adamant on April election date

■ BY PAUL BELL

The PWV region of the ANC has targeted Bophuthatswana as a key focus of its electioneering work between now and the election on April 27 — a date on which it says there can be no compromise.

It has also firmly rejected suggestions that Pretoria be severed

from the region to accommodate white right-wing demands for autonomy.

Speaking yesterday at the close of a three-day congress, regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale said he wanted to send a message to all forces opposed to the ANC.

"Come hell or high water, there is no way we can compro-

mise on that date," Sexwale said.

He called on the leaders of KwaZulu, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana — and especially Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, in whose territory the PWV ANC intends to offer special assistance to people wishing to vote in the election — to allow free political activity in their regions.

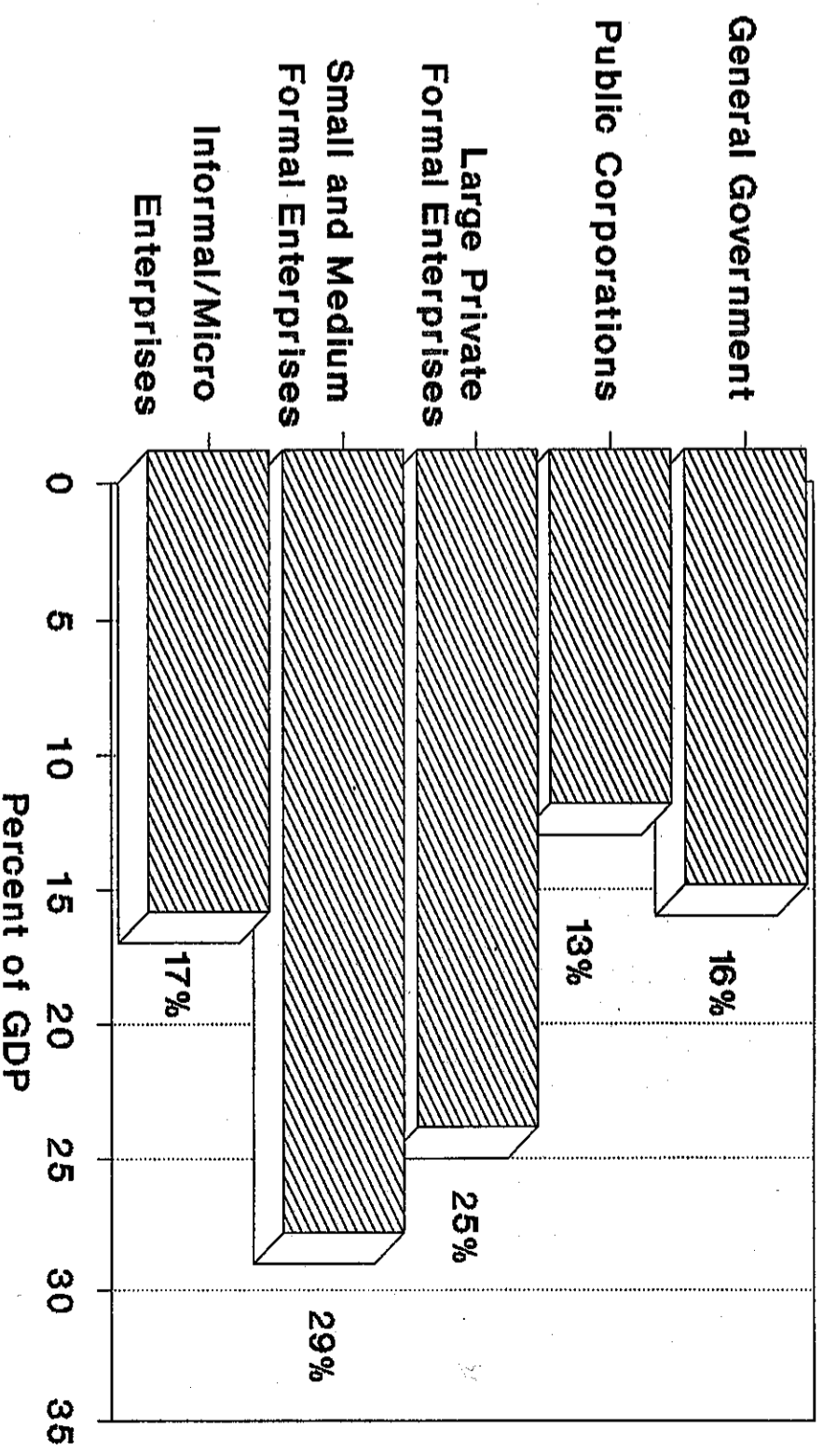
Vital prerequisite in laying the foundation for South Africa's longer-term objectives

Star 1/1/93

Job creation one of our most urgent priorities

173

**Contribution to South Africa's GDP
1992 Estimates**



SBDG: Economic Research
Source: Own estimate for 1992

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BY DR BEN VOSSLOO
Managing director of the SBDG

The search for rapid and effective solutions to the numerous socio-economic problems now confronted by a New South Africa has been made more urgent by growing concern over the unemployment crisis.

The search has been frustrated by the most prolonged recession on record and the damage caused to both consumer and business confidence by political unrest and violence.

However, the setting of new economic goals cannot await the dust to settle in the political arena. The identical socio-economic problems — from housing to education and health services — will remain on the agenda whatever the political complexion of a new government.

Debates

It is significant that in debates across the entire spectrum of society, job creation never fails to be listed among the most pressing priorities — the vital prerequisite in laying the foundation to longer-term objectives.

The issue has been underscored in the Normative Economic Model which was recently unveiled and which set as a target the creation of 1.3 million new job opportunities by 1997.

It is obvious that the pace of job creation will be heavily influenced by the overall tempo of economic growth. A far better economic performance is imperative to end the chronic stagnation that must be broken to make the headway needed.

Economists have discovered in recent years that the precise percentage levels of movements

in gross domestic product do not necessarily move in tandem with changes in employment levels.

Much more may depend on the approach to economic expansion — by high technology with more stress on automation than on labour content, or by higher production by more labour-intensive methods.

A balanced mixture of the two approaches is needed if South Africa hopes to deal with domestic demands while simultaneously keeping abreast of international competitors.

A notable feature of trends in the manufacturing sector in recent years has been concentration on automation rather than manual labour. The result has been an actual shrinkage in the size of labour forces. That, in turn, has caused focus to turn to the potential role of the informal sector in general and the dynamic role of the small and medium-sized business enterprise in particular.

This was where the Small Business Development Corporation decided to concentrate all its efforts when it was founded in the early 1980s, even though it faced formidable hurdles in the form of entanglements of regulations and red tape that seemed designed to frustrate the budding new entrepreneur.

Fortunately, as the number of out-moded obstacles were reduced in a running battle with bureaucracy, the small business sector was able to lay out more and more evidence of the importance of its role.

The number of successes multiplied at such a rate that economists now have difficulty in keeping track of their combined clout on overall economic performance. It is still virtually impos-

sible to put an exact figure on the contribution of small and medium enterprises (SMEs) to national GDP. All that is known for certain is that the contribution has become significant — and still growing.

Credit for much of the success of SBDG initiatives goes to the network of support services the corporation operates to provide advice and guidelines to business aspirants and expert counselling to fledgling ventures. In short, the SBDG concerns itself not only with financial assistance to encourage the start of new businesses, it also puts equal emphasis on services that ensure the sustainability of new businesses.

The results emerge in the extremely low rate of failures among all the initiatives.

Enviably

In more than 10 years, bad debts have amounted to about R100 million — an enviable record by any standards.

The new concern of the SBDG is the threat that the pace of its entire programme looks likely to be constrained by limited financial resources. Loan approvals over the next 12 months may be forced to remain at 1992/93 levels unless new sources of finance are produced.

Frustration is increased by restrictions on expansion of the programme's scope and thrust at the precise moment that the potential role of the small and medium business sector has been underscored in virtually all economic dialogues.

We have the opportunity to make the 1990s the "Decade of the Entrepreneur". Dare we waste it?

Proposals on regional powers are key issue

Last-ditch talks for Govt, FA

Star 11/11/93

BY PAUL BELL

The Freedom Alliance (FA) will meet the Government tomorrow to find out what flexibility there can be in the new proposals submitted to the Negotiating Council on expanded regional powers, given that they have been agreed to by the Government and the ANC.

The alliance will hold its own meeting today to discuss the new proposals in detail.

But ANC and Government spokesmen have indicated that they have little to offer the FA.

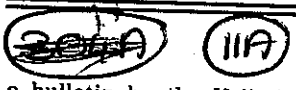
At the weekend President de Klerk signalled his determination to see negotiations wrapped up in the shortest possible time and to mount a last-ditch effort to persuade the FA to be part of talks agreements.

Of immediate concern to the FA is what it claims to be an ANC strategy to "step up military action against Freedom Alliance members".

The Afrikaner Volksfront's General Tienie Groenewald claimed yesterday the organisation had received intelligence 11 days ago on the alleged plan, called Operation Sunrise.

He said this had prompted

ALLIANCE alleges that the ANC is plotting to step up military action against its members



a bulletin by the Volksfront executive committee to its members, calling on them to prepare for attack.

Neither he nor General Constand Viljoen had been present when the bulletin was released, and they would seek further clarity today.

ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale responded by saying opinion polls had shown that greater levels of violence would hurt the ANC more at the polls.

Operation Sunrise-type violence would be more in the interests of the FA than of the ANC, he said.

On the new proposals, Bophuthatswana chief negotiator Rowan Cronje said he rejected the notion that they represented "a major breakthrough for federalism".

"That's simply not true."

In his view, powers of taxation remained essentially in the hands of central govern-

ment, which would permit State interference in, and "punishment" of, regions.

These must have their own taxing powers, he said.

As for the division of powers and duties of regions, these had not been spelt out to the necessary degree.

Cronje also claimed the FA had gone through the new proposals with the Government at a meeting on Thursday — "and they agreed, especially on taxation".

"We will have to ask the Government what flexibility there is in this, given that they have made submissions jointly with the ANC.

"But I do not believe there are major differences which cannot be resolved."

The thorny issue of self-determination remained, Cronje said.

He believed the FA's call for a summit had been misunderstood. If the leaders of the various parties could themselves be subjected to the process of negotiations, with "its nuances and interchange", there would be movement.

Acknowledging the pressure of Friday's deadline for the end of constitutional

▶ To Page 3

Star 11/11/93 Last-ditch FA-Govt talks

◀ From Page 1

talks Cronje said: "Things have to move very fast. We have to find a solution.

"But if there is no serious attempt to accommodate us, then there are various alternatives. These have not been fully thought through."

Chris Whitfield reports that De Klerk, speaking at the National Party's weekend rally at Kempton Park — which organisers say drew 7 000 supporters — said constitutional negotiations were almost complete "and will be finished in time".

However, there has been speculation that Friday's deadline will have to be moved back a few days. De Klerk appears to have referred to the broader target of getting agreements to the scheduled November 22 sitting of Parliament.

The president had some harsh words for the IFP, "which walks out and begins to beat the war drums every time it does not get its way".

■ A senior Government source last night denied speculation that the Government and the ANC had reached a secret agreement by which the Interim Constitution would stay in force for five years.



Kriel tries to get Apla commitment

Hot pursuit tactics if Harare talks fail

Star 1/11/93

■ OWN CORRESPONDENT
and SAPA

Harare — The high-profile meeting between the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) and the Government begins today with the Government saying a hot-pursuit strategy would be adopted if the talks failed to end the conflict between the two parties.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman said the Government would consider cross-border raids to stop Apla if necessary.

Apla strategist Willie Brown said this would be expected in the light of the SADF's October 8 Umtata raid, in which five youths were killed.

Brown and Schoeman are

STRATEGIST says raids would not be unexpected in the light of SADF's Umtata attack

in the delegations of Apla and the Government.

The Harare talks, to be chaired by Zimbabwean Defence Minister Moven Mahachi, is the first contact with the PAC since the Umtata raid. ~~(SADF)~~ (IIF)

Apla commander and PAC defence secretary Sabelo Phama will head the three-man delegation.

Kriel said the Government would not meet an Apla demand to bring South African army chiefs to Harare.

He insisted that SADF offi-

cers were not needed at the talks because Apla's "terror tactics are not a military but a police problem".

The PAC plans to take part in the April 27 election next year, but its military wing has refused to suspend its armed struggle or renounce violence.

Kriel yesterday steered clear of divisive defence and security issues.

He said he would not raise such issues as the detention of three convicted South African spies who are serving life prison sentences, or the presence of some former Zimbabweans in the South African security services. ¹⁷

"I am single-minded at the moment. I am here only to meet Apla and I am not going to discuss any other issue," Kriel told reporters. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

ANC focuses on homeland

THE focus of the ANC PWV region's election campaign would be on achieving free political activity in Bophuthatswana, the region's fourth annual conference resolved yesterday. **Biday 11/1/93**

Delegates had expressed their frustration at the situation in the homeland and called on Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mángope to open up his country to free electioneering, PWV region chairman Tokyo Sexwale said after the conference.

Addressing a news briefing, he said the conference had concentrated on the ANC's preparation for becoming the government after the April 27 election. **(11A)**

For the election to be free and fair, all political parties had to be able to campaign in the independent homelands, he

DIRK VAN EEDEN

said. Part of the region's campaign efforts would be directed at helping Bophuthatswana citizens to vote. People would be helped to obtain identity documents. The conference had criticised the "backlog in the production" of the documents.

"The ANC's success in the elections will not depend on its support, but on the number of supporters with identity documents," he said.

The ANC wanted government security forces withdrawn from townships, Sexwale said.

The biggest threat to a free election was not the "justifiable" anger of youths, but

To Page 2

Homeland

the continued and unwanted presence of government's security forces in townships. **Biday 11/1/93**

"If they were really there to serve and protect, why are mothers with babies on their backs asking for them to leave the townships?" **(11A)**

Earlier in the weekend, the delegates were unanimous on two other issues. Pre-

torial had to remain an integral part of the PWV and ANC president Nelson Mandela had to be first on the ANC's election list for the constituent assembly.

"We want him to lead us on the way of writing a new constitution and from there we want him to become the president of SA," Sexwale said.

From Page 1

ANC warns the rightwingers

THE African National Congress warned rightwingers that they would be left behind in South Africa's march to democracy if they rejected its final offer on constitutional negotiations.

"We can't go further than this and there is no time," ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said in an interview.

Freedom Alliance negotiator Mr Rowan Cronjé said proposals handed

Sowetan 2/11/93
to alliance leaders on Saturday appeared to fall far short of their minimum demands. (11A)

"We have not had a chance to study their offer, but at first glance we have big problems with it. This is not the key that will unlock our future," he said.

Cronjé said his federalist grouping was scheduled to meet in Pretoria

yesterday to decide the next step in its efforts to block an ANC-Government agreement on a transition to democracy.

The alliance, grouping both black and white parties, has boycotted multiparty democracy talks and wants a meeting of key leaders to review and restart talks about a transition framework. — Sapa-Reuter.

New talks on ending violence

TOS WENTZEL

Political Staff (JA)

THE government and the Pan-Africanist Congress's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), will hold further talks after their agreement in Harare on the need to end violence. ART 2/11/93

The two delegations at the talks will broker what a senior government source described today as a "sensitive and fragile agreement".

Government sources said yesterday's agreement was a triumph for negotiation and a reaching out to each other in spite of sharp differences in the past.

The agreement has two legs: the need to end violence and an undertaking by the PAC to reconsider its decision not to take part in the Transitional Executive Council.

Apla agreed to declare a ceasefire depending on the outcome of further negotiations with the government, reports the Argus Africa News Service.

PAC foreign secretary Gora Ebrahim said the agreement yesterday was the beginning of working towards ending violence.

- NCF

Call for speedy economic change

Affirmative action needed now - Manuel

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

ANC economics head Trevor Manuel warned last night of an "explosion" if affirmative action policies were not applied urgently.

In the keynote address to the "Business Revival" conference hosted by the Small Business Development Corporation in conjunction with The Star and the Sowetan, Manuel provided a "shortlist" of economic policies in need of rapid changes.

Manuel, who spoke in place of ANC president Nelson Mandela, said: "An economy which is perceived to be both owned and controlled by a little white enclave will not be able to find itself on a sustainable growth path."

"Delays in an affirmative action programme will cost this country dearly. We have been

paying lip-service to this dire need - the situation is becoming increasingly polarised, and we cannot afford an explosion," he said.

Manuel also warned of a need for State and parastatal institutions to be "sufficiently transformed to effect the necessary changes with the due determination".

Characterising the economy as still sinking into a marsh, he said clear strategies had to be developed.

These included additional focus on the social dimension.

"It is in this context that the reconstruction and development programme is so significant. In addition, we need a sound grasp of South Africa's current and past economic failures."

These included shortcomings in the 1960 to 1975 growth period, the maldistribution of wealth, and the patterns of ownership and control.

Five miners die, 14 hurt in rockfall

Star 2/11/93
STAFF REPORTER

Five miners were killed and 14 injured in a rockfall after a seismic event at the Kloof Mining Company's Leeudoorn Mine near Carletonville yesterday.

More than 800 miners have been killed in accidents since January.

Gold Fields Mining, which owns Kloof Mining, said the miners were 2 400 m below surface when the seismic event, measuring 1,9 on the Richter Scale, occurred at 8.18 am.

The rockfall took place on the 24 level in No 1 shaft.

The injured men were treated by mine medical personnel.

Last month, 150 miners were trapped more than 3 km underground at Gold Fields' Kloof Gold Mine near Carletonville.

All the miners were finally brought to safety after spending six days underground.

The Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs is investigating the accident.

The National Union of Mine-workers said: "This emphasises our long-standing call for an inquiry into the safety and health of this country's mines. The mines are primarily concerned with profit-making and not people's lives."

ANC PWV leaders get nod

Star 2/11/93

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The ANC's PWV regional executive committee (REC) has received a major vote of confidence from the region, with most of the leaders renominated for executive posts.

Nominations for the REC in the ANC's most populous and most important region officially closed at the end of the PWV region's annual national congress on Sunday.

Popular chairman Tokyo Sexwale, nominated by 23 branches, was not opposed.

The election will take place at the weekend.

If the nominations are anything to go by, Sexwale's deputy, University of South Africa academic Mathole Motshega, is a clear front-runner for the deputy presidency. He has been nominated by 18 branches.

Apart from former United Democratic Front luminary Murphy Morobe, his challengers



Popular . . . Tokyo Sexwale not opposed as chairman.

— Amos Masondo, incumbent deputy secretary-general Obed Bapela and former ANC PWV Women's League chairman Winnie Mandela, have one nomination each. (IA)

Morobe has been nominated by two branches.

Mandela's nomination for the deputy presidency came from

the Phiri branch in Soweto.

The Orlando East branch nominated Mandela as an additional REC member.

Incumbent secretary-general Paul Mashatile got the nod from 19 branches for retaining his position.

But he was opposed by three others — Bapela, ANC Youth League secretary-general Rapu Molekane and Mashatile's predecessor Barbara Hogan.

Bapela received 17 nominations for his current position of deputy secretary-general.

Treasurer-general Cassim Saloojee seems set to retain his position with 13 nominations.

Others nominated for the REC are ANC spokesmen Ronnie Mamoepa and Carl Niehaus, academics Dr Ben Turok and Professor Ismael Mohammed, former journalist Joan Fubbs, former Democratic Party MP Dave Dalling and Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride.

Call for speedy economic change

Affirmative action needed *Star 2/11/93* now – Manuel

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
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Parliament could move

11A

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THERE is a growing move among top government and ANC leaders to ditch Cape Town as South Africa's legislative capital.

Efforts to sideline the Mother City surfaced again yesterday in the Nationalist-supporting press with reports on a deal struck by government and ANC negotiators to drop Cape Town as the site of South Africa's Parliament.

The reports, greeted with alarm and surprise by politicians and senior bureaucrats, said the latest meeting between the government and the ANC produced an understanding that Greater Pretoria (including Midrand) would "become the only capital" after the election.

Cape Town has been the site of Parliament since Union in 1910 and it has been widely accepted that Cape Town would remain the legislative seat once a government of national unity was installed after the April 27 poll.

The document summarising agreements reached be-

Legislative capital may be in the Transvaal

tween the government and the ANC at the bush summit is silent on any deal concerning a new legislative capital.

Government sources said yesterday that no mention was made at last week's cabinet meeting immediately after the meeting about where a new Parliament should be sited.

However, it is known that the government's chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, has been floating the idea of relocating Parliament to "the centre of politics" in the Transvaal during recent bilateral meetings with some parties.

Other Transvaal Nationalists are also known to favour the centralisation of the legislative and executive arms

of government in Pretoria.

Midrand is favoured by some Transvaal-based ANC heavyweights as the site of a new capital.

A spokesman for Mr Meyer acknowledged that the minister favoured such an arrangement but said the reports that Pretoria would become the sole capital were "no more than speculation".

One senior government source, who did not want to be named, said he had not "heard anything" about plans to move Parliament away from Cape Town at this stage.

"All indications thus far have been (that) Cape Town will function as the legislative capital for at least five years," he said.

Asked to respond to the reports about a change in the site of Parliament, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said: "That would really put the cat among the pigeons," but added: "It's news to me."

The secretary of Parliament, Mr Colin Douglas, said that his understanding was that Cape Town would remain the seat of Parliament for at least two years while the final constitution was being decided.

CTZ/11/93

Moratorium on violence declared

Govt, Apla agree to peace bid

Star 2/11/93

■ BY THEMBA MOLEFE
STAR AFRICA SERVICE

Harare — The Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) yesterday agreed it would declare a moratorium on violence, depending on the outcome of further negotiations with the South African Government.

The decision came after a meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe, between the Pan Africanist Congress, led by its defence secretary and Apla chief commander Sabelo Phama, and a Government delegation led by Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel.

Government officials present at the meeting yesterday said the agreement was a breakthrough.

PAC foreign secretary Gora Ebrahim said it was the beginning of working towards ending violence.

A joint statement said: "Both sides believe that we have a duty to do everything within our power to stop further violence and hostilities in our country."

SUCCESSFUL meeting in Harare is to be followed by further talks in South Africa, a joint statement says



It said both parties realised that discussions to address relations between the Government and the PAC/Apla could not take place in an atmosphere of violence.

"It is therefore necessary to place a moratorium on violence.

"Both parties will refer these viewpoints to their principals with a view to arranging urgent talks devoid of violence," the statement said.

Ebrahim later told journalists that he would meet Kriel later this week for further discussions.

The PAC would also consider taking part in the proposed Transitional Executive Council (TEC) pending the outcome of the talks.

Bilateral meetings between the security forces and Apla to "improve the understanding" between the two would be initiated.

Zimbabwean Defence Minister Moven Mahachi, who chaired yesterday's meeting, said follow-up talks would be held in South Africa.

Sources at the meeting said the Government delegation submitted proposals contained in the TEC Bill on the sub-council of law and order.

This calls for the creation of a multiparty peacekeeping force which Apla has rejected as co-option.

In exchange, the PAC gave the SA Government a document which it said contained "concrete suggestions towards the mutual cessation of hostilities".

The document is believed to include a call for the control of all security forces by an international body.

On his arrival in Harare on Sunday night Kriel said: "I came here to negotiate and, if there be a need, I am prepared to compromise."

No deal yet on 'armed struggle'

Govt, Apla edge toward peace pact

BiDay 2/11/93

HARARE — Government, the PAC and its armed wing the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) yesterday agreed that the violence in SA must end. ~~(SABA)~~ (IA)

In a joint statement after the day's talks, the parties said further meetings would have to be held to put a peace pact into operation, but both sides agreed it was "necessary to place a moratorium on violence".

"Both sides believe we have a duty to do everything within our power to stop further violence and hostilities." They would return to their superiors to "arrange urgent talks" on peace.

The PAC would also reconsider its decision not to join the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

Zimbabwean Defence Minister Moven Mahachi, who chaired the talks, said the two negotiating teams, led by Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Apla commander Sabelo Phama, had not agreed on the formal "mutual end to hostilities", which the PAC had said it was seeking, but "they have agreed to talks which will end the violence". These would be held in SA or Zimbabwe "within days".

"There was very good discussion in a most amicable manner, to my surprise," Mahachi said.

The government delegation, which included Deputy Constitutional Develop-

MICHAEL HARTNACK

ment Minister Fanus Schoeman and SAP criminal intelligence chief Maj-Gen Krapies Engelbrecht, and the PAC/Apla delegation refused to comment on whether there was tangible agreement on suspending the armed struggle.

PAC foreign secretary Gora Ibrahim refused to answer reporters' questions.

The statement said it was clear there were "two areas of responsibility we have to address" — multiparty participation and bilateral discussions on relations between government and the PAC and Apla.

Apla and the security forces would meet in an attempt to "improve the understanding" between them.

The communiqué said these issues required further urgent discussions which "cannot take place in an atmosphere of violence. It is therefore necessary to place a moratorium on violence."

Before the start of yesterday's Harare talks Mahachi urged the SA government, and the PAC and Apla, not to dwell on past grievances. "It is not a meeting of trying to decide who is right and who is wrong. You have come here not as two warring parties but as brothers in one grieving country who want to seed an amicable solution to their problems. It is only proper that when brothers quarrel they should ask their neighbours to come and reconcile them."

Winnie's leadership hopes dashed

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela's hopes of re-entering ANC leadership echelons before next year's April 27 poll have in effect been dashed.

Her last chance to be elected to the ANC Women's League's PWV regional executive was blocked by a resolution taken at the ANC PWV conference at the weekend, it was revealed yesterday.

The resolution states: "The current executive of the ANCWL PWV is recognised by the conference as a constitutionally elected body."

This resolution, obtained privately by Sapa, was not included when the ANC issued, for official publication yesterday, what it called four of the most important resolutions adopted.

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa denied the weekend resolution was aimed at blocking Mrs Mandela, but rather to strengthen the regional executive which had not been operational for more than a year. — Sapa

(11A) CT 3/11/93

Poll curb for ANC leaders

JOHANNESBURG. — No more than 10 ANC national executive members should be included in the top 60% of its lists for national and regional parliaments. (117)

This was one of several resolutions adopted at the weekend by the African National Congress PWV region's annual conference and released yesterday.

Delegates also resolved that the lists should be finalised at a special national conference by the end of the year after nominations at branch level. Candidates' ranking should be by popular vote.

The regional conference reiterated the ANC's stance that people in the TBVC homelands vote in the election. CT 3/11/93

Other resolutions included that Pretoria remain part of the PWV region, and a comprehensive programme on local government negotiations be drawn up. — Sapa

More talks needed between Apla, govt

23/11/93 (11A) (25)

HARARE. — The South African government and PAC/Apla delegations have announced a broad agreement on a moratorium on violence but added that further meetings would be required to implement a peace pact. The announcement came after the two delegations met for talks here on Monday. No formal agreement has been signed.

The Azanian People's Liberation Army military commander Mr Sabelo Phama said delegates to the meeting had also discussed what he described as "bush meetings" between the African National Congress and the government.

"We told them we want a situation where what comes out of discussions is as an outcome of the World Trade Centre (venue of the multi-party nego-

tiations), not as a result of bush meetings," he said.

"We don't want to clinch deals that leave others out," Mr Phama added.

Mr Phama said Apla would come back to South Africa and form part of a democratic security force.

He said his organisation was only involved in the armed struggle and not the violence that was ravaging the country.

Apla has demanded that the government deal with armed right-wing extremists before they (Apla) would think of suspending the armed struggle.

"It is a cause for concern and we had an in-depth discussion on the right-wing issue. We discussed the issue seriously," Mr Phama said yesterday.

Flurry to beat talks deadline

Star 4/11/93

■ POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

It is bosberaad and bilateral time in South Africa as the country's political leaders shuttle from meeting to meeting in an attempt to stitch together agreements against a pressing deadline.

Today the Government and Freedom Alliance (FA) are scheduled to finish their bosberaad — a gathering of negotiators at a secluded and secret venue — which spanned three days.

The meeting is particularly important as it probably provides the last opportunity for dissenting elements in the alliance to be made part of agreements arising from the multiparty talks — which all FA parties have abandoned.

On Saturday the Gov-

ernment's negotiators sit down with the ANC to continue discussions started in a three-day bosberaad last week and then continued in bilateral meetings last Friday and on Tuesday this week.

Last week's talks between the two led to a wide sweep of agreements in terms of which South Africa will get a government of national unity — or enforced coalition government — for a period expected to last five years from the April 27 election.

Deadline

Meanwhile, the negotiations deadline of November 12 — by which date negotiators have to wrap up their deliberations — looms.

Probably the most im-

portant areas still to be resolved in talks include:

■ The "constitutional principles" which will be part of the Interim Constitution and the final constitution.

These include the troublesome issue of how many powers, functions and duties should be devolved to regions.

■ The composition of the constitutional court, which will rule on whether laws conform to the constitution.

■ The mechanism which will be used to break a deadlock in the writing of a final constitution by the Interim Government.

As things exist, this could ultimately be done by a majority — 50 percent plus one vote — in Parliament.

This proposal is unacceptable to many of the minority parties.

ANC will act to protect international trademarks

DIRK VAN EEDEN *Biday*

PRETORIA — The ANC intended to lobby for change in trademark legislation to protect international companies that had heeded the sanctions call and thus jeopardised their trademarks in SA. *3/11/93*

The organisation said yesterday it had noted with concern how growing numbers of SA businessmen tried to infringe on trademark rights. *(11A)*

“The ANC looks with disfavour on local business people who have adopted this practice.”

The statement referred to an announcement by a local businessman that he had applied to expunge the McDonald's Group trademark on the grounds that the mark had not been registered in SA for the past five years.

“Certain foreign companies, such as McDonald's, have heeded the sanctions call and the ANC appreciates the moral and ethical stance taken by these companies,” it said.

Earlier last month judgment was given in the Pretoria Supreme Court in favour of McDonald's against the owners of local fast foods outlets for alleged trademark infringement.

In an unusual step, the order was given in chambers, with a clause stipulating that details of the order could not be made public.

The ANC statement said yesterday the organisation intended to seek amendments to the present Trade Marks Act and the trademarks legislation expected to come before Parliament in November.

It would ensure trademarks of companies who heeded the sanctions call could not be expunged.

These steps would be taken in the interest of promoting investment in SA, particularly as SA's failure to protect the intellectual property of foreign concerns could adversely and prejudicially affect investment.

Apla seeks talks among all armies

Star

3/11/92

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Apla wants a meeting of the commanders of all armed formations in the country, including the SADF, to consider a new defence force for a post-apartheid South Africa.

However, in making the call today, Apla commander Sabelo Phama said such a meeting should take place only after further talks between the PAC and the Government, which were proposed after a meeting between Pretoria and Apla on Monday.

Depending on the outcome of the talks, discussions could then be held

between Apla and the SADF, followed by a meeting of all existing armed formations. (11A)

Phama said a mutual cessation of hostilities had not been agreed to at Monday's meeting.

The two sides had, however, concluded there was a need for a cessation of hostilities and for discussion on the PAC's concerns about a Transitional Executive Council and its sub-council on defence.

Phama said there was a need for all military formations to fall under the control of the sub-council on defence in order to evolve a common command structure.

National unity govt gets nod at talks

B/DAY 3/11/93

TIM COHEN and BILLY PADDOCK

NEGOTIATORS at the World Trade Centre yesterday endorsed the principle of a government of national unity although agreement has not been reached on how cabinet decisions will be taken in the event of a deadlock.

Only two parties did not agree — the PAC preferring unfettered majoritarian government and the Afrikaner Volksunie reserving its position. (11A)

Negotiators endorsed much of a proposed agreement brokered in recent talks between the ANC and government although two critical areas were still to be decided on. The proposals did not suggest percentages by which cabinet should make decisions but did specify that votes on financial matters and security did not have to be the same.

Negotiators also decided to discuss later in the week the proposal that the executive deputy presidents should deputise for the president on a rotational basis.

The proposal that the government of national unity should last until April 1999 was tabled yesterday but it drew strong objections from the PAC. The issue would be discussed later in the week.

On majorities required for cabinet decisions, government is struggling to secure a "reasonable" deal with the ANC.

Last week government made major concessions to the ANC, guaranteeing effective majority rule in giving up its demand

that a vice-president or minority parties be able to veto decisions of the cabinet in a government of national unity.

But behind the scenes government/NP and the ANC were still struggling to set the percentages required for cabinet decisions should consensus not be attainable.

The ANC is pushing for majority decisions to be set at 60% while the NP is holding out for two-thirds in the hope that it could marshal sufficient support from other parties in the unity government to block majority party decisions.

Yesterday it was stated in formal talks that the president would "seriously" have to consult only the two executive deputy presidents who "will not have any veto powers". The NP is relying on an informal and voluntary arrangement that a president will not act on sensitive decisions on matters such as finance and security without the assent of the deputy presidents — one of whom will certainly be a member of the majority party.

Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo said there was no possibility of the deputy presidents having any veto powers.

He said the deal that was struck satisfied the fundamental issues that minorities could not deny the will of the majority; it would not paralyse effective government nor frustrate the popular mandate.



Police spokesman Col Dave Bruce, left, and internal stability unit commander Brig Basie Dames announcing a joint initiative on violence. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Move to include tribal leaders

THE ANC is to recommend a council of state — including eminent South Africans and the most senior traditional leaders — to advise the future president and government of national unity, sources at multiparty talks said yesterday. B/DAY

"The role of the council of state would be to advise the president or government on matters of national importance," one source said. 3/11/93

The ANC, seeking to break a deadlock on the future role of traditional leaders, would recommend regional houses of traditional leaders to deal with tribal issues. (11A)

The leaders' role in government after elections next year was on the agenda for debate at the negotiating council yesterday, but the debate was postponed.

A task group proposal recommended traditional leaders be nominated to local governing structures only.

Several such leaders objected to the task group's suggestion that they be represented on regional bodies but have no vote.

Most parties at the negotiations believe the leaders should be elected if they want a vote. — Reuter.

Cosatu man calls for election holiday

BiDay 3/11/93

THE first day of the general election should be a paid holiday to ensure a high turnout for the poll, Cosatu election co-ordinator Jesse Maluleke suggested yesterday.

Speaking at an Innes Labour Brief seminar, Maluleke also called on business to train election monitors and release them for monitoring duty before, during and after the election.

He said monitors would play an important role in defusing tension in volatile areas in the run-up to April 27. On the voting days, they would ensure voting practices were adhered to and afterwards they would ensure the result was accepted.

He emphasised that monitors should be recruited from management as well as the shop floor as skilled workers could make specific contributions to the process. So far Cosatu had not devised a special training programme for monitors, but was looking into the qualities and skills required.

On workplace voter education, Maluleke said Cosatu itself would not train workers, but trade union representatives and management should jointly select an outside agency to conduct an education programme.

Employers were expected to pick up all

ERICA JANKOWITZ

costs involved, grant paid time off to enable shop stewards to be involved in the process, preferably allow training during company time and the use of company facilities, and allow mobile voting stations on their premises if their size warranted them.

He also urged business to offer assistance to workers who required identity documents before they could take part in the election. As things stood, Home Affairs would be unable to cope with the demand for documentation of the 4- to 5-million eligible voters without them, he said.

Maluleke said indications were that the election would take place over two days and not three as first suggested.

Speaking at the same seminar, Independent Mediation Service of SA elections project co-ordinator Drene Nupen said indications were that a second ballot would be allowed if a voter spoilt his paper before placing it in the counting box.

She said it had also been agreed in the most recent Bill on elections that an indication of intent to vote for a particular party would be counted even if the mark made were not a cross. A dot, tick or other mark would be accepted.

ANC calls for whites in Popcru

LLOYD COUTTS

THE ANC's PWV region resolved at the weekend to encourage the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru) to open its membership to whites "to create further divisions in the SAP".

At its fourth annual conference in Johannesburg, the region also agreed to create "disciplined, community-based policing" that would be accountable to communities.

It resolved that the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, should increase its profile in local communities.

The conference noted that political violence was encouraged and financed by "government elements" in the SAP and SADF and the black and white right wing.

Violence was also being fanned by government's refusal to remove "instability units" from troubled areas. Delegates also demanded that the SADF be confined to barracks during next year's election.

They agreed to campaign to strengthen the national peace accord, to convene a national peace summit and to campaign for a national peace corps.

The region resolved to "move speedily" towards the conversion of hostels into family units.

Responding to the call to open Popcru's membership, SAP public relations chief Maj-Gen Leon Mellet said the call was "indicative of the racism" practised by Popcru and its masters.

"It also confirms that Popcru is nothing but a political pressure group trying to politicise the SAP. Whatever their devious aims are, it remains illegal for any member of the SAP to become a member of a union such as Popcru or to become politically involved in any political organisation," Mellet said.

Shack dwellers swarm into 400 new houses

DURBAN — Shack dwellers from Chesterville swarmed into about 400 recently built homes in the nearby Wiggins area of Cato Manor in Durban on Monday night.

Sapa reports that House of Delegates chief housing director Martin van Zyl said about 400 of the houses

had been claimed illegally by yesterday afternoon.

The squatters had reportedly grown angry at waiting for years for housing.

Van Zyl said: "We believe we can find a solution and we are getting co-operation from all parties concerned. There is no acrimony."

□ Our Cape Town corre-

spondent reports that city planner Neville Riley has said all the illegal tenants of Area L in Tafelsig, Mitchell's Plain, should be out by mid-December.

In the meantime, the illegal tenants would not be evicted. Riley declined to say whether the council would charge them rent.

ANC denies 'Operation Sunshine'

THE ANC yesterday denied claims of the existence of an ANC/SACP plot code-named "Operation Sunshine" designed to step up military action against the Freedom Alliance.

The ANC said reported allegations of such a plot was part of state propaganda offensive to create a climate in which the assassination of key ANC/SACP figures would be possible.

The ANC said in a statement yesterday that the allegations were "malicious and unfounded" and categorically denied the existence or knowledge of such a plan.

"The allegations follow the call by the executive committee of the Afrikaner Volksfront for their members to prepare for war.

"In explaining the call General Groenewald was

quoted as stating that the call was made on the basis of intelligence information received on the existence of a plan called Operation Sunshine which is described as an 'ANC strategy to step up military action against members of the Alliance'."

The ANC also denied that the previously exposed insurrection plan code-named Operation Vula had now been

changed to Operation Sunshine.

(118) OCT 4 11 1993
"Since August 1990 no military operations have been planned by the leadership of the ANC," the statement said.

"In our view there is no distinction between this propaganda offensive and similar efforts that preceded the death of SACP general secretary and ANC leader Chris Hani," the ANC said.

focus on elections

Sowetan 4/11/93

ANC PRESIDENT Mr Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk are walking the same tightrope across the divide to black majority rule in South Africa.

Neither Mandela's ANC nor De Klerk's National Party Government can get off and one false step could be disastrous.

They are both trying to appease blacks demanding the vote while at the same time offering whites their own place in the sun in the new South Africa.

Some analysts think the concessions which conservatives have extracted from them are playing into the hands of black radicals and white extremists.

Tightrope

"The National Party Government has already lost so much support among its traditional power-base that I think it is already falling off the tightrope," political scientist Mr Dion Geldenhuys said in an interview.

"They (the ANC) are very eager to get this show on the road," said Mr Richard Cornwell of the Pretoria-based Africa Institute. "It's very obvious they will make concessions to get an interim government in place."

"But the longer this is delayed, the more their support at grassroots level is going to haemorrhage into groups like the PAC or Apla," he added.

Talks between the Government, the Pan Africanist Congress and its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, which is waging war against whites, ended in a joint call for a moratorium on violence this week, opening the door for them to take part in all-race elections on April 27.

Radical policies

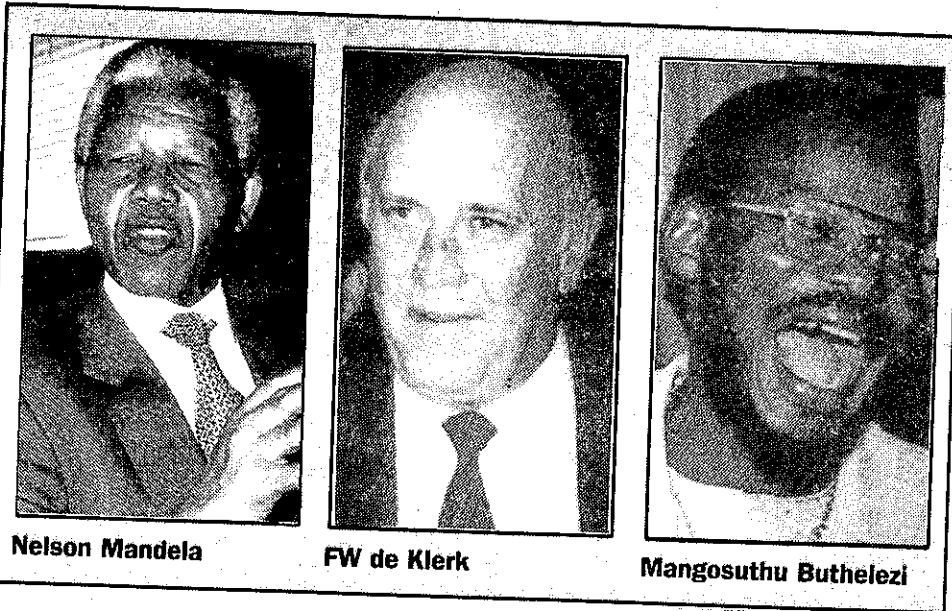
While the PAC does not command the support of most blacks, its radical policies appeal in particular to the "lost generation" of township youths likely to be vociferous in the election campaign.

"The ANC thinks it is going to pick up 60 percent of the vote and will be calling the shots in the interim cabinet but there is no guarantee of that. They want to get to this stage without making concessions that can really hurt them," said Cornwell.

But analysts said concessions by the ANC and

The ANC and the NP are walking a tightrope of appeasement in their efforts to establish the new South Africa — but one false step could be disastrous as the radicals to right and left wait in the wings:

The National Party sees itself as playing a prominent role in the interim government but my own fear is that the Volksfront enjoys a great deal more support among Afrikaners than the NP Government, which is seen as weak-wristed and disorganised



Nelson Mandela

FW de Klerk

Mangosuthu Buthelezi

minorities for their own regions within a federal South Africa.

It was a major concession from a leader once committed to a strong unitary State.

De Klerk said last week he expected a Federal Republic of South Africa to emerge from current democracy negotiations.

But Cornwell said De Klerk's vision of the new South Africa might prove irrelevant if the National Party lost more support to

the Government to rightwing blacks and whites in the conservative Freedom Alliance were the catalyst for bilateral talks between the Government and alliance which started in Pretoria on Tuesday night.

Without the concessions there would be little hope of drawing the five-group alliance back to constitutional negotiations likely to be wrapped up within the next two weeks.

The alliance is dominated by the pro-apartheid Conservative Party and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, both of which fear an ANC-led interim government would go back on a federal interim constitution. It is demanding virtual autonomy for its members.

So far they have been offered strong regional government, including policing and some taxation.

Mandela has said that while he could never accept demands for ethnic autonomy he would be prepared to consider the aspirations of ethnic

white extremists.

Prominent role

"The National Party sees itself as playing a prominent role in the interim government but my own fear is that the Volksfront enjoys a great deal more support among Afrikaners than the NP Government, which is seen as weak-wristed and disorganised," said Cornwell.

The Afrikaner Volksfront, which includes the Conservative Party and the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Resistance Movement, is also a part of the Freedom Alliance.

Geldenhuys, from Johannesburg's Rand Afrikaans University, said it was possible the National Party would come third in the April election, trailing the Freedom Alliance.

"There is going to be a government of national disunity if that happens. I have no doubt the ANC will win the election but it could be hamstrung if the alliance emerges as the second largest party," Geldenhuys said. — Sapa-Reuter.

MK ready for summit on new SADF

Star 4/11/93
BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

ANC armed wing Umkhonto we-Sizwe (MK) has welcomed the Azanian People's Liberation Army's proposal of a meeting of the commanders of all armed formations in the country to consider a new defence force.

MK said it would "be ready to meet anywhere, anytime, when the initiative is taken".

Apla commander Sabelo Phama has called for a meeting of military commanders after the next round of talks between Apla's political leaders in the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Government. (WA)

Commenting, MK commander Joe Modise said he welcomed any efforts towards the formation of a new defence force.

He said the MK leadership had held talks with various armed formations in the country, and had invited the PAC to do the same.

"I am very happy now that our brothers in the PAC have come to the conclusion that there is a need for all armed formations to come together to chart out the way forward militarily."

In an interview with The Star yesterday, Phama denied a mutual cessation of hostilities had been agreed to at his organisation's meeting with the Government in Zimbabwe early this week.

Defence Force Ministry spokesman Dr Das Herbst said he could not comment on Phama's call because the matter was in the hands of negotiators.

JOHANNES NGCOBO

ANC volunteers help to process IDs

THE ANC has deployed 140 volunteers to help Home Affairs offices in the western Transvaal to process more than 800 identity document applications being received daily from Bophuthatswana citizens in preparation for the elections scheduled for April 27.

Home Affairs regional director Pieter Hartzenberg said the ANC had seconded the volunteers to different Home Affairs offices in the western Transvaal.

Hartzenberg added that applications made by Bophuthatswana citizens would not be processed until there was agreement on the status of homelands at the multiparty talks.

The volunteers began work on October 14.

"Since the ANC volunteers have offered to help in processing the applications, the intake of the forms has grown," said Hartzenberg.

IFP spokesman Themba Khoza said other organisations should also be allowed to help in the process.

"For our members to be served to our satisfaction, we call on Home Affairs authorities to allow IFP members to participate in the ID activities so that our members can help their supporters to acquire identity documents as well," said Khoza.

ANC regional campaign officer Patrick Chauke said

that through talks with the western Transvaal director of Home Affairs, an agreement had been reached that the 140 volunteers would be trained to help people wanting to apply for SA identity documents.

Volunteers are helping in at the Rustenburg, Klerksdorp, Zeerust and Swartruggens Home Affairs offices. Chauke said another 40 volunteers would undergo training to help in Christiana and Wolmaranstad.



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ANC reaffirms Freedom Charter support

THE ANC PWV region said yesterday that its annual conference had reaffirmed its support for the Freedom Charter, which includes a clause on public ownership of sectors of the economy. *Bilal 4/11/95*

ANC PWV deputy secretary-general Obed Bapela said the charter contained the basic principles of ANC policy. *(1A)*

A member of the commission which drew up a resolution confirming the region's support for the document, Ben Turok, said the economic clause contained

LLOYD COUTTS

in the charter had been ANC policy for 38 years. There had been no discussion on the resolution and it had been understood to be a "general reaffirmation" of the charter.

The ANC's policy document issued last year had confirmed that the ANC would, under certain circumstances, consider nationalisation. This had been stated on several occasions by ANC president Nelson Mandela. The question of public ownership was, however, open to interpretation.

'ANC will honour talks agreements'

5/11/93 (11A)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela vowed yesterday that after next year's election his organisation would honour any agreement reached during the present negotiations.

Reacting to a call by the British government and the European Community for all South Africa's political parties to observe agreements being undertaken now, Mr Mandela said the ANC regarded the appeal as extremely important.

He said the ANC was aware that mutual confidence and respect could be eroded by political parties failing to honour their undertakings. The ANC's track record, however, showed it understood the importance of being able to make undertakings work.

"Whatever happens in the future, we will be bound by the undertakings which we make now," he said.

Speaking at the opening of the Chris Hani Memorial Hall at Crown Mines here yesterday, Mr Mandela said there were people preparing for civil war "if democracy wins in SA" and asked them to join the multi-party talks.

"There is no need for us to plunge the country into civil war. I appeal to those groups to come to the negotiating forum and express their views with us. We are prepared to accommodate them if they are reasonable, even on those issues where we feel their fears to be without foundation. We want to build a nation, which means compromise, even if we don't like it," he said.

Mr Mandela said that among the ANC's top concerns were ending unemployment and reducing crime. "Our priority is to address these problems and ensure our people take their own future into their own hands," he said.

PAC, Kriel ^(11A)
meet again ^{ARC 5/11/93}

PRETORIA. — Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel and Pan Africanist Congress senior official Gora Ebrahim met in Pretoria today after the meeting in Harare on Monday between the government and members of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, armed wing of the PAC.

Today's meeting was confirmed by Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze.

Details of the meeting were not released. — Sapa.

NEGOTIATIONS

Fm 5/11/93

Will they talk or shoot?

The extension this week of the talks deadline is clear evidence of a willingness by both government and the ANC to accommodate the Freedom Alliance.

The extension of the deadline by a week to November 12, and the various constitutional proposals put forward jointly by government and the ANC at the multiparty talks over the past few days, indicate how important the two parties regard the Alliance's inclusion in the transitional process.

The Alliance comprises Inkatha, the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF), CP and the governments of KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei. The extra week provides the Alliance with an opportunity to participate in the final phase of negotiations on the interim constitution.

Additional attractions to draw the Alliance back into the talks include joint proposals this week by government and the ANC that:

- The interim government elected in April should rule for five years, and not just until the constituent assembly has finalised a permanent constitution;
- That parties winning more than 20% of the vote should be allowed to nominate the two proposed executive vice-presidents;
- That provincial governments should be given a considerable degree of autonomy; and
- That a fairly conservative approach to local government reform should be adopted.

Alliance spokesman and Bophuthatswana government negotiator Rowan Cronje says the Alliance was initially worried that the two days of talks would simply be a PR exercise, but had been convinced by government that it was possible to accommodate the group's views. He adds that government and the Alliance are not too far apart and he believes agreement is possible if government is committed to finding a solution.

However, senior negotiators in both the ANC and government camps now believe they have given as much as they can and want compromises and suggestions from the Alliance. For example, government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer has insisted that the AVF must table its own proposals at this week's talks.

It is understood that while government is not expecting all Alliance members to return to the talks, it hopes there is sufficient dis-

agreement for the Alliance to split. Those most likely to return to the World Trade Centre are the governments of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, but the AVF, CP and Inkatha are by far the most important members and will be the most difficult to convince that they should be part of the process.

Government and the ANC believe they have gone far enough to accommodate the federalist aspirations of Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi — as long as he is prepared to compromise as well. Proposals for strong provincial governments could also sat-

isf moderate elements in the AVF and CP. But hardliners in all three groups are unlikely to be satisfied.

militant white conservatives are reportedly well armed and fairly well trained for small skirmishes and terrorism. But they are not considered to be a long-term threat because of their logistical inability to sustain concerted armed resistance.

In addition, most whites still enjoy relative peace and security and have a good standard of living. Rightwing morale would probably crack quite quickly under the rigours of a terrorist campaign, particularly if a new government can show that the fears on which their resistance is based are unfounded.

The Right wing may also be hoping in vain for support from within the SADF and SAP. Armed action by conservatives is unlikely to be tolerated by the security establishment. Jakkie Cilliers, co-director of the independent Midrand-based Institute for Defence Policy, believes a showdown between the security forces and the Right wing is inevitable. "The Right wing is continually pushing the limits of the law and can't continue. It's in the interests of the

security forces to be seen to act impartially."

He believes the command structures in the SADF in particular will remain loyal to government. The rebellion, if it happens, will be among the rural-based commandos, but even then insurrection is unlikely to be widespread. (*Current Affairs* October 29). ■



Buthelezi



Cronje



Meyer

isfy moderate elements in the AVF and CP. But hardliners in all three groups are unlikely to be satisfied.

An indication of the group's attitude came from Cronje on the eve of the talks. He said the Alliance did not agree that the latest proposals provided for a federal constitution or exclusive powers for the provinces. "It simply is not true what some people are saying."

The best-case scenario at this week's talks — but also the most unlikely — would be full agreement by all Alliance members to take part in the final week of talks at Kempton Park. The worst case would be the total breakdown of the talks and a hardening of the Alliance's position. The middle road, and the most probable, would be the sufficient softening of the Alliance's position to justify giving it more time to consider its options.

Total rejection of the current negotiation process or a split in the Alliance could set the scene for eventual violent confrontation between rightwing conservatives and hardline Inkatha supporters, on the one hand, and the security forces on the other. Radical elements in the AVF have apparently already started mobilising for armed resistance and urged supporters to prepare for a siege of sorts by stocking up on food, water and other essentials.

The danger of rightwing violence is difficult to fathom. While relatively small, the

THE CABINET

Good old Pik

Public criticism by Foreign Minister Pik Botha of government's performance over the past few months may have ruffled the feathers of a few Cabinet colleagues but his comments undoubtedly won back many disillusioned Nat supporters.

In response to questions at a Nat information meeting in Sandton last week, Botha admitted that government had botched a whole range of recent actions, including the Umtata raid, the petrol price increase, the appointment of the SABC board and the Walvis Bay issue. He apologised for some of the harm done.

The admissions and apologies were widely interpreted as a political blunder. Some commentators even suggested that they were grounds for legal action against government.

But Botha has been in politics far too long to make such basic errors. It is more likely

ANC to reassess monetary policy

THE ANC wants to re-examine the way the Reserve Bank runs monetary policy, says economics head Trevor Manuel. ^{B/Day} 5/11/93

Speaking at an SA-British Trade Association function in Johannesburg yesterday, he said businessmen often complained about the effects of monetary policy on their competitiveness. The level of interest rates, exchange rates and exchange control needed to be examined against the need to stimulate growth and reintegrate SA into the global economy.

"Monetary policy needs to be informed by the realities." (11A)

Manuel emphasised the need for SA to rejoin the world economy. SA's economic fortunes would be determined by factors such as its competitiveness and ability to find niche markets for products other than primary commodities. Another important theme in his speech was the challenge in SA of combining social reconstruction and economic growth with political stability. SA could not afford any delay in the election or the setting up of the Transitional Executive Council in the meantime.

On fiscal policy, he said SA's Budget was not small but there were "horrendous" imbalances in the way it was structured. Next year's Budget would not be "the old NP Budget" and the intensity of work going into drawing it up would be enormous.

GRETA STEYN

In the NP Budget, the secret defence account had been twice the size of the housing allocation. "We've designed weird and wonderful toys for generals while 43% of blacks living on the Reef have had no access to clean water and sanitation."

State spending needed to be more efficient. Although SA spent more than 7% of GDP on education, there was "nothing to show for it."

Human resources development was a key element in a policy package designed to attract foreign direct investment. The World Competitive Report had placed SA 14th out of 15 countries when measuring human resources development. This was a "sorry indictment" of SA's capacity to become more competitive internationally, Manuel said.

Financial institutions might also need restructuring and the ANC would look at the Land Bank, the Development Bank of SA and the SBDC, as well as private sector institutions. Racism and sexism were still prevalent in the private sector.

The long-term insurance sector would be examined, because "we cannot have the nation's savings going into offices and shopping malls". Savings should be channelled into industries that created jobs.

● See Page 8

ARMED STRUGGLE

Fw 5/11/93

The hawks are cooing

The agreement reached between government and Apla delegations at talks in Zimbabwe this week once again highlighted the unpredictability of SA politics.

After days of bickering over who should attend the talks, cynical observers were forecasting a stalemate when delegates entered Harare's International Conference Centre on Monday morning. But after eight hours of discussion, they emerged with a firm agreement on the need for a speedy end to violence. (IA) ~~(S)~~

There will now be consultations with the respective leaders, followed by further talks which could take place in SA within the next few days — and which may lead to a moratorium on further conflict between opposing forces. An unexpected bonus was an announcement by the PAC — represented at the talks by foreign affairs spokesman Gora Ebrahim — that the organisation would reconsider its earlier decision to boycott the Transitional Executive Council.

The amicable outcome of the talks was all the more surprising, considering that the delegations were headed by men perceived as stubborn hardliners — Law & Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Apla commander Sabelo Phama. Even Zimbabwe's Home Affairs Minister, Moven Mahachi, who chaired the meeting, expressed surprise at the "most amicable" discussions. It has been speculated that some African governments who have been accommodating towards the PAC in the past exerted pressure.

It was not immediately clear why the talks were so successful, though progress towards agreement on an interim constitution at the

cont. → 7/50

CURRENT AFFAIRS

Fw 5/11/93

World Trade Centre, along with unwavering commitment by all negotiators to the April 27 election date, is understood to have softened the PAC's position.

The meeting was arranged following last month's SADF raid on the home of an Apla member in Umtata in which five teenagers were killed. The raid was provoked by Apla attacks on "soft" targets in the eastern Cape and Border regions. A statement after the Harare meeting said both delegations would report back to their superiors with the aim of arranging "urgent talks" on peace. Mahachi says the discussions could be held in SA "within a few days." (IA) ~~(S)~~

Government was represented by Kriel, the SAP's Major-General Krappies Engelbrecht and Constitutional Development Deputy Minister Fanus Schoeman; Apla/PAC by Phama, Ebrahim and Apla political commissar Romeo Daniels.

Government and Apla delegations met in Botswana earlier this year, but the talks were largely unsuccessful because Phama did not attend. ■

PAC, govt agree to stop violence

SOUTH 511 1911193

By Christellé Terreblanche

THE Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the government will meet regularly from this week to work out a "peace pact" that amounts to the mutual cessation of hostilities.

Mr Benny Alexander, the PAC's secretary-general, told SOUTH it seemed that Mr Hernus Kriel, minister of Law and Order, was now open to the concept of mutual cessation as put forward by the PAC in bilateral talks on Monday.

"We have decided to take part in the election, and it is clear we cannot go around shooting people while they vote," Alexander said.

"The problem is that the PAC will find it difficult to end hostilities while our people are dying in such large numbers. There is still pressure from the ground to continue.

"We will now have to agree on a mechanism to ensure that mutual cessation does indeed happen."

The PAC and its armed wing, Apla, reached a surprise broad agreement with the government to



BENNY ALEXANDER

work towards an end to violence. Their meeting in the Zimbabwean capital, Harare, was held after a similar effort in March this year failed to resolve the stand-off. Apla has since admitted to killing policemen and white farmers.

In a joint statement the two parties said after the talks that they agreed it was "necessary to place a moratorium on violence" (IIP).

According to the statement the

PAC would reconsider its earlier decision not to join the Transitional Executive Council (TEC). Both parties would return to their superiors to arrange urgent peace talks.

Alexander said these talks could start this week.

"The PAC executive will meet regularly with the government to try and work out something. This will enable us to put a meaningful proposal to our congress.

"The negotiators cannot decide to end hostilities, because it was the congress that resolved to carry on fighting," Alexander said.

"Only congress can decide to lay down arms."

He argued that the PAC was not involved in senseless violence. "We have political objectives, and if they are not met and Kriel does not agree to mutual cessation, we will carry on fighting. However, it is clear that Kriel is now open."

Asked whether Apla will take up arms again if the government does not stick to the accord, Alexander replied he did not want to speculate.

Boesak's bid for W Cape victory

11A ARG 6/11/93

The Western Cape will be the focal point for the establishment of a non-racial society in South Africa, says the ANC's Allan Boesak.

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Weekend Argus Political Staff

THE battle for the non-racial society which the African National Congress wants to build in a post-apartheid South Africa will be fought in the Western Cape.

This is the view of Western Cape ANC chairman, Allan Boesak, who will lead the movement in a regional election battle against the National and Democratic Parties.

Not one of the three — or the Inkatha Freedom Party which has also established a presence in the region — is assured of triumphing at the polls in South Africa's first all-race elections on April 27.

Dr Boesak said: "The ANC must win here because victory would prove we can provide a political home for all South Africans."

People who voted for the ANC would vote for a movement steeped in non-racialism.

They would vote against ingrained propaganda, their natural feelings of insecurity and racism, he said.

"Casting their vote for the ANC will represent a breakthrough for nation-building and unity in South Africa. If the ANC wins here it will be the clearest sign of our readiness to set an example to the country and the world."

For him this was the most important reason why people should vote for the ANC.

Admitting that he was looking forward to the challenge, Dr Boesak said the battle would be tough because NP and DP have identified the Western Cape as an area where an election victory would not be impossible.

Democratic Party leader Zac de Beer has already committed his party to an election battle against the ANC.

Dr Boesak believed that the "swartgevaar" tactic which helped sweep the NP into power in 1948 and was successfully used in subsequent general elections would be employed again.

"The NP has no choice but to wage a negative campaign. They can't make any promises because it is they who have not kept all of the promises they've made in the past 45 years."

The NP would prey on the fears of people and exploit the racism which they created.

"They are going to tell coloured and white people in the Western Cape they are minorities and should therefore stick together against the black majority."

"In the Western Cape we need about R10 million. Look what we are up against... we don't have our own newspaper and our television appearances and our television appearances in the Western Cape are few and far between.

"Our financial support still comes from our own community."

"But, white businessmen are not averse to talking about ways and means of assisting us."

Clearly, said Dr Boesak, the ANC would have to find creative ways of getting its message across.

Dr Boesak was elected as regional ANC chairman three years ago.

'People's forum' is start of ANC's push for votes

Star 6/11/93

THE ANC's bid for a resounding victory in next year's election begins in earnest today, as the organisation turns the starter motor on an ambitious campaign plan to take it through to April 27.

It is understood that ANC president Nelson Mandela's meeting with motor workers at a Uitenhage factory today is a dry run for two months of carefully planned "people's forums" which will continue until mid-January.

The "people's forum" concept will involve Mandela and other high-profile ANC lead-

SHAUN JOHNSON
Political Editor



ers in unique "listening sessions" with interest groups around the country. Mandela will today release an open letter inviting people from all sections of South African society to attend meetings in which he will listen to what their expectations are of the new government.

These meetings will take place in factories, squatter camps, mine shafts, towns and townships. Their results will be used to inform the

ANC's vital policy conference on January 13 and 14, which will produce the organisation's election manifesto. This manifesto should be ready for public presentation on January 16.

Mandela is expected to move on to Umtata from the eastern Cape, and subsequently to swing through Natal, the western Cape, the PWV and the northern Transvaal. Other ANC leaders will simultaneously fan out into different areas. The organisation is attempting to address directly interest groups ranging

● TO PAGE 2.

Voting bid

Star 6/11/93

● FROM PAGE 1.

from rural women to businessmen before it finalises its election platform.



Running parallel to the "people's forum" blitz will be a process to select ANC candidates for the national and regional electoral lists. The names of these can-

didates should be known on December 21, following a "national list conference" on December 17 and 18.

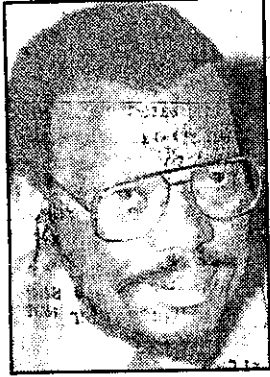
By mid-January the ANC's final electoral push — involving more traditional politicking from the hustings at rallies around the country — will begin.

● For full details of the ANC's election campaign strategy see **Undercurrent Affairs, Page 8.**

CONSTITUTIONAL talks are set to go down to the wire this week — with only four days left to get the dissenting Freedom Alliance (FA) parties on board a peace settlement.

It seems increasingly unlikely that alliance member the Inkatha Freedom Party will be part of an agreement — its president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, left yesterday for a foreign visit that will apparently see him back in the country only after the talks deadline has passed.

But in a surprise development the Afrikaner Volksfront appeared to break ranks from the FA when it met the ANC for bilateral discussions yesterday — despite



BUTHELEZI: Shock over foreign visit.

an FA agreement that it would negotiate as a bloc.

It is understood that strains in the organisation have been heightened in recent days and some in its ranks may be leaning towards accommodation with the multi-party process at the World Trade Centre.

Adding to the pressure on the alliance is a growing determination among talks participants, the ANC in particular, to forge ahead during the coming week and reach an historic settlement.

In a joint statement yesterday the ANC and AVF leader General Constand Viljoen revealed that they had met and said "a constructive interchange of ideas took place".

Surprise

It added that the meeting would be continued "in the near future".

The statement said the AVF took part as a subcommittee of the Freedom Alliance, but other FA members were yesterday surprised to hear of the development.

Buthelezi's absence during the coming week has astonished negotiators at the World Trade Centre, who suggested it placed his commitment to seeking a solution in doubt.

P.T.O.

Final countdown for peace talks

Four days to bring Right on board

Start 6/11/93

However, senior members of both the Government and ANC negotiating teams said yesterday they would be redoubling their efforts to find a way of accommodating the FA this week. The Government and FA

● TO PAGE 2.

2

Saturday Star November 6 1993

Star Talks

6/11/93

● FROM PAGE 1.

will meet again on Monday after having "narrowed the gap" at a Government-FA bosberaad this week.

However, it has become evident that government negotiators are becoming extraordinarily frustrated at the pattern that has developed in talks with the IFP — progress with some negotiators and then back to square one after the IFP team reports back to Qundl.

It is understood that IFP negotiators Dr Frank Mdlalose and Dr Ben Ngubane excused themselves from the Government-FA bosberaad on Wednesday afternoon — halfway through the meeting and at a point when critical issues were being discussed — leaving the government delegation bemused. (IFP)

Despite appeals for them to stay on until the next morning, the IFP officials said they had to go.

Negotiators at the World Trade Centre yesterday noted that the longer the FA boycotted the Negotiating Council, the narrower its options were becoming as agreements were sealed. However, they stressed that submissions by the FA could still be made during the three days of talks scheduled for the week. On Tuesday, negotiators have a day off for consultation with their parties and by Thursday

evening South Africa should know the shape of its future.

Meanwhile, negotiators get on with the tough task of sealing agreements during what will be the last lap of the long and exhausting journey that began three years ago.

The ANC and Government meet today for their last round of talks to resolve outstanding issues, including how to resolve deadlocks in writing a final constitution, the reincorporation of the homelands, the future of the public service, a constitutional court, constitutional principles underpinning the interim and final constitutions, and the restoration of land.

Both sides have stressed that no delays are expected in the week ahead.

The draft Electoral Bill and draft Interim Constitution are scheduled to be finalised next week and presented to the special parliamentary session beginning on November 22.

The complete transition package — the Transitional Executive Council Act, the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act, Independent Media Commission Act, the Independent Electoral Commission Act and the draft Electoral Bill and draft Interim Constitution — will be ratified at a plenary session next week.

Sources indicated that if the FA did not come on board, ways would have to be found to "legitimise" the process.

meet again
over halt
Star 6/11/92
to violence

**POLITICAL
CORRESPONDENT**

THE Government and PAC have taken another step towards a "moratorium on violence".

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim yesterday met for the second time in a week on the issue, and emerged with an agreement to "work towards implementation" of the moratorium (254) (1A)

They would "report back to each other about the progress made within 10 days", said a statement issued after the Pretoria meeting.

The latest talks follow the ground-breaking meeting in Harare on Monday at which the former foes agreed on the need to stop all the violence.

The PAC also said it would reconsider its decision not to join the Transitional Executive Council.

Defence force

There was no indication in the statement on whether discussions had been held over APLA's proposed meeting of commanders of all armed formations in the country, including the SADF.

The proposal by APLA commander Sabelo Phama was for discussions on the shape of a new defence force.

Phama said there was a need for all military formations to fall under the control of the sub-council on defence in order to try and evolve a common command structure.

Multiparty control of the armed formations was essential, he said.

"Whoever wins the election will have to form a new army after the election. Our main concern is to find a solution leading to permanent peace," he said.

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Mandela looks at tax aids

By DAWN BARKHUIZEN

IN an effort to halt rampant unemployment in the Eastern Cape, the ANC would consider granting five-year tax concessions to businessmen investing in the region, ANC leader Nelson Mandela told about 3 000 workers at the launch of the ANC's new People's Forum, in Uitenhage yesterday. The People's Forum programme, which will run throughout South Africa over the next six weeks, is designed to give voters a chance to put questions to ANC leaders.

Fielding questions in Xhosa and English for about 30 minutes, Mr Mandela said the ANC had taken up the problem of unemployment — estimated at about 67 percent in the Eastern Cape — with the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

De Klerk decides to push ahead without alliance

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and his cabinet have decided South Africa's new constitution will be completed without the Freedom Alliance's consent.

This follows a disappointing three-day boseraad with homeland leaders and white rightwingers who rejected a "final offer" constitution from the government and the ANC.

Chief negotiator Roelf Meyer and cabinet ministers met in Pretoria yesterday to prepare for the coming week of talks. The constitution is expected to be completed by Friday.

Mr de Klerk has called a special cabinet meeting on Tuesday to discuss the implications of going ahead without the alliance and to prepare strategies to deal with uncooperative homelands and the right wing if they try to disrupt an election.

Government sources said that for the first time since coming to power, Mr de Klerk was having sleepless nights — an indication of just how heavily the decision to press ahead without the alliance has been weighing on him.

Sources at the government/Freedom Alliance boseraad last week said despite all attempts, sufficient progress was not made to accommodate the alliance's demands for an Afrikaner homeland and a confederal dispensation.

While further talks are planned this week, tired and disappointed government negotiators said: "There is no more time."

The Freedom Alliance was told the constitution would be completed with or without its contribution this week and that the election would go ahead on April 27 as planned.

A plenary session of leaders will be held within two weeks to endorse the constitution. Then it will go to Parliament for approval. Freedom Alliance member General Tienie Groenewald said this week alliance leaders would not be present at the plenary session. "We are not happy about the destination, so we don't want to be on board."

Government sources said Tuesday's cabinet meeting would deal with four crucial issues: how to legitimise the process given the expected boycott of the Freedom Alliance; how to market the constitution to the public and especially the NP constituency; what the implications of proceeding without the Freedom Alliance would be; and how to encourage the Freedom Alliance parties to take part in the election.

The only hope the alliance has left in getting the interim constitution — which it sees as a handover of power to the ANC — stopped, is a revolt by the NP caucus in Parliament.

But this is unlikely as even those ministers like Mr Tertius Delpont, who would be most likely to consider such action, now believe accepting a "bad" constitution would be less harmful than delaying the election.

election.

ANC campaign to canvass views of ordinary people

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

THE ANC has launched a major newspaper advertisement campaign in English and Afrikaans to canvass the views of ordinary South Africans.

It forms part of the movement's six week campaign of People's Forums which provide opportunities for people to address ANC leader Nelson Mandela and other key leadership figures directly on their hopes and fears.

Dominated by a smiling portrait of Mr Mandela, the full-page advertisement says in bold print: "The ANC has always been the voice of the people. Help keep it that way."

In smaller print, beneath the portrait, readers are given details of the People's Forums the ANC will be holding around the country in the next six weeks.

These are occasions, the advertisement says, "where you can tell us about the problems in your community. What you want from a new gov-

ernment. Your concerns about peace, the economy, jobs, security and housing".

Readers are invited to fill in the free-post coupon in the corner of the advertisement, cut it out and send to the ANC head office in Johannesburg.

● This week the African National Congress takes its campaign to woo Afrikaners to Durbanville, where national spokesman Carl Niehaus will address a meeting.

Tokyo Sexwale, who was unanimously re-elected chairman of the ANC PWV region at the weekend, will be guest of honour at a R30-a-head cocktail evening on the Foreshore on November 16.

Economics head Trevor Manuel will address businessmen in Cape Town next week.

Mr Niehaus will speak at the Samaj Centre in Rylands on Wednesday and in the Durbanville Civic Centre the following evening.

ARGT 8/11/93 (114)

PAC man's house burns to ground

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — About R750 000 in damage was caused when the home of Pan Africanist Congress secretary-general Benny Alexander in Ennerdale, south of here, was destroyed by fire early today, police said.

Police spokesman Piet van Deventer said the cause of the fire, which started at 2.40am, was not yet known, but police had not ruled out arson and a bomb team was on the site today. *ARC 8/11/93*

Mr Alexander was not home at the time of the fire. Major Van Deventer said three bodyguards had been sleeping in the wooden house, but they had not yet made statements to the police.

A neighbour told police that she had been awakened by the sound of explosions and breaking glass. But Major Van Deventer said it was not known if these were caused by incendiary devices or if they were merely the sound of household appliances and windows shattering from the heat.

Mr Alexander was taken from the Holiday Inn hotel near the World Trade Centre, where he has been staying

Fateful week for all South Africans

Sexwale gets the vote as chairman

Sowetan 8/11/93

■ PWV ELECTION Winnie takes

third place in deputy chairman stakes:

(11A)

By Themba Molefe and Sapa

AFRICAN NATIONAL Congress PWV Regional chairman Mr Tokyo Sexwale was re-elected unopposed at the region's fourth annual conference yesterday.

The regional executive committee remained unchanged after the elections with Mr Mathole Motshekga re-elected as deputy chairman, Mr Paul Mashatile as secretary general, Mr Obed Bapela as deputy secretary-general and Mr Cassim Salojee as treasurer.

Overwhelming vote

Controversial estranged wife of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, Winnie, came third in her bid for the position of deputy chairman.

Motshekga won the position overwhelmingly with the support of 166 regions, while Mr Murphy Morobe won 50 votes and Mrs Mandela 47.

The election of "additional" members on to the Regional Executive Committee was due to take place last night.

Fifty people, including National Executive Committee members including Mr Carl Niehaus and Mr Ronnie

Mamoepa were also nominated as additional members.

Twenty of the nominated 50 people will be voted on to the REC as additional members.

Asked to comment on Mandela's failure to win the position of deputy chairman, Sexwale said it was the "will of the membership".

Additional members

"It is important that we have everyone on the REC whom the members want."

Mrs Mandela and Morobe were last night elected as additional members of the REC.

The PWV region, which is the largest in the ANC, resolved to "do everything in our power to ensure the election date (of April 27) is not postponed".

TBVC states

It also said people of the TBVC states should be included as voters and that they must be able to do so in those homelands. The region also resolved to launch a mass campaign against any of the homelands "denying our people the right to vote".

Another resolution committed the region to peace and said it would work for a culture of political tolerance and free political activity.

Govt and ANC agree on formula to give public servants

Security

GOVERNMENT and the ANC have reached agreement on the role the public service will play in a new SA, including a formula that grants public servants a degree of security of tenure without ruling out affirmative action and restructuring.

Government and the ANC would not divulge details yesterday, with one source saying there could be "too many hiccups", especially from Cosatu, if details appeared before negotiators had formally approved the agreement.

The two sides met at the weekend to discuss outstanding constitutional matters.

A government source said they "made good progress so we can finalise the constitution this week".

Another said government and the ANC were holding back from "writing agreements in stone" early in the week to "allow for accommodating changes that could result from discussions with the Freedom Alliance".

Sections of the constitution agreed to by negotiators on Thursday and Friday — the powers and functions of regions, their relationship with central government and fiscal arrangements — would be amended

BILLY PADDOCK

this week. This was because agreements on regional powers and fiscal arrangements clinched in talks between government and the Freedom Alliance last week needed to be cleared with the ANC.

It is understood that the changes include giving regions more say in how taxes are levied and determining the "reasonable percentage" of VAT and individual and company taxes regions will receive.

Government and the Freedom Alliance meet again today in Pretoria. An alliance

source said he was optimistic that there was "a possibility that we can find ways of making the constitution more acceptable". He said alliance members also wanted to meet the ANC this week, after their discussions broke down two weeks ago.

Another alliance source was less optimistic. The Inkatha negotiator said, however, that the alliance would approach talks with an "open mind and see what government has to offer".

He reaffirmed that his party would not take part in "the two-phase process", nor would it accept any deadlock-breaking

mechanism. It wanted a two-thirds majority entrenched for any changes to the constitution.

Government and the ANC are still fine-tuning proposals on the problem of the final constitution not getting the requisite two-thirds parliamentary support. But it appears that the period to reach agreement has been stretched to five years. If a referendum does not win two-thirds support for the final constitution, new elections will be held at the end of the five years.

To Page 2

Agreement

Government and the ANC also need to finalise the issue of official languages this week, to sharpen up areas of the Bill of Rights, and to work on the role and composition of local government.

Meanwhile, the Cabinet meets tomorrow to consider the constitution and the implications of going ahead with elections without the Freedom Alliance.

It is understood that even if the alliance does not accept the constitution and threatens to boycott elections, negotiating channels will be maintained by government and the ANC in the hope of drawing

some members into the process.

Bophuthatswana Acting President Thate Molathwa said at the weekend that Bophuthatswana was "decidedly sceptical" about the outcome of negotiations.

He said almost every important aspect of the process at Kempton Park had been flawed. "In essence, we have a disastrous situation where the process is being pushed dangerously fast, where an unrealistic election date has been set, where the emphasis is being placed on maximum central power, and where the aspirations of minorities are being ignored."

From Page 1

Star 8/11/93

Disruption of ANC meeting 'thuggery'

■ BY MONTSHIWA MOROKE

The disruption of an ANC recruitment rally in the Town Hall of Middelburg in the eastern Transvaal at the weekend was "thuggery of the worst kind", ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said last night. (11A)

The meeting was called off by Middelburg station commander Colonel Jan Cloete following negotiations between the ANC and the police after rowdy AWB members stormed the stage and ripped down ANC flags.

AWB members heckled, sang, and shouted down ANC economic policy deputy head Tito Mboweni.

Mamoepa said: "Those who were responsible for the break-up of the meeting in Middelburg obviously fear the verdict of democracy..."

When the doors to the Town Hall were opened at 3 pm, AWB and ANC supporters entered shoulder to shoulder. The estimated 200 rightwingers taunted the 50 ANC supporters in the hall by toyi-toying in the aisles.

As the ANC regional executive appeared under heavy police protection on stage, the AWB crowd erupted into Afrikaans songs such as *Bobbejaan Klim die Berg* and *Sarie Marais*.

Middelburg police spokesman Warrant-Officer Isak van Zyl said about 500 policemen had been mobilised. Roadblocks were set up around Middelburg and there were patrols in the town from as early as 6 am.

Armed AWB members were given the choice either to turn back at the roadblocks or surrender their weapons.

Middelburg was declared an unrest area on Friday after AWB members had vowed to stop the meeting.

The National Party also condemned the disruption.

'People's forums' for ANC campaign

By Day 8/11/93

TIM COHEN

THE election battle lines have been drawn. In response to the NP's "builders and breakers" theme, the ANC has responded with "people's forums" in what will become the core of its election campaign.

The common aspect of both campaigns will be their leaders, with maximum exposure planned for President F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Mandela is set to undertake a punishing schedule, with three major regional tours already planned. From November 13 to 21 he will be in Natal, from November 25 to 28 he will be in the PWV area and from December 3 to 5 he will visit the northern Transvaal.

Mandela will be taking part in "people's forums", which are intended to allow ordinary people from different constituencies to address questions to the ANC.

The forums are reminiscent of US President Bill Clinton's "town hall meetings" campaign, although ANC

representatives deny they have borrowed the idea.

The concept is intended to underline the ANC's claim to embody the popular will, although its ostensible aim will be to gather policy ideas for the ANC's Reconstruction and Development conference in January.

The conference will, among other things, develop an election platform and manifesto for the ANC.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the "people's forum" idea was intended to demonstrate the organisation's desire to hear the ideas of the people.

The meetings do not include speeches by ANC leaders. They would only answer questions, he said.

Each of the meetings will aim at different constituencies. For example, rural women will be canvassed in the northern Transvaal, squatters in Natal and mineworkers in the PWV.

Speaking at the launch of the first of the forums at the Volkswagen

plant in Uitenhage on Saturday, Mandela said an ANC government might introduce tax incentives to attract potential investors.

Sapa reports that Mandela hinted at the introduction of financial incentives in areas such as the eastern Cape, where unemployment is said to be as high as 67%.

"One way to attract industry to invest in certain areas is through incentives. We may have to exempt potential investors from paying tax for a specified time, so that they come to underdeveloped and depressed areas."

Mandela told about 3 000 workers that the NP government would never solve the country's unemployment problem.

"They care only for the whites, and not for the black people," he said.

Former Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo told workers a truly democratic future government would make more money available for job creation and education.

MK seconds 3 000

as peacekeepers

Biday 8/11/93
JOHANNESBURG

THE ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), resolved yesterday to second 3 000 cadres, including officers, to the national peacekeeping force to help level the political playing field before elections.

The resolution was taken after a three-day conference in Johannesburg, attended by more than 400 delegates from such organisations in the PWV region as the ANC Youth League, and Women's League, the Congress of SA Students and the SA National Civic Organisation. (11A)

Umkhonto PWV commissar Oupa Monareng told a news conference that MK had asked the UN and OAU to assist with the proposed peacekeeping force. Negotiators at the World Trade Centre have agreed that the primary task of the peacekeeping force should be monitoring the election.

The conference reaffirmed a resolution taken at the national conference in September that the Transitional Executive Council subcouncil on defence should fund the national peacekeeping force.

But it rejected an SADF proposal to MK negotiators that the SADF should guard MK soldiers at the assembly points where they would be confined until a new national army was formed. MK should guard its own assembly points, the conference said. Monareng said the issue of MK confinement would now be referred to the multiparty forum, Sapa reports.

It was also announced at the conference that the ANC and SAP would take over

□ To Page 2

Peacekeepers

Biday 8/11/93

□ From Page 1

patrols in strife-torn East Rand townships. Details still had to be finalised.

ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale told delegates that Witwatersrand regional police commissioner Lt-Gen Koos Calitz had said he was prepared to remove the internal stability unit from the townships. He said the police had agreed to pay for the joint patrols. (11A)

He said Popcru members would be entrusted with the leading role in the patrols, while the command structure would be

jointly run by the ANC and SAP.

Sexwale said police and the ANC had to sign an agreement before the patrols would become operative. He urged MK members to prepare themselves to work with people who had "bad morale records" in the townships.

Monareng said MK accepted the idea of joint patrols but it wanted their command to be distinct from the SAP or the SADF. Vehicles and uniforms used by the joint patrols should also be different.

ANC-linked body seeks reins on Reserve Bank

BINoy 8/11/93

GRETA STEYN

THE ANC-linked Macroeconomic Research Group (Merg) will within the next three weeks publish a Framework for Macroeconomic Policy for SA which argues against Reserve Bank independence.

Merg, which has been the subject of controversy for using left-leaning foreign academics to write policy, was set up to provide major input to the ANC's economic policy. (11A)

Merg co-ordinator Vella Pillay, delivering the Oliver Tambo memorial lecture at the weekend, described the work as the most exhaustive available and said it would be presented to the ANC, Cosatu and Sanco.

It is not yet clear to what extent the framework will be translated into official ANC policy. However, the forum at which Pillay delivered the speech suggested the ANC strongly identified with Merg.

Summarising the research conclusions, he said the Reserve Bank should be subordinate to the government to allow monetary, interest and exchange rate policies and credit allocation to be consistent with other policies. These included fiscal, trade, industrial diversification and development policies, as well as employment generation and social and economic infrastructural investments.

This apparently contradicts the recom-

mendation by a technical committee at the World Trade Centre that the Bank's independence should be guaranteed "provided ... the Bank shall act in support of the general economic policy of government".

Pillay said: "We have studied the instruments through which the banking institutions and the financial and capital markets could be encouraged to serve the needs of the economy and open out to those in our communities who have for long been denied entry into many sectors of the industrial and commercial economy."

Other aspects of the report included a model of the SA economy, labour market issues, fiscal policy, foreign trade and reforms in the rural economy.

Merg had also investigated institutional changes — including civil service reform, the reincorporation of the homelands, economic relations with neighbouring countries, and the most feasible criteria for managing financial and resource transfers between the centre and the regions.

After publication of the report, Merg would become a National Institute of Economic Policy. The institute would work in close contact with the universities and with post-apartheid government departments and organisations.

● Comment: Page 6

Winnie elected to committee

Unopposed Sexwale is PWV leader

Star 8/11/93

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Tokyo: Sexwale's ANC PWV regional executive committee (REC) yesterday won a major vote of confidence ahead of the April 27 election when most of its members were returned to their positions.

Sexwale was not opposed as head of the ANC's biggest and most important region.

His four lieutenants in the top echelons of the organisation in the region — deputy chairman Mathole Motshega, unopposed secretary-general Paul Mashatile, his deputy Obed Bapela and treasurer Cassim Saloojee — also retained their positions, beating their opponents with big margins.

Former ANC PWV regional chairman Winnie Mandela, who challenged Motshega and lost, was however elected on to the REC. Also standing against Motshega was former United Democratic Front activist Murphy Morobe, who also made it on to the REC. Motshega polled 180 votes opposed to Morobe's 50 and Mandela's 47.

Mashatile was also elected un-

PWV REGION leaders of the ANC receive major vote of confidence ahead of election as leadership is returned unchanged

(117)

opposed after those contesting his position had withdrawn from the race.

Among those elected on to the REC are former Democratic Party MP Dave Dalling, former journalist Joan Fubbs, Magoo's Bar bomber Robert McBride, ANC national spokesmen Ronnie Mamoepa and Carl Niehaus, Jesse Duarte, Janet Love, Mondli Gungubele and Mary Metcalfe.

Meanwhile, the PWV regional command of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) said it would not have its cadres confined to assembly points under the protection and control of the SADF.

Speaking at the end of a three-day PWV MK conference in Johannesburg yesterday, regional commissar Oupa Monareng said MK would insist on having its own command and defence at the assembly points.

ANC looks for R3-m building

By MAGGIE ROWLEY

THE ANC is shopping for a R3-million building in the city CBD, NEC member Mr Reggie September has confirmed.

The building was needed to house the ANC regional office and provide facilities for its parliamentary staff, he said. "It needs to be close to Parliament but also have easy access to the station."

Buildings that have been considered include St John's House in Plein Street, the MLH building in Wale Street and the French Bank building in Church Street.

MK cadres may receive pensions

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114

Political Staff

MEMBERS of the ANC's armed wing uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) were likely to qualify for state pensions in a new deal on the public service thrashed out between the government and the ANC.

The deal also secures the conditions of service and pensions of the existing 1.2 million public servants in South Africa and the TBVC states.

The details of the deal relating to MK were not given.

However, in the deal, which was hammered out at last week's meeting between the two sides, provision has been made for a new principle to be entrenched in the constitution.

This states that people who have not served in any public service before the new constitution but "who have made sacrifices or who have served the public interest in the establishment of a democratic constitutional order" will qualify for pensions.

Present public servants are guaranteed that their conditions of service and pensions will not be threatened by any restructuring or affirmative action.

If any public servant is retrenched his or her package will be governed by present law, not new laws promulgated by a new government.

The deal says that in the event of changes to the law governing pension

Mandela: Civil service is bloated

UMTATA. — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela said South Africa had a bloated civil service which needed to be reduced.

However, this would be done "carefully" and public servants who were retrenched would still be paid their pensions in full, he said here yesterday.

He said there wouldn't be "lump sum" retrench-

ments as this could give rise to corruption, nor would there be golden handshakes.

The ANC was training people to form part of a new civil service. Public servants now in employment were serving only the interests of President FW de Klerk's government, he said.

"We are also going to rely on civil servants

from the homelands. We are certainly going to use you," Mr Mandela said to applause from a packed stadium.

Mr Mandela praised the leadership qualities of Transkei military head Major-General Bantu Holomisa, saying he "would not be surprised if one day he occupies the highest office in the land". — Sapa

funds, the real value of the accrued benefits of a member and his beneficiaries will be maintained and the current retirement age shall not be changed without the public servant's consent.

The constitutional principle to be entrenched says the public service will be non-partisan, career-oriented and based on equitable principles; be obliged to promote a broadly representative and efficient public service; be regulated by laws dealing specifically with such service and with a structure, function and terms and conditions of service supporting the government of the day.

It is proposed that another constitutional principle be enlarged to include the protection of civil servants against unfair labour practices.

A public service commission, accountable to Parliament through the president, will be set up to regulate the organisation and administration of departments and the public service.

Provision has been made allowing all promotions, appointments, amendment of contracts and the award of terms and conditions of service and other benefits occurring between April 27, 1993 and September 30, 1994 to be reviewed by a judicial commission.

PAC tells UN of 'regime's genocide'

The Argus Foreign Service

(11A) ARG 9/11/93

NEW YORK. — The Pan Africanist Congress continued its campaign against the South African government and the African National Congress in United Nations hearings, charging that people were dying in the country at a rate higher than that in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Superficial changes co-existed with genocide being conducted by the "regime", S E M Pheko, the PAC delegate, said in the General Assembly's committee on decolonisation.

The government was forcing interim arrangements on the people in a tactic aimed at prolonging what he termed colonialist rule.

Appearances by representatives of several non-governmental bodies set the stage for today's address to the 184-member committee by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Inkatha Freedom Party leader.

Chief Buthelezi was the subject of a long article in the New York Times on Sunday that speculated on whether he might choose the "Savimbi option" by diverting the country into civil war.

ANC slams 'askari' payouts

THE ANC said yesterday it would not rest until the full truth about the Vlakplaas "askari" police counter-intelligence unit was made public and those guilty of crimes brought to book. *B/D ay 11A*

The organisation was reacting to weekend allegations that three senior members of the unit — which was allegedly based on a farm outside Pretoria — each received a "golden handshake" of R1.2m on retirement from the SAP earlier this year.

The ANC said Lt-Col Eugene de Kock, Lt-Col Koos Vermeulen and Capt Paul van Dyk had left the SAP "under a cloud of serious allegations that they were involved in the planning and execution of attacks and murders against pro-democracy activists and ANC members". *9/11/93*

"Rather than receiving golden handshakes, it would have been reasonable to expect that a police force that cares for its relationship with the public would have at

LLOYD GOULTS

least suspended these officers pending the outcome of an investigation into their activities," said the ANC.

The SAP has denied the allegation. Maj-Gen Krappies Engelbrecht, while confirming the retirements, would not disclose how much money the men had received, saying it was not SAP policy to do so.

The ANC said this explanation was unsatisfactory. *(SAP) (ANC)*

"The people of SA have the right to know what the NP government has paid them for the bloody deeds they committed to extend the NP's illegitimate reign. The time for secret funding and undisclosed golden handshakes is over.

"The ANC gives notice that we will not rest until the truth about the Vlakplaas unit is made public and those who have committed crimes are brought to book," the ANC said.

ANC to pay for damages

ET 10/11/93

(11A)

Political Staff

DURBAN. — The Natal Rugby Union (NRU) is seeking more than R16 500 from the African National Congress for damage to chairs, taps and toilet seats during the Sonke Festival hosted by the organisation at King's Park Stadium last month.

The ANC has agreed to pay the bill, which NRU general manager Mr Craig Jamieson said was not unusually high for damages after big events at most stadiums.

The crowd at the October 24 festival — a multi-cultural variety concert which was addressed by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela — was estimated to be between 60 000 and 80 000.

Several of the stadium's plastic bucket seats were ripped from their brackets and liquor from some of the corporate suites was taken. Revellers also removed taps from changerooms, and locks and gates were tampered with.

At least one window was broken.

Most of the damage has already been repaired.

'MK pensions': IFP, CP furious

JOHANNESBURG. — The IFP and the CP have both condemned the ANC/government deal to pay state pensions to uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) veterans and their dependants.

In a statement from Durban, IFP national spokesman Dr Ziba Jiyane said the decision was tantamount to giving legitimacy to revolutionary violence in bringing about change in the country.

The IFP said it found it shocking that MK members could be paid state pensions, and asked whether the millions of South Africans who had fought apartheid peacefully and at great personal cost would also be provided for.

In his statement, CP deputy leader Mr Willie Snyman said the move was to be rejected and was an insult to members of the South African Defence Force who had protected the country for decades.

The agreement between the ANC and the government, reached in talks over the weekend, was tabled at multi-party negotiations on Monday.

The fact that the government was prepared to compensate terrorists who had "killed hundreds of our soldiers" amounted to further capitulation.

If those funds to pay MK and their dependants were to come out of the state pension fund, it would further move the over-taxed pension fund to bankruptcy, he said. — Sapa

ANC call to set up black mining house

SA WOULD have to look at setting up a major black mining house to address the racial bias of the industry, ANC mineral and energy policy co-ordinator Paul Jourdan said yesterday. *B/Dan*

He told an International Executive Communications conference outside Johannesburg that this was necessary to overcome the "crisis of legitimacy" facing the white-controlled mining houses. *10/11/93*

An example was the creation of Genmin when the largely English-speaking mining industry faced a similar crisis of legitimacy among Afrikaners in the 1950s. "A similar tactic would be the creation of a significant black mining house from one or more of the existing companies. *(UFA) (210)*

Imaginative financing mechanisms would have to be formulated, including equity loans and the financial power of the trade unions through their provident funds.

The ANC was also considering creating new opportunities for blacks through micro, small, and medium-scale operations. But access to new entrants was denied because mineral assets were privately owned. The ANC was looking into a system of mineral rights similar to Namibia's mining law, which consisted of a series of licences for mining and exploration.

"The mining licences would guarantee tenure over a reasonably long period, such as 25 years, while exploration licences would be time-limited, thereby freeing up mineral rights for other entrepreneurs to try their luck." — Sapa.



focus on violence

THE massacre of 10 ANC youths in Natal last weekend, and the murder of an IFP leader's son, have focused attention on tensions between the two organisations.

Joint rallies, a constant item of agreement in statements by the two leaders, are no nearer happening than they were before their very first meeting in January 1991, according to representatives of the two organisations.

Finger pointing and counter accusations of a lack of interest characterised the responses by both organisations this week when *Sowetan* made inquiries about why the rallies have not taken place.

Meanwhile, the slaughter is continuing with over 9 000 people killed in just over three years.

And politicians fiddle while villages and townships burn.

But all is not lost, it seems. The conveners of the last summit between Mandela and Buthelezi, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Bishop Stanley Mogoba, were yesterday huddled in a church leaders' meeting in Johannesburg where the issue of violence and the joint rallies were to feature high on the agenda.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus told *Sowetan* his organisation had done all it could to get the rallies going but "they have not happened because the other side is not keen".

Niehaus said the ANC may still pursue the idea of joint rallies but this was not on top of their agenda right now.

"We are prepared any time. The delay in the rallies materialising is not the ANC's fault. We even sent Thabo Mbeki (national chairman) to Ulundi but so far nothing has come of the whole thing.

"We are committed to the idea and our president, Mandela, has publicly stated that we are ready to do these rallies. But I cannot say that it is one of the priority items on our agenda right now, not with the reluctance on the other side," Niehaus said.

IFP central committee member and spokeswoman Ms Suzanne Vos rejected Niehaus' statements and said when Mbeki met with Buthelezi in Ulundi more than a month ago, the IFP had handed him dates on which the rallies could take place.

"They have not responded and if Niehaus says it is the IFP that is delaying the process, he is at the very least not telling the truth.

"The idea of joint rallies came from Chief Minister Buthelezi and it would be unthinkable that we would be the one letting the idea die," Vos said.

The rallies were decided upon at the first face-to-face meeting between Mandela and Buthelezi in Durban. Nothing came of the resolution.

At the second summit in Johannesburg on June 23 this year, the two leaders reiterated their commitment to the process of joint rallies, but again, four and half months later, the rallies have not materialised.

The call was based on a finding that the

Sowetan 11/11/93
Questions are being asked why joint rallies agreed to by ANC leader

Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi 34 months ago have not taken place. Investigations editor **Mathatha Tsedu** inquires:



All smiles ... but when will the tension between Mandela's ANC and Buthelezi's IFP be a thing of the past?

violence between supporters of the two organisations in Natal and on the Reef was due to political intolerance.

The summits by the leaders, and the rallies, would serve to show supporters that differences in political belief were not synonymous with war. So the thinking went.

Many poured cold water on the idea, saying the violence was a complex phenomenon which could not be turned off at the point of a joint rally.

Head of the Centre for African Studies Mr Eugene Nyathi, speaking on the eve of the June summit, said: "I have a feeling both parties recognise very little will be achieved although they must see the public relations value of attending."

With 33 people killed on the eve of the summit, it was probably inevitable that the two leaders should reiterate the joint rally strategy.

In the meantime, on the East Rand alone, an average of 30 people are killed each weekend, with about seven bodies picked up randomly daily in one of the country's least publicised low-key wars.

In Natal, the polarisation has intensified, with declared IFP villages and ANC villages. The massacre of the ten youths on Sunday at the homestead of Chief Alpheus Molefe, followed an attempt by the ANC to hold a rally in the area, an IFP stronghold.

The IFP, on the other hand, has lost leaders at the hands of gunmen who it alleges are members of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

On Saturday night, IFP Transvaal leader Mr Vitas Mvelase lost his son at the hands of gunmen who shot him dead at his Ladysmith home. Mvelase's other son, Francis, was killed and necklaced in March this year.

IFP Transvaal co-ordinator Mr Hennie Bekker said in response to the latest Mvelase killing that it could have "serious repercussions for the peace process".

It is an observation that many would agree with.

Joint rallies would serve to dampen the war psychosis and introduce an element of peace and tolerance.

ANC wants alliance to 'come back'

3/10/93
THE ANC welcomed closer co-operation between government and the Freedom Alliance "if that means the Freedom Alliance is going to come back to the multiparty forum where it belongs", ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday. ||||| 93

Mandela reacted to State President F W de Klerk's statement on Tuesday night that government and the Freedom Alliance had moved closer together and that this could result in "fairly important developments within four or five days". (I) A

The ANC president said his organisation regretted the alliance's decision to pull out of the negotiations as they were the only channel to solve problems.

However, if the alliance planned to return and demand that issues which had led to its initial withdrawal, and which had been thrashed out at talks, be addressed, then it had to be made clear their demands had already been addressed.

"We are not prepared to make any further concessions. If they want to press further demands, that we welcome, but the channel for that is the multiparty forum," Mandela said. — Sapa.

Talks used as 'rubber stamp'

B/Day 11/11/93
THE negotiating council's constitutional technical committee yesterday accused government and the ANC of abusing their positions as major players by treating the multiparty talks as "a rubber stamp" and the committee as a "lackey" (11A) (11A)

The committee refused to carry out instructions to draft the public servants' chapter of the constitution on the basis of the agreements reached by the two parties.

It said it took instructions only from the council and the government-ANC deals were to be treated merely as submissions.

As a result, the rough draft agreement of the deal, without the technical and legal refinements, was tabled in the council to allow negotiators to comment on it and issue instructions to the committee.

Committee members initially took a hostile approach to the document, asking questions that highlighted its short-

BILLY PADDOCK

comings. But after an adjournment and discussions between government, the ANC and the committee members, the rest of the discussion went more smoothly.

Other negotiators said they were irritated by the delays caused by the private discussions between government and the ANC, and accused the parties of treating them like an endorsement mechanism.

"At the 11th hour they will make compromises and fudge the differences and then they will expect us all to just calmly adopt their positions. If we do not, they will bulldoze us," one negotiator said.

The DP, Transkei and a negotiator from the patriotic front said the ANC and government "should tell us to pack up and go home and then sort out their differences".

□ To Page 2

Talks B/Day 11/11/93

□ From Page 1

Said one negotiator: "Once they have their agreement, then they can summon us to rubber stamp it. At least that will be more transparent than this guise." (11A)

It is now expected that the constitution will be finalised only on Monday, as several disagreements between the ANC and government are holding up the process. The leaders' plenary meeting is still scheduled for Tuesday and Wednesday.

Among the differences are the independent judiciary, particularly the constitutional court; the deadlock-breaking

mechanism for reaching agreement on the final constitution; the special majorities required for Cabinet decisions; whether regions should have executive functions over regional police; whether English and Afrikaans will continue to be the official languages during the transition period; and the local government provisions.

Government and ANC negotiators were yesterday shuttling between meetings in an attempt to resolve the differences.

● See Page 4

● Comment: Page 8

ANC foresees SA pressing hard for overhaul of UN

SIMON BARBER

WASHINGTON — The ANC looks forward to playing a "vigorous role" in pressing for an overhaul of the UN and the Security Council as soon as SA resumed its seat in the General Assembly, according to ANC President Nelson Mandela.

In a manifesto of ANC policy prepared for the current issue of Foreign Affairs, Mandela took a jab at the disproportionate influence of the US and its industrialised partners at the post-Cold War UN and warned that if this continued, the organisation's "legitimacy will continuously be called into question".

Mandela stopped short of saying that SA would seek a permanent seat on the Security Council if the make-up of the body was changed in 1995. But he left the door open to the possibility of a rotating seat for major African countries.

"We hope a mechanism can be found so that the Security Council can reflect the full tapestry of mankind."

As a country coming to grips with many of the problems that plagued the rest of the world — including the management of diversity and major disparities between rich and poor — SA had was uniquely placed to help bridge the "deepening chasm" between "industrialised north and the underdeveloped south".

Human rights would be at the "core" of a new SA foreign policy, the ANC leader stressed. "SA will therefore be at the forefront of global efforts to promote and foster democratic systems of government."

These efforts would be focused particularly on Africa, which could no longer be held to a different standard from that of the rest of the world. "Our concerns will be fixed upon securing a spirit of tolerance and the ethos of good governance throughout the continent." To avoid further mar-

ginalisation, Mandela said, Africa should respond "by transforming its economic base", in part through greater economic co-operation and "reshaped" trade networks.

The SADC and the east and southern Africa preferential trade areas were important vehicles for promoting regional prosperity, but duplication had to be avoided and there was a need for "considerable institutional development".

The new government's agenda would be headed by the need to get the country's own house in order.

The ANC intended to open protected industries to competition.

However, Mandela warned that "we cannot be expected to reintegrate our trade regime in the global system overnight, and we will resist any attempt by the GATT to force us to do so."

"We cannot put thousands of jobs at risk by embarking on a speedy and uncoordinated revision of our total tariff regime."

A new government would seek new export markets "aggressively", using "internationally acceptable" incentives, and would reserve the right to discriminate against products from any country that did not open its markets to SA goods.

Cementing economic relations with and obtaining preferential access to the EC, "our largest trade and investment partner", was a top priority.

"Critically important" to SA's long-term recovery and growth, Mandela said, was the strengthening of manufacturing and service sectors. He singled out metal engineering, pulp and paper, banking, insurance and tourism as industries with the "most important" potential for foreign exchange earnings.

Marchers demand withdrawal of SAP's internal stability unit

JOHANNES NGCOBO

ABOUT 1 500 people from East Rand townships marched on the World Trade Centre yesterday to demand the immediate withdrawal of the internal stability unit.

The marchers, led by ANC PWV deputy secretary Obed Bapela, handed a memorandum to planning committee chairman Sam Titus, who said he would try to table their demands today.

He praised the peaceful manner in which the protesters conducted themselves and promised that he would convey the importance of discussing their grievances to ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa as soon as possible.

Bapela alleged that the Natalspruit Hospital in

Katlehong was being used as a base by those killing people in the townships.

"I call on the very same police that are maiming our people on a daily basis to conduct an intensive search at the hospital and to stop the killing of innocent people," he said.

The marchers demanded that:

- The SADF be deployed in the hostels;
- Displaced people be able to return to their homes before Christmas;
- Violence-stricken areas be declared disaster areas;
- Local police stations be empowered with resources to deal with violence;
- Externally-based police

report to local station commanders when entering the townships;

The joint operations communication centre be moved from Natalspruit Hospital to a place to be decided on by residents; and

Policemen arrested for joining self defence units be released.

Two protesters were arrested by the internal stability unit at Isando Station for carrying unlicensed firearms.

Meanwhile, three white Katlehong Town Council employees were admitted to hospital after they were shot by unidentified men wielding AK-47s.

Police reported that two burned bodies had been found in the township.

ANC calls for 1 050 election candidates

THE ANC, the first to set out its electoral mechanisms for SA's first all-race election, invited more than a thousand nominations yesterday.

Together with its Cosatu and SA Communist Party allies, the ANC announced it had opened nominations for the 1 050 candidates it planned to field in the April 27 election, Sapa reports.

Three lists of candidates would be compiled — for the national assembly, for regional representatives on the national assembly and for regional legislatures.

A balance would need to be maintained between people chosen for national and regional lists because the ANC would need strong national and regional leaders, the ANC said.

The position of ANC allies, the Patriotic Front alliance and allies of the Mass Democratic Movement needed to be given

special consideration. Although the ANC was not encouraging quotas for these organisations they needed to be involved in the election process.

Nominations were open at local level at ANC branches and among allies and Patriotic Front structures with whom the organisation decided to co-operate.

One person could be nominated for more than one list, but if elected to more than one list the Electoral Act and the list committee would decide on which list the candidate would remain.

Regional executive committees and the national executive committee would be allowed to nominate people, including their own members.

From November 28 the nominations would be processed by the list committee currently comprising Walter Sisulu and Cyril Ramaphosa of the ANC, Sam Shllowa

Biscay 11/11/83
of Cosatu, Charles Nqakula of the SACP, Gertrude Shope of the ANC Women's League and James Motlatsi of the National Union of Mineworkers. (11A)

Taking regions' votes for a national list into account, a national conference of 500 delegates would vote on the order of 200 names compiled by the list committee.

LLOYD COUTTS reports the ANC decided that women would make up 33,3% of its list of candidates, spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa confirmed yesterday. The decision ratified a national working committee recommendation on the inclusion of women on the list.

The ANC's Women's League yesterday welcomed the announcement, and said it regarded the decision as a victory for women.

It said the issue of quotas for women was first raised by the league at the organisa-

tion's national conference in Durban in 1991, but had been rejected by men.

The league believed issues of major concern to women could not be effectively addressed without the participation of women in decision-making structures. There was a need to create special mechanisms to address the entrenchment of gender oppression.

"The argument that women do not have experience in government structures in parliament can only be dismissed with contempt. Men in the ANC also lack such experience. But we all have the experience of struggle," the league said.

It believed there were many capable and competent women whose names could be added to the list, and called on women to join the ANC "in their droves" to ensure a broader choice for the regional and national lists.

one-party state," he said.
Buthelesi said the SA
government had "bar-

DP and Sanco in bitter election squabble

A HEATED meeting between members of the ANC alliance and the DP yesterday failed to reach an understanding on the principle of free and fair electioneering in the townships (SATA) (IA)

ANC PWV secretary-general Paul Mashatile said that, following angry exchanges between the DP and SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) representatives, it had been decided that the two parties should hold further talks.

The DP requested the meeting after its efforts to conduct election campaigns in

Wilson Zwane

PWV townships were disrupted and Sanco voiced opposition to DP activities.

DP delegation leader Tony Leon said the talks had been characterised by bitter exchanges with Sanco. Mashatile said the DP and Sanco had to resolve their problems before the alliance could contribute to discussions on political tolerance.

DP southern Transvaal spokesman Mike Moriarty said his party would not hold

To Page 2

Squabble

public meetings in the townships until the differences with Sanco had been resolved.

The DP suspended public meetings in black areas in August after its meeting in the Vaal Triangle township of Orange Farm was disrupted by ANC supporters.

Sanco southern Transvaal general secretary Dan Mofokeng stressed that Sanco was not orchestrating the disruption of DP meetings. Sanco should not be held responsible for actions which the DP precipitated by "inflammatory utterances" (SATA)

The DP should not expect either the ANC or Sanco to "go out of their way" to help it get township votes, he said. (IA)

The Sanco-DP meetings would focus on

the legal action that the DP had instituted against Sanco leaders for alleged inflammatory utterances, Mofokeng said.

ANC PWV deputy secretary-general Obed Bapela has said that the ANC, which took strong exception to the DP's election tactics, such as the ridiculing of ANC leaders, was not setting parameters for electioneering in the townships. But SA was not ready for US-style campaigns.

Mofokeng said it was possible that once the playing field had been levelled — through the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council — Sanco would assist parties such as the DP to campaign freely in the townships.

From Page 1

Cosatu likely to call off strike

Promising progress at talks

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
and ESTHER WAUGH

South Africa should take a large step towards a political settlement today after considerable progress in a series of bilateral meetings yesterday — including a deal early this morning that could see Cosatu's general strike, planned for Monday, called off.

However, the marathon and exhausting schedule of ANC/Government discussions, a Negotiating Council sitting that ended at midnight and other meetings could not prevent today's talks deadline being moved back to Monday.

Main focus of the day at the World Trade Centre was on the Government-ANC meetings, some of which began at 6 am. Others were continuing as late as 1 am today.

Today, both organisations aim to finish deliberations on matters still to be resolved for inclusion in the interim constitution. Sources indicate that talks on a future police force are close to deadlock, but there was progress on various matters, including:

■ The controversial lockout clause in the draft Bill of Rights, which gave rise to Cosatu's strike threat. Today the ANC, Cosatu and SACP

DRAMATIC breakthrough follows intense behind-the-scenes discussions at Kempton Park

emerged from an early-morning meeting with an announcement that they would be tabling a proposal for discussion at the Negotiating Council and were "confident that the multi-party negotiations will endorse our proposal within the next 48 hours, thus averting the need for recourse to action". ANC sources said the proposal was along the lines of that agreed to with the Government late last night.

► More reports —
Pages 3 and 11

■ South Africa's official languages. It is understood it was agreed there will be 11 official languages, enjoying equal status. Although details are not known this appears to be along the lines of the ANC's position.

■ The vital issue of the composition of the constitutional court. Details are not known.

■ The number of regions — nine. However, there is understood to be flexibility on this issue in that referendums can be held in contentious areas.

■ The mechanism that will be used to break deadlocks in the writing of a final constitution by the interim government. This issue has not been resolved but it is understood there has been progress.

■ Outstanding clauses of the Electoral Act. It is understood certain categories of prisoners would be allowed to vote.

■ The shape of a future SADF, as defined by the interim constitution. On-off talks between the SADF and Umkhonto weSizwe were on again yesterday and reportedly gaining ground. However, the two sides are understood to be a considerable distance from settlement on an agreement on the integration of all armed formations.

These agreements are still subject to approval by the leaders. Most significant among disagreements is the structure of future policing. The dispute centres on the powers to go to regional police forces — the ANC is strongly opposed to autonomous forces

► To Page 3

Major talks progress

◀ From Page 1

which, it fears, could amount to a new variety of private armies.

There is also some distance to go on a new education dispensation, with the ANC opposing quasi-private schools getting State funding but nevertheless having independent decision-making capacities.

While the feverish bilateral activity was proceeding in rooms throughout the World Trade Centre, the Negotiating Council met yesterday from 11 am to midnight. During the marathon session many constitutional principles were agreed on and a compromise agreement on the future of the civil service approved.

But there was little progress during debate on outstanding clauses in the draft Bill of Rights, which was scheduled to have been finished last night.

These include the so-called "property clause" — to secure right to own property and appropriate compensation in the case of expropriation — and how customary law should be applied. This debate resumes tomorrow.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman said outstanding issues were being resolved one by one, and none appeared likely to deadlock the process.

Star 11/11/93

Alliance opens poll nominations

The ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance has opened nominations for 1 050 candidates it plans to field in the April 27 general election.

Three lists of nominations will be drawn up for the national assembly, regional nominations for the national assembly, and regional legislatures.

The ANC said at a news conference yesterday that nominations for the national list would close on November 28 and be finalised at a na-

tional nominations conference on December 18.

An estimated 470 people would be nominated for regional governments. An additional 90 might be added to this figure to cater for a larger number of voters than is expected. The figure would depend on voter numbers and the percentage of people who actually vote.

The ANC said it would nominate 200 people for election to the national assembly and a further 200 regional representa-

tives to serve, also on the national assembly.

The nomination process was a public and open one. "All members of the democratic movement in the country are eligible to nominate and be nominated."

ANC information and publicity head Dr Pallo Jordan gave the assurance that women would be given an equal chance to win seats on the various bodies taking part in South Africa's first democratic election.

By Christelle Terreblanche

LP attacks ANC

South 12/11 - 16/11/93

THE proposed alliance between the ANC and the Labour Party (LP) could finally be on the rocks after the LP attacked the ANC Western Cape Chairperson, Mr Tony Yengeni, and other ANC leaders in a strongly-worded statement about the housing crisis.

Mr Dougie Josephs, LP MP and national treasurer, said in the statement the LP rejected Yengeni's call for a nonracial waiting list for hous-

es. He claimed the ANC and civics never gave councils in African townships support to compete for funds from the provincial council and the government (~~254~~)

Josephs said a statement by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on television recently caused the occupation of houses built by the House of Representatives (HoR) in the

Peninsula and in Durban. According to the LP, Mr Mandela warned people not to expect houses the day after the election. (11A)

Josephs also accused Yengeni and ANC Western Cape chairperson Dr Allan Boesak of urging people to civil disobedience in not paying for rents, services and taxes.

Western Cape ANC vice-secre-

tary, Mr Willie Hofmeyr, said: "It is far from true that the ANC and others are responsible for the housing crisis.

"It is the Management Councils and people like Mr Joseph who are responsible for aggravating the housing crisis in the country.

"If Mr Joseph's views are that of the LP nationally, then I would say the issuing of statements like these would throw serious doubts on the workability of an alliance between the ANC and LP."

ANC 'using IGI as excuse'

THE ANC was using the collapse of insurance giant IGI as a "miserable excuse" for failing to compensate victims of vandalism and looting following the Chris Hani memorial march, an IGI spokesman said yesterday.

The spokesman said the ANC's standard liability policy had been ended some months after Mr Hani's assassination once it

became obvious "the ANC was unable to control supporters".

Grand Parade stall owner Mr Goosain Isaacs, whose kiosk was gutted during the march and who was without income for six months, has tried to claim R92 000 from the ANC but says he was told by the ANC there could be no payout because of IGI's collapse.

The ANC's Mr Willie Hofmeyr yesterday denied the allegation and said he had explained that there could be no payout unless the ANC was proved legally liable.

The IGI spokesman said the ANC's policy with IGI required that the damage be caused accidentally — and only by ANC supporters. ~~205~~ (117) CT 12/11/93

ANC aims to impress the world, says Mbeki

ARC 12/11/93

(11A)

□ Africans can succeed, union delegates told

SHARON SOROUR
Labour Reporter

NEXT year's African National Congress government will seek to show the world that Africans can produce a genuinely democratic society based on human rights, an international union federation was told in Cape Town.

ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki told delegates at the opening of the International Textile Garment and Leather Workers' Federation executive: "We want to send a message to the world that the people of this

continent are capable of succeeding."

But he gave warning that a democratic government would have to mount a genuine reconstruction programme to address socio-economic injustice ... or face a revolt.

"If all that happens after the election is that President Mandela drives around in a black limousine ... the people will be entitled to rebel."

The federation meeting, hosted by the 160 000-strong SA Clothing and Textile Workers Union

(Sactwu), is the first international trade secretariat meeting to be held in South Africa in decades.

Mr Mbeki said at the opening ceremony: "African delegates will bear me out when I say there is a huge expectation that we will succeed in producing a genuinely democratic society and a political system which respects human rights and which can economically address the needs of the people."

Other challenges included "reconstructing and de-racialising the state machinery" to make it accountable.

"We have a civil service, which in the upper echelons, is 90 percent white, an army which is 100 percent white in the upper echelons and a police force which is not much better."

Mr Mbeki said the more immediate challenge was to ensure that the election was free and fair and the result widely accepted.

South Africans were very conscious of the degeneration of the Angolan electoral process into a civil war.

NEGOTIATIONS

FM 12/11/93

The caravan moves on

~~11A~~ ~~11B~~ ~~11C~~

The failure of government and the ANC to draw the Freedom Alliance into the mad dash towards this week's deadline for finalising the interim constitution may be far less serious than it seems. Analysts believe the alliance took a strategic decision some time ago not to return to the talks, except in the highly unlikely event of its demands being met.

This view is supported by the early withdrawal of Inkatha negotiators Frank Mdlalose and Ben Ngubane from important bilateral talks with government last week, so that they could accompany leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi on a foreign visit. Inkatha is a senior partner in the alliance.

Buthelezi's action in leaving SA at such a crucial time in the bilateral negotiation process was interpreted as an indication that he had no intention of returning to the World Trade Centre before today's deadline.

A similar stance appears to have been taken by other alliance partners who, it is understood, made little effort to soften hard-line positions during last-ditch talks with government this week.

Freedom Alliance leaders apparently decided that their input in the final stage of negotiations would have virtually no impact on the interim constitution. Participation could in fact have backfired by bolstering the credibility of government and the ANC, while undermining alliance support if — as was likely — it was unable to force acceptance of its main demands.

By not endorsing the interim constitution the alliance's future options are open. It can either participate in April's general election or campaign for a boycott. A boycott would have been hypocritical had the alliance been part of the process.

The more pressing problem facing government and the ANC this week was lack of time to finalise niggling details of the interim constitution and related measures, such as the electoral law and rights concerning strikes and lock outs. Discussions in the

National Manpower Commission over the right of employers to lock out strikers deadlocked this week. The issue — the only outstanding matter over which Cosatu has threatened a national strike — has been referred to the negotiators at Kempton Park.

Negotiators took a break from public discussion on Tuesday to give parties a chance to brief their leaders on final decisions that needed to be made this week. As the FM went to press the Cabinet was meeting in a special session in Pretoria, after which President F W de Klerk was due to address a press conference on government's latest view of recent developments.

The Freedom Alliance chairman, Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje, says that if the alliance is not part of the agreement on the interim constitution it will not take part in the elections.

Earlier this week negotiators believed the interim constitution would be ready for endorsement on Thursday, but were preparing to push the deadline to Saturday if necessary to finalise "outstanding matters."

A plenary session of the negotiating parties, including their leaders, is scheduled for Tuesday, at which the package of agreements on the Transitional Executive Council and interim constitution is to be given the go-ahead.

De Wett Schutte, a political research specialist with the Human Sciences Research Council, has little doubt that the interim constitution will be "forced through" within the next few days, leading to an important new phase in the transitional process. He believes the Freedom Alliance's absence from the World Trade Centre is not particularly important. "Nothing the alliance could have said or done would have changed the pace or direction of the process." Participation might also have exerted considerable pressure on the alliance, whose constituent parties have widely divergent views on key issues.

Schutte believes political dynamics may change significantly following the adoption of the interim constitution. Possibilities include a narrowing of

the ideological gap between the NP and the alliance, and even a formal coalition to oppose the ANC in the election and in the constituent assembly. He does not foresee the alliance boycotting the election because

boycotts are generally unsuccessful strategies.

The possibility of an anti-ANC coalition was given more weight at the weekend when the results of an opinion poll suggested that the ANC would win 57% of the vote next year, compared to 15% for the NP, 9% for the IFP, 4% each for the CP and DP, 5% for the PAC and 3% for regional parties.

Peter Vale, co-director of the University of the Western Cape's Centre for Southern African Studies, says the alliance's absence from the negotiations tends to be viewed either as a precursor to an horrific civil conflict, or as being largely irrelevant because of the alliance's general lack of support. He backs the latter view.

Buthelezi's international allies appear to be abandoning him and the white Right is being restrained by Afrikaner Volksfront leader Constand Viljoen.

Vale says, while conspiracies between government and the alliance can't be ruled out, the latter appears to be an extremely divisive force within the NP, with some senior Ministers wanting nothing to do with the alliance.

Meanwhile, in a tough speech at the weekend, ANC leader Nelson Mandela warned rightwingers "and their black surrogates" that they would be crushed if they tried to prevent the election taking place. He told a rally in Transkei that people who believed they could prevent next year's election were "living in a fool's paradise."



REGIONS

Cape solidarity

FM

The political minefield facing an interim government over boundaries for new provinces has again been highlighted. There is growing opposition to a proposal to hack off a slice of the west coast from the greater western Cape and include it in a northern Cape region to be governed from Kimberley. 12/11/93

The proposal is part of a nine-region package presented to negotiators at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park last month by the Commission on Delimitation/Demarcation of Regions. Final decisions were sidestepped and effectively left to the constituent assembly and interim government to be elected next year.

West coast communities have rejected the suggestion that all areas north of Piketberg, about 100 km from Cape Town, should be included in a massive northern Cape province. The 230 000-strong population of the region, which stretches 300 km up the west coast to Vanrhynsdorp on the Namaqualand border, identifies strongly with the greater

P.T.O.

'Join us', ANC man tells Pik Botha

By **Christelle Terreblanche**

MINISTER of Foreign Affairs Mr Pik Botha could soon receive an unexpected approach following his recent public apology for apartheid.

An invitation to join the ANC is expected to come from the newly elected chairperson of the recently launched Durbanville ANC branch, Dr Desmond Stumpf.

Stumpf, who joined the ANC in June this year, is convinced that many Afrikaners will follow his example.

"Among the apartheid leaders, I have a lot of respect for Pik Botha, and I think he belongs with the ANC," says Stumpf.

And he is not joking.

"You will be surprised how many Afrikaners in Durbanville in high positions are actually sympathetic to the ANC — many of them committed Christians like myself."

Stumpf only recently re-emerged from political retirement, after a brief stint with the Democratic Party and a hiatus which decided his future.

Durbanville can safely be described as the heart of the Cape Afrikaner establishment. The community there consists of closely-knit groups of Afrikaners who rose to middle and upper-middle class status during the years of National Party rule.

This 95 percent white constituency, has until now probably been the safest NP seat in the Western Cape.

However, signs are appearing that it might not stay like this. Especially if Stumpf has his way.

Stumpf (55) has lived in the area more than two decades and practised for 19 years as a medical doctor in Durbanville.

12/11 - 16/11/93
He says many of the Afrikaners there who lean towards the ANC are Christians irked by the continuing split between the Dutch Reformed Church and the Dutch Reformed Mission Church (Sendingkerk). (11A)

Stumpf, a committed Christian, claims he has never been able to serve Christianity better than in the ANC.

"As a Christian I am willing to repent, but if I say I am sorry, that also involves paying restitution," he says.

Stumpf says his eyes were opened to the democratic movement when he moved his practice to Mowbray in 1991 to serve the poorer communities of the Cape.

He joined the ANC in June this year. "It was not an impulsive move and it was not like jumping on the bandwagon," he emphasises.

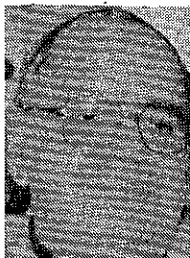
He is optimistic that the ANC can win the hearts of Cape Afrikanerdom.

On Thursday Stumpf will have the chance to woo

Afrikaners when he speaks at an ANC public meeting in Durbanville. He will be joined on the podium by ANC National spokesperson Mr Carl Niehaus, and by Ms Melani Verwoerd, wife of Dr Wilhelm Verwoerd, the grandson of the father of apartheid and now a committed ANC member.

"I personally grew up English speaking," says Stumpf. "But I have lot of respect for Afrikaners. Their problem is that they lay themselves open, make themselves vulnerable. They are just scared."

Stumpf's deputy chairperson, Mr Dan Lucas, is on a similar mission. He is a senior member of the management committee in the area, but believes these apartheid structures could even now be transformed to be more ANC sympathetic.



DESMOND STUMPF

PAC support on the rise in Eastern Cape

South 12/11 - 16/11/93

SUPPORT for the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) in the Eastern Cape — traditionally an ANC stronghold — has reached double digits for the first time.

Results of a survey of black voters in the region by Rhodes University's Department of Sociology and Industrial Sociology show that since late last year support for the PAC has grown by about four percent, reaching 12,3 percent.

The survey, which polled 227 potential voters between July and August, found the ANC was still "widely popular" in the region, gaining the support of 76,7 percent of respondents.

The South African Communist Party (SACP) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) each gained the support of 0,9 percent of respondents and the Democratic

Party 0,4 percent. None of those polled supported the National Party. Four percent supported other parties, including Ciskei's African Democratic Movement.

PAC's support remains concentrated in Queenstown and East London, "traditionally areas of PAC support since the late 1950s. Indeed, 50 percent of PAC supporters in the region dwell in the Queenstown district" (11A)

Asked to explain the rise in support for the PAC, researcher Professor Jan Coetzee said this could be attributed largely to a belief that a "coalition" government would not change conditions on the ground for people.

"Many people felt that the ANC is giving in and see it as a sign of weakness," he said.

The survey found that there was

widespread popular backing for negotiations and peace, with 68,7 percent of the respondents believing that change could be brought about through negotiations alone.

Only 6,6 percent of respondents — all of them PAC supporters — believed that change was only possible through violence.

Seventy-eight percent of respondents were optimistic about South Africa's future while 68 percent believed their economic situation would improve as a result of the election, "reflecting high aspirations prevalent in the region".

Most respondents believed that parties other than the ANC and PAC — which were generally perceived as legitimate because of their sustained opposition to apartheid — "did not have a right to organise in the region"

— Ecna

Govt and ANC close to deal on police, army

Star 12/11/93

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD and ESTHER WAUGH

The Government and ANC are close to agreement on two of the most contentious issues in negotiations — the shape and composition of the future police and defence forces.

Details revealed to The Star last night indicate that the country could essentially get a single police force with some federal characteristics and a defence force eventually embracing all armed forces.

However, both Government and ANC sources last night warned that although there had been a considerable coming together on these issues the deals were not sealed and could falter.

On Wednesday next week President de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and other leaders will attend the final plenary session of multiparty talks.

However, the talks deadline was moved from next Monday to Tuesday yesterday.

Most remarkable progress was achieved in discussions on the shape of a future police force.

It is reliably understood that the Government and ANC are close to agreement on a single national police force with a differentiation of

THE TALKS AND YOU



At the World Trade Centre

TRANSITION PACKAGE: Now it's agreement by exhaustion. For the second day running, negotiators worked into the wee

hours — inside the Negotiating Council and in bilateral meetings — in an attempt to nail down a settlement.

Despite bleary eyes and many cups of coffee, there was also some progress as negotiators agreed to the repeal of a plethora of discriminatory legislation; a deal was struck in terms of which Cosatu would call off its national strike; and the ANC-Government bilateral meetings nudged closer to resolution on key issues.

Chief among these was a coming together on the shape of a new police force.

Today the council is scheduled to debate the final draft of the Interim Constitution and finalise a Bill of Rights.

ESTHER WAUGH

powers between the national and regional commissioners of police. The regional commissioners will be appointed by regional premiers, but only after consultation with the State President.

The regional commissioners will be accountable to the relevant Minister in the regions.

A solution to the long-standing differences between the Government and ANC over the future defence force is also on the cards.

The national defence force after the April elections will comprise all armed formations.

Among other important issues still outstanding are: the mechanism that will be used to resolve deadlocks in the writing of a final constitution, the percentage support required in the new Cabinet for decision-making, the shape of future local government, and the powers, duties and functions of regions.

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ANC rejects NP support claim

CLAIMS that the National Party (NP) has up to 70 percent support among coloureds in the Eastern Cape have been dismissed as "a fallacy" by the ANC. **SOUTH**

A report in "Die Burger" quoted NP Eastern Cape/Border regional secretary Mr Johan Muller as saying that NP fieldwork showed up to 70 percent of coloureds supported the NP. **12/11 - 16/11/93**

Muller also said it was the NP's experience that between five and 10 percent of coloured residents supported the ANC and about eight percent the Democratic Party.

Reacting to Muller's claims, Eastern Cape ANC media officer Phila Nkayi said a more accurate figure for NP support would be between 45 and 50 percent, and that this was being steadily eroded. **(11A)**

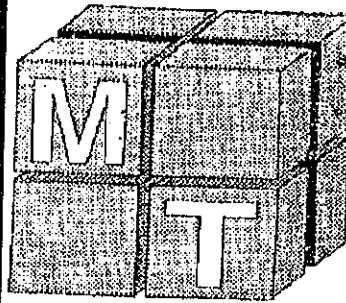
"The ANC's support is far more than 10 percent (of coloured voters). It is between 35 and 40 percent," said Nkayi. **(20/11)**

"The NP is playing on figures to confuse voters and to try to boost confidence amongst its own supporters. It wants to create the

impression that it is doing well.

"Contrary to this 70 percent claim, they are doing badly and losing support among the coloured people," said Nkayi. — **Ecna.**

This page is a joint project of MATLA TRUST and SOUTH



100 help to strengthen foothold

Political Correspondent

THE African National Congress meeting in Durbanville to strengthen a foothold in the Afrikaner heartland of the northern suburbs was attended by a mixed crowd of about 100.

ANC security personnel monitored the meeting, which passed without incident or heckling.

Two international observers and a local peace monitor were present.

Chairman of the recently formed Durbanville branch of the ANC Desmond Stumpf — speaking under a huge banner bearing the words "Nou is die tyd — Se-

kunjalo ke Nako" — described with emotion his conversion to the ANC cause.

Admitting some "trepidation" when he reported to the ANC headquarters in Cape Town to get his membership card, he said: "Today, this is my most prized possession."

He said there was no reason for whites to fear the ANC.

"It is a party for everybody... it is the liquorice all-sorts of South African politics."

Another speaker was Stellenbosch ANC member Melanie Verwoerd, who is married to Willem, grandson of the architect of grand apartheid, H F Verwoerd.

11A ARG 12/11/93



□ **LATE:** Umkhonto we Sizwe chief Joe Modise.

VUYO BAVUMA
Weekend Argus Reporter

FREEDOM in our time, the rallying call at many an African National Congress mass meeting, has mighty little to do with punctuality.

In the past six weeks ANC officials and their followers have frequently passed each other like ships in the night because the organisation unofficially appears to subscribe to what is commonly called "African Time".

The ANC's rallies in Guguletu, Nyanga and New Crossroads — all addressed by Johannesburg-based national committee executives — have been starting well after the advertised times.

In some cases, the die-hard comrades gave up waiting for their leaders to arrive at venues and went home.

To make things worse, the organisers of the meetings often did not apologise for late arrivals or non-appearances.

ANC executives stick strictly to 'African Time'

Although the ANC has its own publicity department, in most cases the NEC officials are invited by the individual township branches.

Last week the New Crossroads branch invited Joe Modise, chief commander of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, but many of the day's planned events did not take place.

The day was due to start at 10am with Mr Modise leading a "street blitz" to "sell" the organisation's policies to New Crossroads residents. But this did not take place.

He was scheduled to "open" a street an hour later and address activists at the New Crossroads community hall from 1pm until 3pm. But Weekend Argus found the hall deserted and locked.

About 1pm, scores of people started moving to the Sithembiso Matiso High School where a rally was planned to start an hour later.

The rally, ironically held

under the banner "Ready to Govern", eventually began just before 3pm — and Mr Modise did not take the stage until 4.15pm.

In the past six weeks, ANC rallies which followed "African time" included:

■ A Guguletu meeting early in October, at which secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa arrived about two hours late — after groups of people had given up the wait and gone home;

■ A gathering at Nyanga community centre, at which fiery ANC Youth leader Peter Mokaba arrived two hours late;

■ A rally at Nyanga Stadium, where deputy president Walter Sisulu arrived about one-and-a-half hours late.

ANC spokesman Sue de Villiers said the movement was doing its best to rectify the matter.

"The problem is that our speakers are committed to too many engagements. But we are making serious attempts to get the rallies to start punctually."

Ikapa file shambles upsets inquiry

EDWARD MOLOINYANE
Weekend Argus Reporter

THE commission of inquiry into financial irregularities and maladministration in the Ikapa Town Council has asked an official giving evidence to take back the files in which requisitions and records of transactions were kept, and sort out the mess.

Daniel Antonie van Bosch, an assistant accountant in the Ikapa council's purchasing department, gave evidence yesterday.

He told the commission, which is sitting at the Woodstock Day Hospital, that his duties since 1991 included purchasing goods up to R5 000 for the council.

He handled inter-departmental requisitions for items such as building materials, clothing and vehicle or machine parts and had to phone at least three companies for quotes.

But some companies were unwilling to enter the townships for deliveries and the buying department ended up purchasing from specific companies which agreed to deliver to those areas.

However, the commission was unable to continue with the probe because all the files from 1990 to 1993 were in a mess.

Requisitions, receipts and invoices were filed in a disorderly manner and the commission ordered Mr Van Bosch to take the files away and sort out the mess.

He was told to return once that had been done.

The commission, under the chairmanship of JTP Swart, was appointed by President De Klerk at the request of the Administrator of the Cape, Kobus Meiring, following the findings of an informal committee of investigation.

Mr Swart said this week that one witness who had given evidence before the judicial commission of inquiry had been sent letters threatening him with legal action.

"The statutory position of witnesses is that they are subpoenaed to testify. If they refuse to do so they may be prosecuted and are liable to be fined or imprisoned.

"Witnesses are asked to take an oath or affirm that they will speak the truth and failure to do so can lead to prosecution," Mr Swart said in a statement.

He said any person interfering with witnesses could be prosecuted.

The hearing continues on Tuesday.

Other members of the commission are Mr P le Roux and Mr W Wagenaar.

Mr G Lategan is leading evidence.

ANC 'regrets' it can't pay

Political Correspondent

2/5 (11A) CT B/11/13

THE ANC in the Western Cape yesterday said it "deeply regretted" that it had not been able to help traders on the Parade whose properties were damaged during the ANC-organised Chris Hani day of mourning in May this year.

The ANC said it would like to have helped those who suffered losses but did not have the funds

to make such payments. The ANC said its insurers had decided that the organisation was not responsible for the damage caused and would not compensate for such damages.

In addition the insurers had now gone into curatorship.

The National Party yesterday described the ANC's stance as "a shocking and blatant avoidance

of responsibility" following "the uncivilised and undisciplined behaviour by ANC supporters".

The NP said it was "audacious" for the ANC to declare that it did not have enough funds to pay compensation when the organisation was raising millions of rands overseas and Mr Nelson Mandela recently promised R10 million to MK members.

Easy access to SA to end

ANC embraces influx control to reserve jobs

CAPE TOWN — An ANC government would tighten immigration controls to curb the influx of Europeans who were snapping up jobs at the expense of unemployed black South Africans, national executive committee member Carl Niehaus said at a meeting in Cape Town last night.

He also gave an assurance that coloureds, just as much as blacks, would benefit from affirmative action programmes in the public and private sectors.

However, he moved to allay fears in the civil service of an ANC government sweeping whites from their jobs and replacing them with people of colour.

Soccer hooligans

Niehaus responded to wide-ranging questions — many of them from Afrikaners — in a protracted question session intended to give locals an opportunity to express their views on the ANC and raise their qualms about the future.

His comments on immigration control were in response to a question by a young man who complained about “unskilled soccer hooligans” from Britain emigrating to South Africa and getting good jobs simply because they were white.

Niehaus said that under an ANC government, “South Africans, and the oppressed people, will get preference, but obviously on the basis of merit.

“We will not allow easy immigration into South Africa of those with white skins who come to take our people’s jobs. That easy access will stop.

“I am not saying we will close the doors to immigrants. We may need people with certain skills, and those who have lived and worked here all their lives — including Africans from neighbouring states — we cannot just throw out.”

Of the civil service, he said: “The ANC is working for affirmative action, not because we want to push people out of their jobs.

“We have negotiated an understanding in terms of which there will be security for those who are prepared to serve in the new South Africa.”

An ANC government would also honour pensions. “That is reasonable and just, and that is what people have worked for.

“But there are oppressed people — Indians, coloureds and Africans — who have the fullest right to benefit from affirmative action in the civil service and the private sector, to move up in the ranks, to have job training and to have the best opportunities of serving the country.”

Niehaus said the ANC was not claiming it would be able to provide jobs and houses for “the masses” immediately after taking power, but that it would launch a reconstruction programme to begin tackling such needs immediately, and alter government spending priorities accordingly.

The ANC was not making wild promises, but undertook to marshal the country’s resources in a way that would lead to an improvement in the lives of the oppressed.

The ANC would also seek to create maximum political stability, enhance investor confidence, and encourage local and foreign investment “for the good of all South Africans”.

Peace talks falter on the final lap

Talks

● FROM PAGE 1.

championing democracy, Tony Leon is trying to whip up political fears among those who distrust the capacity of this process to bring about democracy. *Star*

He pointed out that in the past, white presidents or prime ministers had appointed chief justices, while ministers of justice were responsible for the appointment of judges — "and all the while this was accepted by the DP as not politicising this process".

In terms of the proposal, four of the 10 Constitutional Court judges will be appointed by the State President in consultation with the Chief Justice and the Cabinet. The remaining six will be appointed by the State President "after consultation with the president of the Constitutional Court and in consultation with the Cabinet". (11A)

The document also cites the meaning of the expression "in consultation with the Cabinet" as being among "outstanding matters still to be agreed upon".

Leon argued that the "bottom line" of the proposals was that the new State President would effectively be able to veto the nomination of any person for a seat on the Constitutional Court. He added that although the Cabinet would be constituted by proportional representation, "it is clear that it will be controlled either by the ANC alone or by the ANC plus one other party. Plainly the NP is

calculating that it will be that other party".

It was "profoundly wrong that membership of so immensely powerful a judicial body as the Constitutional Court should be vested entirely in the hands of the government".

The DP proposed the appointment of the Chief Justice and president of the Constitutional Court "strictly on the recommendation of a judicial service commission (JSC)" and of the other Constitutional Court judges "on the recommendation of the JSC, subject to confirmation of 75 percent of the Senate". 13/11/93

Discussions between Umkhonto we Sizwe and the SADF ended last night with a draft agreement after serious differences had emerged during the day. The dispute apparently arose after the SADF insisted that it form the core of the future force, while the ANC argued that all armed formations should have equal status.

The draft agreement is to be discussed by the leaders this weekend. The ANC has also rejected a draft agreement on a new police force.

Yesterday in the negotiating council progress was sluggish and included a stormy falling out over the boundaries of the country's new provinces.

There was, however, agreement in ANC/Government bilateral meetings on a future education dispensation. Departmental, community-managed or state-aided primary or secondary schools will effectively stay as they are unless changes are agreed in negotiations.



by ROBERT DAVICE

kles

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ection-factor sunscreens the same research during the first 18 lifetime incidence of cancer by 70 percent". you look like a lobster.

CHRIS WHITFIELD and ESTHER WAUGH

WITH only two working days to deadline, the negotiations yesterday slowed sharply amid some disquiet over last-minute proposals being thrashed out in Government/ANC discussions.

Foremost among these is the composition of the powerful Constitutional Court, which yesterday gave rise to sharp exchanges between the ANC and Democratic Party.

With the workload piling up, it now seems possible that Wednesday's proposed plenary session of leaders — to ratify agreements — will be delayed until later in the week. It is understood that a decision on this will be made by the talks planning committee on Monday. (11A)

However, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer was last night confident that the transition package could be finalised by Monday evening or on Tuesday.

Sluggish progress

Yesterday, progress in the negotiating council was sluggish and Government/ANC talks on the future of the police stalled. The Government and the ANC finally unveiled their joint proposal on the composition of the Constitutional Court — which will have the critical tasks of ensuring that legislation is constitutional and arbitrating in disputes between the central government and other levels of government.

In effect, it will act as democracy's policeman and, through its rulings, shape the operation of the constitution. But the proposals were immediately and fiercely attacked by the Democratic Party's justice spokesman Tony Leon, who described them as "potentially extremely dangerous and could result in the most important court ever created in South Africa being politicised, centralised and hand-picked by a new government".

He said the proposals called into question "the future of federalism, the independence of the judiciary and the concept of separation of powers in the new South Africa".

The ANC's Mac Maharaj hit back, saying: "Under the banner of

● TO PAGE 2

PAC launches 6 new branches

MICHAEL MORRIS

Political Correspondent

THE Pan Africanist Congress will be launching six new branches in the Western Cape this weekend as it gears up for the election campaign.

All PAC branches are also being asked to begin compiling nominations for the election lists.

A document being distributed to branches says nomination lists must be submitted to PAC headquarters by December 3 in time for the movement's national congress from De-

ember 16 to 18.

Among the suggested criteria for nominees is that they should "not all be males", they should include well-known as well as lesser-known figures, they must represent all language groups and regions and must cover a wide age spectrum.

The document says the PAC "will campaign for elections for an unfettered constituent assembly".

The inauguration of new branches today and tomorrow will take the form of a "mobile launch".

Nelson slams FW

□ From Page 1

ple and served the "puppets of De Klerk".

The policemen had been trained to defend apartheid and to regard the liberation movement as the enemy, he said.

"The policemen who are party to persecuting our people are well known. We cannot engage the services of these people when liberation comes," he said.

Earlier, he had claimed Mr de Klerk was using the internal stability unit to wage war against ANC supporters and keep them away from the polls. (IA)

A spokesman for Mr de Klerk said last night: "The state president has not yet had an opportunity to study Mr Mandela's remarks and will respond more fully at an appropriate time.

In the meantime, the

president will naturally strongly reject any insinuation that the SA government is involved in any way in fomenting violence. (SITimes)

"The fact is that the main cause of violence is the conflict between Mr Mandela's supporters and the IFP. 14/11/93

"It is also bitterly untrue to claim President de Klerk does not care about the lives of black South Africans. He, in fact, has played the leading role in bringing about the transformation of South African society, which it is hoped will lead to justice and security for all.

"As for the government of national unity, that is a matter on which the voters must yet decide and which is already determined by the draft interim constitution."

No place for FW in new SA says Mandela

By EDYTH BULBRING and Sapa

THE ANC did not want State President FW de Klerk to serve in a post-apartheid government as he was indifferent towards black lives, Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

"He does not care at all for the lives of black people. He is concerned with serving the interests of whites only ... that is why April 27 will be the last time you hear of him," he told 2 000 cheering supporters in Mpumalanga, near Durban.

Mr Mandela described Mr de Klerk as a "lame duck" president who was indecisive and unable to stop township carnage. No other head of state would allow the slaughter of his people, he said.

He also slammed Mr de Klerk for allowing the open display of weapons at political functions and permitting "bantustan" leaders to "train people for war."

Responding to grievances from Mpumalanga residents about the Kwa-zulu police, Mr Mandela said this force was party to slaughtering innocent peo-

□ To Page 4

Nats cave in to the ANC in race to beat clock

THE National Party, having secured cabinet posts for its top members and job and pension security for the civil service, police and military, has capitulated to the ANC on key checks and balances in the constitution. *S Titus*

As government and ANC negotiators this week hurried to beat the clock to wrap up a deal before the November 22 parliamentary sitting, one government negotiator said the NP was bargaining from such a weakened position that it could achieve no more. 14/11/93

Another said the mandate of government negotiators was to "sell off the family silver gracefully".

Tensions surfaced in the ranks of the government negotiators as they were forced to make one compromise after another.

Deputy Justice Minister Sheila Camerer disclaimed responsibility for the deal on the constitutional court and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee blamed chief negotiator Roelf Meyer for having failed to secure adequate constitutional principles. *(MIA)*

Local Government Minister Tertius Delpont absented himself from local government negotiations because he could not bring himself to be party to the concessions that had to be made. Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie was overheard demanding of a colleague that he show how he could have produced a better deal on the demarcation of provincial borders.

One negotiator defended the numerous compromises made by the NP by saying its leverage with the security forces and the civil services would make it an indispensable partner in the government of national unity.

Although a grey and hol-

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

low-eyed President F W de Klerk said this week that the government had secured federalism and achieved all its goals, closer reading of the constitution makes it clear the NP has caved in to the ANC on several critical issues.

- The powers and functions of the provinces during the interim constitution can be overridden by the centre. It is far from federalism;

- The agreement on a government of national unity amounts more to co-option of the NP than power-sharing. The new president, likely to be ANC leader Nelson Mandela, will be able to override opposition from his deputies, one of whom is likely to be Mr de Klerk.

- The constitutional principles that will bind the constitutional assembly in the writing of a final constitution do not provide for federalism. They are suitably vague to be open to interpretation by the constitutional court.

That is why the Democratic Party was outraged by another government cave-in — on the composition of the constitutional court.

In terms of an agreement reached between the government and the ANC on this issue, Mr Mandela, as the likely next president, will have the authority to appoint the majority of constitutional court judges in

□ To Page 2

Nat negotiators cave in after posting gains

be left to the whims of a politically packed court". *S Titus*

□ From Page 1

consultation with his cabinet. DP justice spokesman Tony Leon said "the citizens' most important constitutional safeguard will

enjoy the same status, *(MIA)*

- Non-interference in the command structures and job security in the security forces.

- Official language status for Afrikaans — although 10 other languages

- Jobs for some of its ministers at executive level

- provided it can get five per cent of the vote nationally

- and 10 percent in each of the nine provinces.

By JAMES BRITTAIN

ABOUT 2 000 ANC supporters gathered at a rally in Rustenburg refused to chant the inflammatory slogan "Kill the boer, kill the farmer" yesterday.

The crowd, which had gathered at the Olympia Stadium to hear MK chief Joe Modise, booed young poet George Ngwenya off the stage when he tried to get them to join in the chant. (HA)

ANC Western Transvaal campaign leader Patrick Chauke said the slogan was no longer relevant, and Mr Ngwenya was led off the stage. S. Times

Western Transvaal regional chairman Rocky Malebane-Metsing told the rally that Afrikaners would have to learn to live with the ANC. 14/11/93

A feared confrontation with rightwingers, who had threatened to disrupt the rally, failed to materialise.

A large contingent of police and SADF troops was deployed around the stadium.

Small groups of uniformed AWB members lined the road opposite the stadium, but the situation remained calm.

The only incident of note was a single shot fired inside the stadium during Mr Modise's address.

SA's top judges will be 'political lackeys'

By CARMEL RICKARD

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela have been drawn into the growing row over joint ANC/government proposals giving politicians virtually exclusive powers to select members of the new constitutional court. *S Times 14/11/93*

Behind-the-scenes meetings are continuing over the weekend, with the DP meeting top officials of both parties to prevent possible walk-outs and boycotts if the forum is asked to rubber-stamp the proposals.

However, Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee defended the proposals, saying they continued the "until now proven" system of the present government under which the state president makes judicial appointments in consultation with the cabinet. *(S) (S) (11A)*

The proposals were released on Friday after bilateral discussions between the government and the ANC. The technical committee is considering them this weekend, and a new draft that could endorse them will be put to negotiators tomorrow.

In response, Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer met Mr Mandela on Friday evening, and had separate talks with a cabinet minister representing Mr de Klerk.

Earlier he indicated to both leaders that the DP found the proposals "quite unacceptable" and would do everything in its power to ensure they were not passed.

Judiciary is given a guarantee

S Times 14/11/93
JUDGES will keep their jobs when the new constitution comes into operation, in terms of an agreement understood to have been reached between the government and the ANC.

The government proposed the judiciary would be regarded as though appointed under the new constitution and as having taken the oath of office. It also proposed other officials such as attorneys-general would continue in office as though appointed under the new constitution. *(S)*

It proposed all court cases pending at the time of change-over would continue as though started under the new constitution. The ANC yesterday agreed to these proposals, which were intended to help ensure an orderly transition.

The report contains a number of controversial proposals, but the most contentious would make all 11 members of the new court "political" appointments. They will be chosen by the state president in consultation with the cabinet, and after consultation with the chief justice or president of the constitutional court.

By contrast, judges of the Supreme Court will be chosen by a Judicial Services Commission, consisting of representatives of the judiciary and other branches of the legal profession, as well as politicians.

Chairman of the General Council of the Bar, Mr Wim Trengove, said the best-case scenario under the proposed system would be a court of judges seen by the public as political lackeys. "In the worst-case scenario, they would in fact be political lackeys," he said.

Old foes keep close watch



WATCHING . . . MK members keep an eye on AWB members patrolling outside Rustenburg's Olympia Stadium yesterday, while a masked AWB man eyeballs ANC supporters, attending a rally, from a perch across the road. Pictures: JUHAN KUUS



S Times 14/11/93
'Crowd boos kill' slogan'

By JAMES BRITAIN

Mandela: FW must not rule

IXOPO. — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday the ANC felt President F W de Klerk should not serve in a future government.

But he recommitted the ANC to a government of national unity that could include Mr De Klerk, Afrikaner Volksfront head General Constand Viljoen and PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu.

Mr Mandela was commenting on reaction to his statement here on Saturday that Mr De Klerk was "a lame-duck president" indifferent to township killings.

He said, however, that the ANC could not keep Mr De Klerk out if "the government and its surrogates" won 5% of the vote on April 27.

Mr Mandela repeated that the ANC hoped to crush the NP in the first non-racial elections.

He asked why whites in Natal supported "black puppets training people in preparation for war" and appealed to whites to "give us a chance and you will all support one organisation — and that is the ANC".

CT 15/11/93

(11A)

He also accused Mr De Klerk of using the internal stability unit (ISU) to wage war against blacks.

Mr Mandela said the ISU consisted of "killers adding to the slaughter of our people", and said it was protecting criminals who were involved in killing ANC supporters.

He lambasted Mr De Klerk for not heeding requests to withdraw the ISU from black communities and accused him of not caring for black lives.

'Racist'

"He is only interested in serving whites... for this reason we decided to bury the NP on April 27."

Reacting yesterday, NP Natal information director Dr Johan Steenkamp said Mr Mandela's utterances were becoming increasingly racist.

"It is the ANC itself that is responsible for the murder of thousands of blacks, either through necklacing or AK-47 attacks by, among others, members of MK — the ANC's own private army," he said. — Sapa

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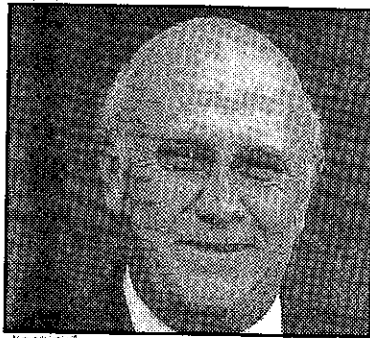
De Klerk welcome to join the PAC

Sowetan 15/11/93

By Glenn McKenzie

THE Pan Africanist Congress would welcome State President Mr FW De Klerk to their organisation, and the Inkatha Freedom Party would like all political parties to admit mistakes and forget the past, political representatives told the *Sowetan* Ad Indaba on Friday.

Advertising executives, newspaper representatives and political leaders met at the indaba to debate current advertising and news coverage issues.



F W De Klerk

PAC political secretary Mr Jacki Seroke was asked by an audience member to define the term "settler".

Seroke said that while people with

European heritage were considered settlers, he added that those who considered themselves "African" could join the PAC. (11A)

"A few weeks back, De Klerk said he did not consider himself a white man or a black man, he saw himself as an African. That allows me as political secretary of the Pan Africanist Congress to recruit him to the PAC," Seroke said.

Continuing the theme of unity, Inkatha Freedom Party Women's Brigade chairwoman Ms Faith Gasa said that all parties should admit guilt for violence in the townships.

"It is a very unfortunate reality that faces us, that we all have blood on our hands. We all have dirty linen in the closet and we have all done things we are ashamed of," Gasa said.

She added that while the past should be remembered so it will not be repeated in the future, it was now time for political organisations to forgive one another.

"We can all point fingers. We can all accuse. We can all mobilise our constituencies around these messages and we can all do so knowing full well that there is an election around the corner," Gasa said.

She added that she hoped next year's elections would go ahead as planned and that the IFP would take part.

NEWS Mandela: ANC dedicated to u

FW, Makwetu 'in new government'

Sowetan 15/11/93

NELSON Mandela has recommitted his organisation to a government of national unity which would include President FW de Klerk, Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen and PAC president Clarence Makwetu. (UFA)

The ANC president made these remarks in an address to business leaders and townfolk of Ixopo, 80km west of Maritzburg.

Mandela had said on Saturday that his organisation did not want De Klerk to serve in any government as he was indifferent to township killings.

He told *Sapa* yesterday that while this was the feeling of the ANC, it could not keep De Klerk out of a future government of national unity if the National Party attained more than five percent at the polls.

Mandela reassured whites that his organisation was the only one which could guarantee a prosperous future and security for all.

"Ironically whites in this country, especially in Natal, regard the ANC as enemy number one."

This was despite the organisation's commitment to nonracialism and human rights.

He questioned why whites in Natal still supported "black puppets who were training people in preparation for war".

Earlier Mandela assured a group of policemen on hand to meet him that those members of the police force who wanted to be part of South Africa's transformation would be welcomed in a new security force. -- *Sapa*.

Four leaders unite in condemnation

Mandela attack on Star 15/11/93 FW raises NP ire

The National Party criticised ANC leader Nelson Mandela yesterday for his attack on President de Klerk including his charges that the president was indifferent to the deaths of blacks in the townships.

In a speech at a rally in Natal on Saturday, the ANC president alleged that De Klerk did not care for black lives. "If this is so, we don't want him to be in government at all," he said.

The four provincial leaders of the NP said in a statement Mandela's remarks were disturbing. "Another element which disturbs us about Mandela's recent remarks is the untold damage which they can do to the delicate constitutional process and the cause of national reconciliation."

"Although hard-hitting attacks are part of the rough and tumble of any election campaign, political leaders in our volatile society have a special responsibility to ensure that their rhetoric does not encourage violence or under-

THE NP's provincial leaders accuse the ANC president of racism and being indifferent to the deaths of blacks

mine our common goal of national reconciliation."

The statement was signed by acting NP Transvaal leader Roelf Meyer, Cape Province leader Dr Dawie de Villiers, Natal leader George Bartlett and Free State leader Kobie Coetsee.

"We ... believe that Mandela crossed the line of acceptable political comment with the remarks which he made. Remarks such as these raise serious doubts about Mandela's judgment and his ability to play a constructive leadership role in the new South Africa," they said.

The NP leaders also charged that Mandela's statements were increasingly racist.

"He repeatedly sets blacks against whites and accentuates black/white divisions — despite the lip service which he pays elsewhere to non-racialism."

The statement said Mandela had rejected the participation of the NP in the proposed government of national unity. (11A)

"By so doing he was not just making a political point. He was, in fact, ignoring the total rationale for such a government, as well as the cause of national reconciliation which it is meant to promote," the statement said.

The leaders charged that it was Mandela who was indifferent to the deaths of blacks. (207A)

They urged him to make further attempts to bring about peace between his organisation and the IFP, impose strict controls on Self-Defence Units "which are at the heart of the violence", curb inflammatory talk by militants and adhere to provisions of the National Peace Accord. — Sapa.

Mandela warns against too high expectations

B/Say 15/11/93

MARITZBURG — ANC supporters should not have exaggerated expectations of a future ANC government, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

He told a few hundred people in Eastwood, Maritzburg, that his organisation would do all it could to address their social and economic problems.

Mandela is on a week-long "peoples' forum" tour in Natal. He said he was there to assure people that the ANC would start addressing their problems as soon as it had the opportunity. However, the imbalances could not be dealt with overnight.

He urged his supporters to have confidence that the ANC and no other party would address their problems. (117)

On Saturday, speaking to a 5 000-strong crowd of predominantly squatters in Inanda, north of Durban, he urged squatters occupying homes earmarked for Indians in Durban's Cato Manor to vacate the houses.

The controversy surrounding the recent squatter occupation of homes built by the House of Delegates has highlighted Durban's housing crisis.

Mandela said that while he realised government was not interested in the housing crisis facing blacks, it was wrong for squatters to take over houses earmarked for Indians.

He would return to speak to Cato Manor squatters next week to formally request that they move out. "Using force (to invade homes) can lead to force from those communities," he cautioned.

An ANC government would ensure that adequate attention was applied to the country's housing crisis.

Mandela also slammed President F W

de Klerk for allegedly using the SAP internal stability unit to wage war on ANC supporters and charged that De Klerk was indifferent to continuing township killings.

"He does not care at all for the lives of black people. He is concerned with serving the interests of whites only ... that is the reason why April 27 will be the last time you hear of him," he told about 2 000 cheering supporters in Mpumalanga.

He also told Inanda resident De Klerk was using the internal stability unit to wage war against ANC supporters to keep them away from the April 27 poll. This was part of de Klerk's "double speak", where he negotiated while conducting war.

"The unit is not a unit that is here to bring about peace. It is here to conduct a war against our people," he said.

He lambasted de Klerk for not heeding requests for the unit's withdrawal from townships.

Reacting yesterday, Natal NP information director Johan Steenkamp said Mandela's utterances were becoming increasingly racist in nature and content.

"It is the ANC itself that is responsible for the murder of thousands of blacks in SA, either through necklacing or AK-47 attacks by, amongst others, members of Umkhonto we Sizwe — the ANC's own private army."

Steenkamp said the ANC had violated the national peace accord hundreds of times. "The NP appeals to the ANC to stop its double talk, to stop intimidation and murder by its members, to stop whipping up racism in this country and to stop exploiting the blacks in SA as mere voting material." — Sapa.

MK chief wants inclusive force

RUSTENBURG — Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise said on Saturday that the new national peacekeeping force should be paramilitary and include MK, the PAC's Apla and the SADF. Addressing about 1500 ANC supporters at a rally in Rustenburg, Modise said this would facilitate the re-

ruitment of police into the force, which could include the KwaZulu Police. *Biday* The force, he added, should also include the security forces of the TBVC homelands. *15/11/93* He said it should consist of two battalions, totalling 10 000 members, who should be trained together to form a single powerful

unit. Modise proposed it be called the National Defence Force of SA. *(11A)* Modise expressed optimism about negotiations. He said the Transitional Executive Council would soon be in place and "we have already gone a long way in drafting an interim constitution".

He scoffed at Bophuthatswana Chief Minister Lucas Mangope's ruling that Bophuthatswana residents must obtain permission from his administration to apply for SA identity documents. He claimed Mangope possessed an SA ID document and passport.

ANC national executive committee member Rocky Malebane-Metsing addressed the crowd in Afrikaans when he thanked the Rustenburg Town Council for granting permission to hold the rally in a white suburb.

It was the first time that a rally organised by a black political group had been allowed in the town.

Malebane-Metsing appealed to the Freedom Alliance to respect the democratic process.

He said white South Africans were assured of a place in a government of national unity.

The non-militant and festive atmosphere was marred briefly when a youth toyi-toyed on the stage and shouting "kill the Boer". He was stopped abruptly.

The rally ended peacefully despite threats.

□ Afrikaner Volksfront chairman Gen Constand Viljoen said on Saturday that Afrikaners might be forced into conflict if the ANC gained control of the security forces.

Speaking after a meeting of the Volksfront's general council near Pretoria, he said the lives of the Volksfront's people in isolated areas might be endangered.

He said the general council had decided to continue mobilising members and developing its security network.

The idea of a volkstaat was practical, he maintained, complaining of a propaganda campaign against the concept.

Asked about Nelson Mandela's comments about conservative Afrikaners being crushed, Viljoen said the SADF had been unable to crush the ANC and he did not see how Mandela could crush the right wing.

But he emphasised that the Volksfront would continue to try to find a peaceful solution. — Sapa.



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Reconstruction accord will be enforced — SACP

THE SACP will insist on any new government abiding by the reconstruction accord, spokesman Jeremy Cronin says in the latest issue of Barometer.

The accord is a Cosatu-initiated project that calls for massive reconstruction and efforts to redress apartheid imbalances, funded by the state.

Cronin says there will be mass organisation and mobilisation if necessary if a new government is reluctant to stick to the accord. However a wide range of participatory forums in which civil society and government interact will be the preferred method of getting the accord off the ground, he says.

"Reconstruction is not an effort to squeeze change from a reluctant state but is rather a broad parliamentary and extra-parliamentary effort."

He says the accord is expected to be adopted next month at an ANC convened conference involving a wide range of extra-parliamentary forces.

Cronin says the accord will not create unrealistic

expectations. Millions of people already had legitimate hopes that democratisation would change their lives. The function of the accord is to translate their hopes into reality.

On the SACP's relationship with the ANC, Cronin says the alliance will be maintained in the future. Nor does he anticipate an ideological rift developing between the alliance partners.

Cronin says there may be a "real tendency towards elitism" within an ANC government. He says the ANC will have to remain a broadbased movement if it is to protect itself against bureaucratisation.

GAVIN DU VENAGE

Farm labour Act 'flawed'

INDUSTRIAL Court president Adolph Landman has strongly criticised technical weaknesses in the new Agricultural Labour Act.

Writing in the latest edition of Contemporary Labour Law, Landman said there were many confusing and "terminological inexactitudes in the Act, which bears the marks of compromise and undue haste".

One apparently unintended consequence was that any changes to the Labour Relations Act would not apply to farming activities. A further complication was that the Industrial Court would have to ascertain which of the two statutes would apply according to whether the litigants were involved in a farming operation.

In terms of the Act, an agricultural labour court, or agricourt, would be established to adjudicate unfair labour practice disputes. It may order compensation, reinstatement or a monetary settlement as a remedy.

Awards may be enforced by criminal proceedings if the party concerned refused to comply with the order.

ERICA JANKOWITZ

Landman contended it was unclear when an aggrieved party may approach this court, as the Act specified compulsory arbitration for the resolution of all disputes be they of right or interest. His interpretation was that parties may contract out of this provision by mutual consent and prosecute disputes in the agricourt.

The statute stipulates that the agricourt would be similar to the Industrial Court in composition and its inquisitorial powers.

"This means that the court, rather than the parties, will be in control of proceedings," Landman said.

Legal representation of parties would be allowed and the agricourt would have discretionary powers to allow employer and worker organisation office bearers or officials to fulfil a similar function.

If a party wished to take an agricourt decision concerning reinstatement or compensation on appeal, it may do so via the Industrial Court. Other orders would have to be challenged in the Supreme Court.

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("East Dagga")

Govt, ANC tackle final constitutional issues in bid to beat

deadline

Biday 15/11/93

BILLY FADDOCK

GOVERNMENT and the ANC held intensive discussions yesterday in a last minute attempt to resolve three major outstanding constitutional issues.

The discussions will continue today in a bid to finalise the constitution by tomorrow. Subcommittees have been meeting since Friday and reported back to the full negotiating delegations yesterday.

"If we do not reach finalisation by Wednesday we will be facing severe problems in trying to get the constitution through for the special session," a senior government negotiator said yesterday.

He acknowledged the pressure was intense and both sides were making compromises. But he said most issues had been tied up and the framework of the constitution was "in place and a good document".

He said the three issues outstanding were: the mechanism to be brought into play to resolve any impasse should the final constitution not get the required two-thirds support of Parliament; the decision-making majority in the Cabinet should consensus not be achievable; and the final workings of local government. (11A)

Other issues needed "fine-tuning".

Government and the ANC had agreed that if two-thirds of Parliament did not accept the constitution, it would go to a referendum requiring a 60% majority. (11A)

"But we cannot accept that one then holds an election and the new Parliament then needs to pass the constitution by only a simple majority." He said the ideal would be that Cabinet reached decisions by consensus, but there was a realisation that small parties with one or two members in Cabinet could prevent decisions.

The 60% the ANC was proposing was not completely acceptable to government, which wanted a two-thirds majority.

This week will also see DP negotiators strongly opposing the section on the judiciary and the establishment of the constitutional court.

Judges and the DP argue that its construction allows for it to be a political appointment. They want the court set up by the Judicial Services Commission.

One DP negotiator said if the proposal went through there was a possibility the DP would vote against the constitution in

the special session of Parliament.

Meanwhile, the Freedom Alliance met yesterday in preparation for its talks with government today. The alliance is to respond to the proposals government put to it on Friday as a way of bringing it back into the process.

A government source said he did not hold out much hope of the parties reaching agreement. However, should the alliance proposals be acceptable to government there was still a possibility of including these in the constitution.

● Comment: Page 10

Nailbiting climax to negotiations

Star 15/11/93

GOVERNMENT and ANC negotiators gather for what they hope will be their final bilateral to iron out differences

■ POLITICAL STAFF

The Government and the ANC have ironed out most of their differences on the vexed issue of how future local government will look — but the row over the proposed composition of the Constitutional Court has snowballed.

Last night Government and ANC negotiators gathered for what they hoped would be their last set of bilateral meetings to finalise outstanding negotiations issues.

Foremost among these are the shape of the new police service, how deadlocks will be broken in the writing of a final constitution by the interim government, and how the Cabinet will take decisions. Sources said these issues were all close to agreement.

Nevertheless, the simultaneous progress on local government and the setback on the Constitutional Court mean a nailbiting finish for the talks process — which has only two days to run.

Developments today and tomorrow will determine whether the World Trade Centre plenary session — at which leaders are to ratify agreements — can go ahead as planned on Wednesday.

Sources indicated that a deal had been struck on the highly contentious local government issue and that an ANC/Government proposal had been forwarded to the relevant talks technical committee.

It is understood that parallel efforts are being made to win the right-wing Transvaal Municipal Association over to the draft Local Government Transition Bill.

Concessions

It is believed that the ANC is prepared, during the first phase of transition known as the "pre-Interim", to allow for a gradual merging of locally defined local authorities on the plateau.

The Government is believed to have made certain concessions relating to the second or interim phase of local government reform, due to come into operation within 24 months.

Its proposals that wards be delimited on the basis of property and that "juristic persons" enjoy a vote in local government elections are not likely to feature in the draft Bill which goes before the Negotiating Council today.

Meanwhile, the row over the Government/ANC deal on how judges should be appointed to the Constitutional Court gained momentum at the weekend.

The court will have the critical task of ensuring that legislation passed by Parliament is constitutional, and of arbitrating between the



Talks climax

Star 15/11/93

◀ From Page 1

ing in disputes between various levels of Government. It will, in the words of DP justice spokesman Tony Leon, be the "guardian of democracy".

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer, whose party has vociferously opposed the proposals, met ANC president Nelson Mandela on the issue and communicated with President de Klerk's office.

Leon was due to meet Government and ANC representatives yesterday to discuss the issue. He has charged that the proposals could lead to a court that is hand-picked by the new president and is therefore highly politicised.

The chairman of the

General Council of the Bar, Wim Trengove, reportedly said at the weekend that the best-case scenario under the proposed system was that the Constitutional Court judges would be seen by the public as political lackeys.

In the worst-case scenario "they would be political lackeys", he said.

Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee — a party to the Government/ANC deal — described Leon's comments as "alarmist" and defended the proposal.

It is understood that some Government members are concerned about the deal, and hope it will be revisited in the Negotiating Council when it is debated today.

▶ a diving catch off West Indies batsman wickets for 139 runs.



■ BY IQBAL KHAN

Bombay — He did it in Australia with a scrum-half style dive to run out the batsman, and Jonty Rhodes had arrived as a spectacular, world-class fielder whom fans love to watch as much as any great batsman or bowler.

Now he has thrilled India with his outstanding ability in cutting runs and holding catches.

Jonty Rhodes, the 24-year-old Natal captain who is on tour in India for the Cricket Association of Bengal's Diamond Jubilee tournament, has become a cult figure after his magnificent performances in the game against the West Indies at Bombay's Brabourne Stadium yesterday.

He took five breathtaking catches and single-handedly set up South Africa's 41-run win over the West Indies. How does he do it, again and again?

"In one-day cricket, if the ball sticks, it sticks. I was lucky that the ball came my way so many times today.

"It's just that I concentrate very deeply at all times," a modest Rhodes said.

Was it his best fielding per-

HIGHLIGHTS

SABC-TV is hopeful a highlights package of SA's 41-run win over the West Indies in the Hero Cup yesterday will arrive via Hong Kong in time to be screened tonight.

A 30-minute package was put together by Trans World International and SABC staff. The American-based TV network's equipment was seized by Indian customs officials, thus scuppering live coverage of the tournament.

He said with a smile: "I would imagine so. I've never taken this many catches in any game. I think I took three for Natal some time ago, but this must rate as the best I've performed in top-class cricket."

Rhodes, always obliging to his fans, was inundated with congratulatory calls from all over India last night, as well as from South Africa.

The many hundreds from the 37 000 spectators who

first glimpse of the South African star — remained outside the main gates of the Brabourne Stadium to catch a last peek at their new hero.

Said Rhodes: "Playing in India is something else. The crowd is behind you all the time. I just could not believe it when they began chanting my name as the game progressed.

"Every time I went to field the ball and every time I took a catch, they applauded me.

"They certainly love and understand the game well and I appreciate their support, not only of me but of the team.

"I am so grateful to the game of cricket as it has brought me to understand different types of people around the world."

In his five-catch haul yesterday, Rhodes rated the last one — the dismissal of Desmond Haynes — as the most difficult of the lot.

"The other catches I took were hard, but one is expected to take those catches. The one of Haynes went high into the sky and you've got to concentrate more with it than the ones that come around body height to you."

NEWS Government tackles housing

Mandela, FW in crucial talks

Sowetan

FW
16/11/93

Sowetan Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk and African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela plan to hold a face-to-face meeting to try to nail down final agreements before tomorrow's crucial plenary session.

It is understood Mandela has cleared his diary for today and tomorrow in preparation for the meeting. He returns to Johannesburg today from an election campaign trail in Natal.

It is hoped the meeting, if it comes off, will deal with the charged issues of what percentage will be required for decisions taken in a new multiparty Cabinet, and deadlock-breaking mechanisms.

Sources say only the top leaders have the authority to cut a final deal on these questions.

The meeting comes after a bitter exchange between the two parties, following reported remarks by the ANC leader suggesting that De Klerk "would not be

heard of again" after the April elections.

Sources say the last-minute summit is essential to ensure that the Kempton Park session gets underway in a good spirit. (117) (20/11/93)

The drama of the scramble to complete the talks in time to send a package of transitional legislation to Parliament later this month was heightened yesterday by indications that the Freedom Alliance, in spite of its boycott of negotiations, has requested that it be allowed to nominate three members to the interim elections committee.

The overtures by the FA to a process it has publicly rejected have fuelled speculation that the alliance might, after all, contest the elections.

The FA's behind-the-scenes approach to the negotiators became known yesterday. The overtures began on November 2 and the request for representation on the election committee was received only yesterday.

PAC will (11A) ARCT 15/11/93 suspend its armed activities

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The Pan-Africanist Congress has officially agreed to a moratorium on its armed activities while it holds talks with the government.

There is now a strong possibility that the organisation will take part in the Transitional Executive Council.

The ceasefire decision was taken at an extended meeting of the PAC's national working committee in Johannesburg.

It is understood the PAC and the government will agree to a "mutual cessation of hostilities" when they meet tomorrow ahead of the multiparty negotiations plenary session.

The PAC earlier expressed concern about "security matters" contained in the TEC Act because the law did not provide for "meaningful" joint control of all security forces.

Although the PAC had agreed at its meeting on Sunday to a mutual moratorium on violence, a resolution said it did not "exclude the right of PAC/Apla to defend the Azanian people from attacks".

The moratorium followed a meeting earlier this month in Harare between Apla commander Sabelo Phama and Law and Order Minister Her-nus Kriel where it was decided to discuss a mutual cessation of hostilities.

The PAC further endorsed an "early convening" of talks between the organisation and the government and between Apla and the security forces.

Mr Kriel has acknowledged that the government's agreement with Apla is "very fragile" but is confident that if it is implemented it will reduce violence.

"But we would be naive if we thought no further attacks will take place," he told journalists at a bush retreat near Krugersdorp.

It was not clear whether Apla's "high command" was in control of all the group's members.

Mandela assures farmers ANC will not seize land

Bibay 16/11/93

GREYTOWN — ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday assured farmers and landowners that a future ANC government would not nationalise their property or seize their land.

"People who have legally acquired land, and I'm sending this message to farmers, are safe in their positions," Mandela told a packed mixed race gathering at Greytown's town hall in the Natal Midlands.

Nor, he said, would the ANC seize land acquired after the forceful eviction of people from that land. Such cases would be referred to a land commission.

He criticised the NP and the "corrupt government" for "giving land to Broederbond members in violation of the law".

Mandela did not elaborate, but said investigations into these deals were at an advanced stage and the ANC would release details at an appropriate time.

The ANC president praised the DP for opposing the NP, but criticised whites for keeping an apartheid government in power.

"The DP has put up a very powerful fight for democratic values," he said, adding that the ANC would welcome it in a new government if it won 5% of voter support in the April 27

election.

Striking a conciliatory note, Mandela said blacks and whites had to work together to address SA's problems. If this could be done "we will have a great and flourishing country".

On the economy, he said there was no free market in SA because 86% of shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange were owned by five conglomerates.

A free market could only be brought into being once there was a democratic government and blacks were economically empowered.

The meeting was interrupted for about half an hour when the hall was evacuated because of a bomb scare.

Mandela was interrupted by ANC officials while answering questions from townsfolk, and hurried outside.

Explosives experts and two sniffer dogs searched the premises while Mandela told a cheering crowd which had gathered around him that the scare had been intended to disrupt the meeting.

After speaking to the crowd Mandela returned to the hall.

A senior policeman at the scene said an anonymous caller had telephoned the Greytown police station and had said there was a bomb inside the hall.

Earlier Mandela, who is on a week-long campaign in Natal, spoke to about 1 000 supporters at nearby Enhlalakahle. He urged them to vote for the ANC on April 27 next year to ensure that their socioeconomic needs were addressed.

The ANC president also gave a quick lesson in voter education by displaying a piece of paper with a cross on it, and urged his supporters to put their mark next to the ANC's symbol in next year's election.

Yesterday afternoon he visited the scene of his 1962 arrest near Howick in the Natal Midlands, and avoided a possible confrontation with a group of armed right-wingers in the town.

About 12 AWB supporters gathered at a park in the town earlier yesterday, but were tight-lipped with reporters and said only that they had come to "see Mandela". The ANC entourage sped past the AWB members to the site of his August 5 1962 arrest, about 6km outside Howick.

At the site, Mandela quipped that he had spent a "long holiday" of 27 years in prison. While this had been "a tragic experience", it was also "very helpful — it was a time to stand away from myself and look at our work ... and come out better prepared to face new challenges". — Sapa.

PAC agrees to suspend violence

BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The PAC has officially agreed to a moratorium on its armed struggle while it holds talks with the Government. (11)

The move has raised the strong possibility that the PAC might now take part in the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

The ceasefire decision was taken at an extended meeting of the PAC's national working committee on Sunday, according to documents in the possession of The Star.

It is understood that as a result, the PAC and Government would agree to the "mutual cessation of hostilities" when they meet tomorrow ahead of the multiparty negotiations plenary session.

The organisation earlier expressed concern regarding "security matters" contained in the TEC Act.

Phosa re-elected to ANC post in E Tvl

BY KAIZER
NYATSUMBA

ANC eastern Transvaal head Matthew Phosa and key members of his regional executive committee were re-elected to their positions at the weekend. Phosa, who operates mostly from the ANC's Johannesburg head office, was unanimously re-elected chairman of the region for the fourth consecutive term.

He now joins the ranks of PWV and Natal Midlands regional heads Tokyo Sexwale and Harry Gwala, who have been returned to their respective positions.

Also unanimously re-elected at the weekend regional congress were secretary-general Jan-

uary Maslela and treasurer Johannes Shabangu. Jacques Modipane was elected Phosa's deputy and Phillip Radebe is the new deputy secretary-general. (11A)

Eastern Transvaal ANC spokesman Jackson Mthembu said the congress, which was addressed by national executive committee member and intelligence and security head Joe Nhlanhla, called for the establishment of an Order of Oliver Tambo and Chris Hani to honour individuals who followed the examples set "by these two great leaders".

The congress also called for the removal of Internal Stability Unit members from the townships.

FA may be reconsidering

Mandela, FW walk final mile

Star 16/11/93

■ BY SHAUN JOHNSON
CHRIS WHITFIELD
and ESTHER WAUGH

Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk will hold an 11th-hour face-to-face meeting today to try to nail down final agreements before tomorrow's crucial plenary session of negotiations.

The meeting between Mandela and De Klerk in Pretoria will also be attended by African National Congress secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

Substantial progress was made last night in Government-ANC talks on a future police force.

It is understood that a national police force was agreed to, but negotiations were in a "sensitive stage".

In SA Defence Force-Umkhonto we Sizwe talks, it was agreed that a national defence force will comprise all armed formations on an equal basis instead of the SADF forming the core of a new defence force.

The Government and ANC have not yet resolved their differences on future local government structures, and have not yet discussed what percentages would be required by a Cabinet to take decisions.

The planned Mandela-De Klerk meeting comes after a bitter exchange between the two parties, following reported remarks by the ANC leader suggesting that De Klerk

THE two leaders will attempt to cut a final deal on crucial issues which have so far defeated their negotiating teams

IIA ~~IIA~~

"would not be heard of again" after the April election.

The meeting will deal with, among other things, deadlock-breaking mechanisms and other constitutional issues.

Sources say only the top leaders have the authority to cut a final deal on these questions, which have vexed the ANC and Government negotiating teams for months. The time has come for them to exercise that authority.

They say the last-minute summit is essential to ensure that the Kempton Park plenary session gets under way in a good spirit, and to achieve finality on the crucial sticking points that negotiating teams have failed to resolve.

De Klerk, Mandela and other leaders of negotiating parties will attend the meeting tomorrow afternoon to ratify agreements.

On the issue of executive decision-making, the ANC is still proposing an ordinary majority of members of the multiparty Cabinet, while the National Party is asking for a two-thirds threshold.

The drama of the scramble

to complete the talks in time to send a package of transitional legislation to Parliament later this month was heightened yesterday by indications that the Freedom Alliance — in spite of its boycott of negotiations — has requested that it be allowed to nominate three members to the interim elections committee.

The overtures by the FA to a process it has publicly rejected have fuelled speculation that the alliance might, after all, contest the elections.

The Star learnt yesterday of the FA's behind-the-scenes approach to the negotiators.

The overtures began on November 2, and the request for representation on the election committee was received only yesterday.

The multiparty interim elections committee was agreed to in the council several weeks ago to facilitate logistical planning for the election, prior to the establishment of the Independent Electoral Commission.

The request from the FA was forwarded to the World Trade Centre by Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte.

The FA said it had agreed to nominate three members, but warned: "This is not an endorsement of the (Electoral) Act or the elections."

Negotiators went into overtime yesterday in the race to be ready for the plenary session, now scheduled for 2.30 pm tomorrow and the Government side was confident the deadline would be met.

MINUTE FOR THE PRESS
17/11/93

2
NEWS Two leaders remove negotia

Now it's all systems go for indaba

Sowetan 17/11/93

■ **NEW PACKAGE** Mandela, FW

pave the way for plenary session:

TODAY'S meeting of political leaders to adopt a constitutional package will go ahead as planned, the Government and the African National Congress said late last night after a meeting between President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela.

The two leaders met for four hours in Pretoria to finalise outstanding issues between their parties.

Government chief negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer and ANC top negotiator Mr Cyril Ramaphosa joined De Klerk and Mandela at their meeting.

Meyer said on his return to the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park that there was no need for the negotiations timetable to be altered.

"Nothing in principle is outstanding," ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus told journalists.

He said ANC and Government negotiators, together with the 19 other parties at Kempton Park, would finalise all outstanding issues by this morning.

The leaders of the 21 parties at the multiparty talks are due to meet at 2.30pm today to adopt the transitional

constitution. ~~30/11/93~~ 11A

Negotiators were still locked in talks late last night and were not expected to adjourn or to complete their work before 3am or 4am today.

Meanwhile, the Freedom Alliance has warned negotiators not to close the door on an all-inclusive political settlement.

In a statement issued after a bilateral meeting with the Government in Pretoria yesterday, the alliance said it stood by its principles regarding the form of a state and the constitutional process it wanted to see hammered out.

"It would be most unfortunate if, at tomorrow's (Wednesday's) plenary session, the delegates make final and binding decisions which would effectively close the negotiation door," Bophuthatswana's Mr Rowan Cronje said on behalf of the alliance.

"If at tomorrow's (Wednesday's) plenary, doors are finally slammed, those who do so must accept the consequences of their actions."

Cronje said the alliance was willing to be part of South Africa's democratic transformation. — Sapa.

30 percent of councillors to be guaranteed

Goodwill gesture to minority groups

Star 17/11/93
■ BY JO-ANNE COLLINGE

In a clear concession to the absent Conservative Party, negotiators at the World Trade Centre have guaranteed residents of existing white, coloured and Indian areas at least 30 percent of councillors in the first elected nonracial local authorities.

This constitutional guarantee for minority interests emerged from ongoing bilateral talks between the Government and the ANC. It was vigorously defended by the ANC and approved by the Negotiating Council last night.

The ANC's Thozamile Botha said local government was one of the most fearlessly contested areas and the ANC had made "a gesture of goodwill" to "help stabilise communities at local level during transition".

The constitution now provides that the elections for the first nonracial councils will take place as follows:

■ Sixty percent of councillors will be elected as ward representatives and the rest on the basis

CONSTITUTIONAL guarantee emerges from ongoing bilateral talks between Government and ANC

of proportional representation.

■ Half of ward councillors — or 30 percent of the total council — will come from areas where white, coloured and Indian local authorities currently exist. The other half will come from black townships and any other areas within the new broader local authority boundaries.

Botha pointed out that in the western Cape, where black people frequently form a minority, the position would operate to their advantage. "Although it sounds undemocratic, it is indeed nonracial," he said.

The effect of the provision is to give a minority virtual veto powers over the budget, which requires a two-thirds majority.

The guaranteed representa-

tion of minorities carries through into the management structure of the council. In line with Local Government Minister Tertius Delpoort's notion, the composition of the council will be reflected in the composition of its executive committee.

These provisions for the first nonracial municipal elections replace an earlier Government proposal that property form the basis of demarcating electoral wards.

Far more controversial was a clause providing for local authorities to delegate specific functions to sub-municipal structures to facilitate administration and the delivery of services. Delegates said this measure smacked of "apartheid through the back door" and reminded them of a racist system of management committees.

The PAC, Labour Party, the Natal/Transvaal Indian Congresses and the National People's Party registered their objections and did not take part in the decision on this clause.

It's the beginning of a new era, Mandela tells historic session

ARCT 18/11/93

NA

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — African National Congress president Nelson Mandela, in his address to the historic final plenary session of the multiparty talks process, hailed it as the "beginning of a new era".

And, speaking briefly in Afrikaans last night, he held out an olive branch to dissenting rightwingers: "You are all equal citizens of the new South Africa. You have the fullest right to your own language, religion and culture."

"These rights will not be taken away from you."

President De Klerk ended an emotional address by saying: "It was on this day that we laid the foundation for a new South African nation. Yes, it was on this day that we created a basis for good hope for this and for future generations of our people."

The plenary session to ratify talks agreements kicked off just after 11pm — more than eight hours late — with chairman Ismail Mahomed declaring it the beginning of "the emancipation from the pain and shame of our racist past".

It was the "final, irreversible lap towards our freedom", he told leaders in the cavernous main hall of the World Trade Centre.

The leaders then began adopting — in many cases by "sufficient consensus" because of Afrikaner Volksunie and Pan-Africanist Congress objections —

**┌ The start of
emancipation from
the pain and shame
of our racist past
... the final,
irreversible lap
towards our
freedom ┐**

the package of agreements that will usher the country through to its first non-racial election on April 27 and through five years of a government of national unity.

These included the interim constitution, completed — albeit with loose ends still to be tied — by the Negotiating Council.

The formal end of the Kempton Park talks process marks the beginning of a breakneck-speed transition, with a transitional executive council (TEC) expected to be installed within two weeks, a blitzkrieg election campaign and the historic first all-race elections five months from now.

Critical to progress yesterday was an 11th-hour deal between the government and ANC on crucial outstanding issues.

In terms of the deal, agreed to by the Negotiating Council:

● There will be no fixed percentage for the taking of decisions in the multiparty cabinet.

Instead, it will operate as a normal cabinet, developing its own conventions in a "consensus-seeking spirit".

● A deadlock in the adoption of the final constitution by the interim parliament will ultimately be broken by a 60 percent majority in both the senate and the national assembly. This would follow various other steps, but in practical terms will put parliament under pressure to complete the constitution without having to resort to deadlock-breaking.

● No fresh national elections will be held until 1999. This marks a shift from the previous proposal, under which the country could have had elections once the final constitution was written.

● In a concession to the provinces, a two-thirds majority in the senate — consisting of provincial representatives — would be required to adopt any amendments on the boundaries, powers and functions of provinces.

● Provinces will be able to adopt constitutions for themselves after April 27.

● A single ballot paper will be used in the April elections to choose provincial and national representatives.

The plenary session went ahead without the parties of the Freedom Alliance, which walked out of the talks several months ago. But observers agreed that there was still room for adjustments to the World Trade Centre packages.

NEWS 'Compromise leav

Accord at WTC is 'flawed'

By Lulama Luti

THE agreement on an Interim Constitution and on other matters at the World Trade Centre yesterday represented the culmination of a flawed process, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania said yesterday

The chairman of the exiled BCMA, sister organisation to the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Mosibudi Mangena, said the agreements also represented an unequal compromise that left the aspirations of the oppressed black people unfulfilled. *Sowetan 18/11/93*

He said his organisation would not take part in next year's April 27 elections because the organisation believed the elections were based on a flawed foundation.

The BCMA and Azapo are to hold meetings this weekend in Harare to discuss the way forward. *(11A)*

Speaking from the organisation's headquarters in Harare, Mangena said the BCMA believed the struggle for freedom "would be made more difficult by this marriage between a component of the liberation movement and the regime."

Mandela assures rightwingers their language and culture will be safe

Dawn of the new

Star 18/11/93

interim constitution, finalised — albeit with loose ends still to be tied — by the Negotiating Council soon before the session and amid a frenzy of last-minute political horse-trading and persistent, frustrating delays.

The minuscule AVU, mainly in talks on the strength of its status before prominent rightwingers defected and left it in the hands of a cabal of students — struck the only sour note, warning of an "Afrikaner problem" as a result of the agreement. Delegate Gerdus Kruger said the agreement officially marked the moment when the Afrikaner became an oppressed minority.

The formal end of the World Trade Centre talks process marks the trigger point for a breakneck-speed transition, with a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) expected to be installed within two weeks, a blitzkrieg election campaign and the historic first all-race elections five months from now.

Critical to progress before the plenary session and as the Negotiating Council put the final touches to the package was an 11th-hour deal — finalised yesterday morning — between the Government and ANC on crucial outstanding issues. In terms of the deal, agreed to by the Negotiating Council, the solutions were:

■ There will be no fixed percentage for taking decisions in the multiparty Cabinet. Instead it will operate as a normal Cabinet, developing its own conventions in a "consensus-seeking" spirit. The Government had been holding out for 66 percent agreement on some issues and the deal appears a remarkable concession by it.

▶ To Page 3

AT A GLANCE

These are the elements of the political structures the Interim Constitution will give rise to for at least five years:

- A president.
- Deputy presidents from parties with more than 20 percent support.
- A multiparty Cabinet comprising parties with at least 5 percent support.
- A 400-member National Assembly comprising 200 representatives from a national list and 200 from provincial lists.
- A Senate comprising 10 representatives from each province.
- A constitution-making body comprising the Assembly and Senate to draft the final constitution.
- Nine regions.
- 11 official languages.
- Universal franchise for all South Africans.
- A Bill of Rights.
- A Constitutional Court.
- An independent judiciary.
- A three-tier system of representation for traditional leaders.
- A single police force and a single defence force.

adopting — in many cases by "sufficient consensus" because of Afrikaner Volkswille (AVU) and Pan Africanist Congress objections — the "package" of agreements that will take the country through to its first nonracial election on April 27 and then through five years of a government of national unity.

The package included the

Just before 4 am today the new South Africa was ushered into being, signalling an irrevocable loosening of the centuries-long white grip on power.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, in his address to last night's historic final plenary session of the multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre, hailed it as the "beginning of a new era".

And, switching into Afrikaans, he held out an olive branch to dissenting rightwingers: "You are all equal citizens of the new South Africa. You have the fullest right to your own language, religion and culture. These rights will not be taken away from you."

President de Klerk ended his address — the last of an emotional evening — by saying future generations would recall: "It was on this day that we laid the foundation for a new South African nation. Yes, it was on this day that we created a basis for good hope for this and for future generations of our people."

After their speeches the party leaders then signed a pledge acknowledging that "the momentous agreements reached in the negotiating process ... will provide a constructive foundation for a transition to democracy".

The plenary session to ratify talks agreements started just after 11 pm — more than eight hours late — with chairman Mr Justice Ismail Mahomed declaring it the beginning of "the emancipation from the pain and shame of our racist past".

It was the "final, irreversible leap towards our freedom", he told leaders gathered behind a horseshoe of desks and under bright lights in the cavernous main hall of the World Trade Centre.

The leaders then began

P.T.O.
D
VS

NATIONAL PARTY
Fm 19/11/93
On the offensive

Government and the National Party seem unconcerned by mounting criticism that they buckled under ANC pressure at the World Trade Centre. Senior sources claim the main principles of the interim constitution remain true to the 14-point mandate they received in last year's referendum. (207A)

They also reject Freedom Alliance (FA) complaints that they reneged on federalism, claiming they never undertook to negotiate a deal based on FA requirements. They are "quite happy" with the federal elements of the interim constitution. (11A)

A senior government source says the balance of power, duties and functions between central and regional governments is in line with undertakings given to voters during the referendum campaign. In a situation like SA's, regional governments can't be allowed to be totally autonomous and able to make decisions that could damage SA as a whole.

"We are getting a federal system, but not a complete federal system. There will be a healthy balance of power between the central and provincial governments — which has always been our policy."

While the NP did not get all it wanted, it won most of the concessions it sought — which, says a Nat source, is more than can be said for the ANC. NP leaders are apparently satisfied that they achieved their objectives.

"Rejecting with contempt" suggestions that government/NP negotiators were interested only in top posts in the new government, Constitutional Development Minister

CURRENT AFFAIRS

Fm 19/11/93

Roelf Meyer lists the following Nat achievements: a constitutional State, power sharing and a government of national unity, three levels of government with strong regional government, Afrikaans stays an official language and other aspects such as the protection of public servants and their pensions.

Meyer also mentions 20 functional areas — such as education, policing, health services, culture and agriculture — which will be under regional or provincial control.

Meanwhile, in an unprecedented move, all four Nat provincial leaders have issued a joint statement slamming the views of ANC leader Nelson Mandela on the future role of President FW de Klerk.

Speaking in Natal at the weekend, Mandela reportedly said there was no place in a future government for De Klerk. He also again accused De Klerk of being unconcerned about the loss of black lives.

The four, Dawie de Villiers (Cape), George Bartlett (Natal), Kobie Coetsee (OFS) and Roelf Meyer (Transvaal acting leader), accuse Mandela of not being interested in ending ANC-Inkatha violence and of himself being indifferent to the loss of black lives. (207A) (11A)

This is the strongest attack so far in the election campaign against Mandela personally. Some analysts thought the NP would lay off Mandela because of his massive status in national politics.

However, it seems that the NP is not prepared to let De Klerk — who will be the focus of the NP campaign — be repeatedly criticised by Mandela without reacting. ■

Sowetan 19/11/93

Azapo, BCMA talk

By Joe Mdhlela

THE Azanian People's Organisation travels to Harare this weekend for three days of talks with its sister organisation, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

The conference, which starts today, is expected to end on Monday, Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala said.

Coming after the agreement at the World Trade Centre to usher in the new South Africa, it will be interesting to see how Azapo and the BCMA react to the latest developments. (11A)

Mosala said among the many topics to be

discussed was the question of the armed struggle:

The meeting would deal with the April 27 elections and the role the BC movement may have to play "in the days leading to the elections".

The ongoing violence in the country was of concern to both organisations and would be fully debated, Mosala said.

"The point is black lives have been lost in great numbers. We just wonder how many black lives will have been lost when we come to the April 27 elections," he said.

Azapo would also unveil its strategy for curbing the violence in the country.

Road open to black rule

Sowetan 19/11/93

■ HISTORIC CEREMONY *Interim*

constitution inaugurates-whole new era:

SOUTH AFRICA'S leaders set the country firmly on the road to black majority rule in an historic ceremony heavy in symbolism. President FW de Klerk, African National Congress president Nelson Mandela and other black and white leaders approved yesterday an interim constitution to give the five-to-one black majority the vote for the first time.

Political analysts said the achievements of the democracy negotiators had a symbolic meaning for the world at large.

"It's the beginning of a new era in our relations with the international community," Antoni van Nieuwkerk, senior researcher at the South African Institute for International Affairs, said.

"The plenary session with the leaders has a very high symbolic value and will send out the message to the international community that we are making good progress in the negotiating process.

"It is a signal that tells the international community the time has now arrived for closer co-operation and involvement with South Africa," he said.

Van Nieuwkerk said the country would need "a whole lot of independent observers and monitors" in the run-up to

There is great symbolism in signing away apartheid and getting on with a new life

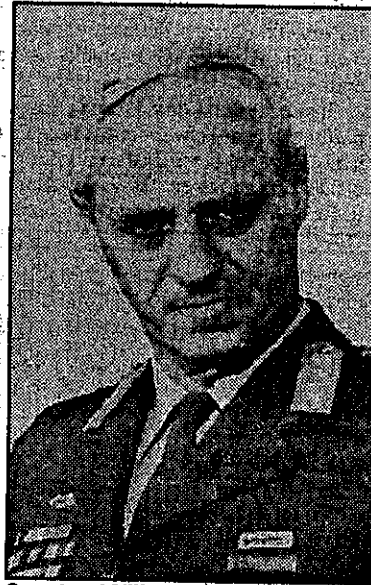
the first nonracial elections set for next April 27.

The International Commission of Jurists has also issued a plea for "massive help" from the international community to ensure free and fair elections.

"There is great symbolism in signing away apartheid and getting on with a new life," said analyst Gary van Staden of stockbrokers Kaplan and Stewart.

But missing from the barn-like conference chamber at the World Trade Centre were rightwing whites and conservative black leaders from homelands created by apartheid. The white rightwing vehemently opposed the constitutional package.

The leader of the right-wing umbrella Afrikaner Volksfront, former Defence Force chief General Constand Viljoen, said acceptance of the interim constitution would mark the start of a violent



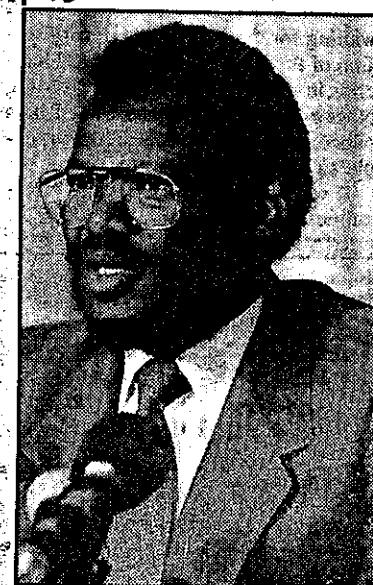
Constand Viljoen

communist takeover of the country.

The leader of the neo-Nazi Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, Eugene Terre'Blanche, also raised the prospect of communist domination and told his followers to prepare for war.

Zulu chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu black homeland, said democracy negotiators could expect resistance to their agreement. (Sowetan)

The leftwing Azanian People's Organisation, which has steadfastly rejected the forum as a sham, has labelled the outcome a sellout deal which en-



Mangosuthu Buthelezi

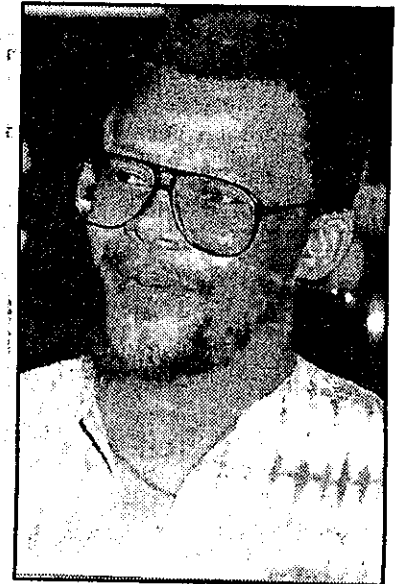
trenches white privilege.

Azapo said the economic imbalances imprinted by years of white domination would ensure that whites continued to control and direct the state.

Azapo is to hold consultations with its exiled sister organisation this weekend where their way forward is expected to be charted. The organisation has said it would not take part in elections.

But De Klerk and Mandela left the door open for their opponents to return to the democracy process — even after the April elections. (Sowetan)

A senior Afrikaner political analyst



Itumeleng Mosala

expected the right wing to "huff and puff", but still fail to blow the house down.

Political sources said Lucas Mangope, leader of the Bophuthatswana black homeland, might prove the most difficult of the black conservatives to deal with because he believed his homeland might have a chance of surviving on its own. The sources said that, despite the denials of Inkatha leaders, Buthelezi's movement could split, with a breakaway group contesting the elections on its own. — Sapa-Reuter and Sowetan Reporters.

Don't pay R20 to IFP fund — call

Sowetan 19/11/93

■ ANC STATEMENT Buthelezi's

party accused of preparing for war:

THE ANC yesterday called on South Africans not to pay their "hard-earned R20" to the Inkatha Freedom Party's Solidarity Fund, accusing Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's party of preparing for war. (11A)

In a statement yesterday, ANC southern Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said like the R5 "demanded" by Buthelezi about a month ago for the formation of self-protection units, the Solidarity Fund was aimed at "creating more training camps for the death squads that have caused havoc in our communities".

"The Fund is aimed at prolonging the lifespan of the KwaZulu bantustan and therefore prolonging corruption and misery of all our people. Any cent donated to this fund means a day more of misery, death and destruction," Makhaye said.

The ANC, he said, was already aware that in areas like Mpumalanga outside Hammersdale large sums of money were forcibly taken from pensioners. The people had to report such incidents "to democratic structures and expose them in the media".

Meanwhile, ANC officials in Natal have taken special security precautions for ANC president Nelson Mandela's visit following the IFP's call on supporters to attend his meetings.

IFP regional secretary Blessed Gwala issued a statement this week calling on IFP members to attend Mandela's people's forums and question him on violence and other issues.

ANC regional secretary Senzo Mchunu told *Sapa* he had been in touch with Gwala over the statements and he had also taken special security measures to prevent possible confrontation.

He said IFP supporters were among those who had received special invitations to a people's forum in Empangeni on Thursday night. Gwala had misinterpreted this gesture as an invitation to all IFP supporters, he claimed.

Meetings had been held with the South African and KwaZulu police to ensure Mandela's visit on Thursday went off smoothly, said Mchunu.

Of particular concern was an afternoon meeting in Mandini's Sundumbili township which has been affected by political violence over the past few months.

Women win *Star* 19/11/93 their place

Blacks are not the only winners in the new constitution. Women are, too.

A battle that has simmered since the negotiations began between an informal, cross-party women's coalition and traditional African leaders represented at the forum resulted in a crushing victory for the women.

Tribal law, which is weighted spectacularly in favour of men, has not been accommodated in the new constitution. Polygamy will not be the legal prerogative of men only.

Women won substantial victories during negotiations. According to one rule, each party at the talks was entitled to two delegates, one of whom had to be a woman.

The vocabulary of the talks has also held to the strictest norms of political correctness. Every clause in the vast tomes that make up the new constitution and Bill of Rights carries the words "and women" whenever men are mentioned. The

JOHN CARLIN reports that the new constitution is set to greatly empower South African women

word "chairperson" always replaces "chairman" ~~(IA)~~

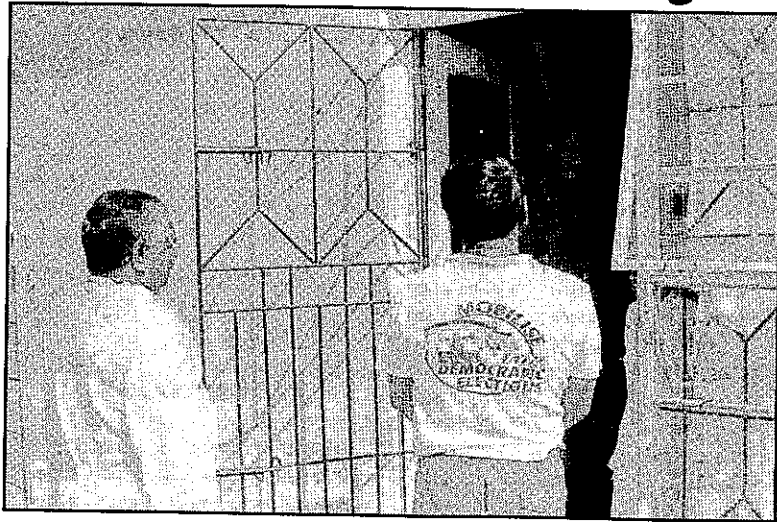
Perhaps the most dramatic blow for women's rights has been struck by the ANC. In recent years, the long-standing call for a non-racial South Africa has been unfailingly supplemented at ANC rallies and in ANC documents by the additional demand for a "non-sexist" South Africa.

Backing words with deeds, the ANC announced last week that when it puts forward its list of candidates for next year's elections, a third will be women. ~~(IA)~~

South Africa's first democratic parliament will almost certainly contain one of the highest proportions of women of any parliament. — The Independent News Service.



ANC info blitz in Tafelsig



DOOR TO DOOR: ANC election volunteers on their Sunday afternoon Tafelsig blitz.

Photo: Yunus Mohamed

By Quentin Wilson

South 19/11 - 23/11/98

ANC ELECTION volunteers received a mixed reaction to their door-to-door information blitz in the Mitchells Plain suburb of Tafelsig on Sunday afternoon.

Much of the blitz concentrated on explaining ANC housing policy to uncertain residents, whose suburb had been the target of an illegal house occupation campaign.

"We expected it to be tough," said Mr Pedro Garcia, one of the 25 ANC volunteers, "But we found that the people who were anti-ANC were people that did not know anything about the organisation. On the other hand, we were also met with a good deal of ANC support."

The group of volunteers covered about 50 Tafelsig homes, delivered ANC pamphlets and made contact with residents in their homes.

Residents spoken to by SOUTH expressed different opinions about the ANC's information campaign.

"What I liked about it," said Ms Anwar Beesely, "was that they were

eager to hear what I thought about the housing crisis and everything else affecting the country."

While ANC supporters in the area welcomed the blitz, those who were undecided also lent their ears.

Tafelsig resident Mr Andrew Julies said the blitz debunked the myth that the occupation of houses was part of an ANC campaign.

"I think the ANC coming here proved very useful because now we know that it was not the ANC who put people in those houses. A lot of people here thought that was the case, but today they got the chance to clear their names with people here," Julies said. (11A)

Mr Cameron Dugmore, ANC regional organiser who co-ordinated the blitz, said he was satisfied with the afternoon's work.

"Although we were reminded that a lot of people are undecided about who they are going to vote for, we found that we stand a great chance of picking up a lot of support if we continue explaining what the ANC is all about," Dugmore said.

'Reject an ANC govt if it fails'

(11A)
CT20/11/93

DURBAN. — If an African National Congress government fails to provide basic needs it must be thrown out, says ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Speaking at Durban's King Edward VIII Hospital yesterday the ANC president said a government that failed to build schools, introduce free and compulsory education and provide medical care had no right to govern.

"Then you must throw it out," he told the cheering crowd. "We are here in order to assure you that the ANC will deliver the goods."

Mr Mandela called on all workers to join the Congress of South African Trade Unions to make it a powerful organisation "feared not only by employers but by political organisations as well, including the ANC".

At the hospital he visited former Thor Chemicals employee Mr Engelbert Ngcobo who has been comatose from mercury poisoning since March last year.

Mr Mandela also spoke to about 200 hawkers and other informal traders in Durban.

He said that only when black business was raised to the same economic level as that owned by whites would there be a proper market-driven economy.

Without economic empowerment of blacks "we can't solve the economic problems of this country generally, and of blacks", he said.

Mr Mandela warned against exaggerated expectations, saying many problems facing the underprivileged would not be addressed overnight.

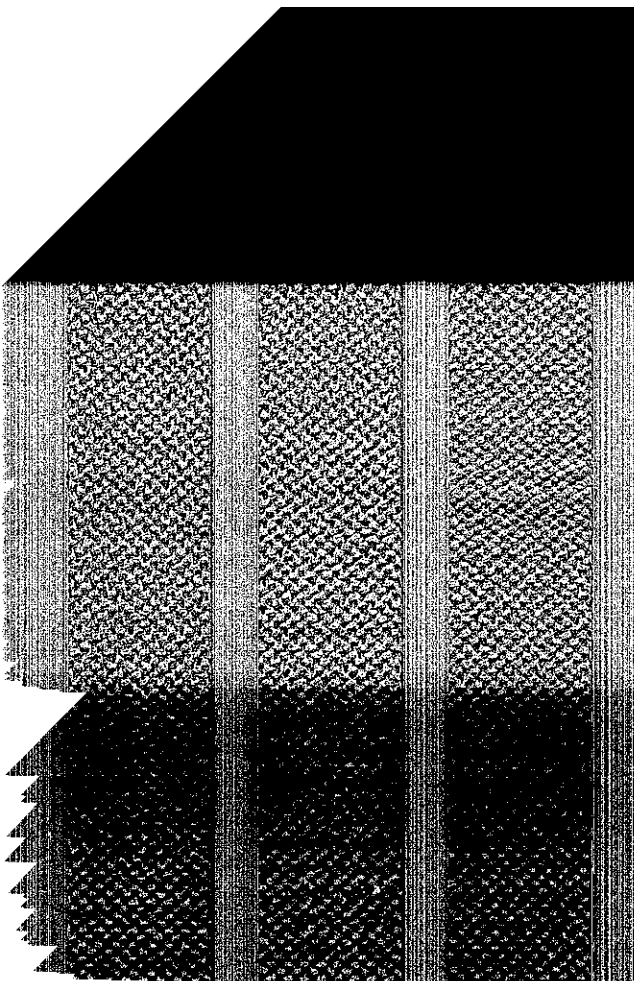
He said the ANC was concerned about the fears of minorities, but these fears were unfounded because "whites are our own flesh and blood, and we don't discriminate".

Mr Mandela also met Dutch Foreign Minister Mr Peter Kooijmans earlier in the day.

Speaking after the meeting Mr Kooijmans said he believed it vital for parties that have withdrawn from the constitutional transition process to rejoin it.

Mr Kooijmans said the international community was willing to support South Africa's future economic development because it was concerned about the country's high rate of unemployment.

Mr Mandela told the media briefing he was concerned that not all major parties were on board for the transition, adding: "We would like a government of national unity to have content. We can have content if we get all the major players in the process." — Sapa



CHATTING . . . ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela chats to young Indian children in the main hawkers' district in Durban yesterday. Mr Mandela told hawkers their grievances would be investigated. He told a gathering at King Edward VIII Hospital in the city that if an ANC government failed to provide basic needs such as free education for all and adequate health care it should be thrown out.

PAC, ANC meet to iron out disputes

(11A) ARCT 20/11/93.

VUYO BAVUMA

Weekend Argus Reporter

HEATED exchanges marked this week's first meeting of local PAC and ANC officials, but the chances of cordial relations between the two organisations appear to be good.

The two groups met for four hours in the ANC offices in Woodstock to cool down temperatures that soared after the stoning in Guguletu last month of an ANC mobile video unit.

The ANC claimed the attackers wore PAC T-shirts and had also been carrying the movement's flag.

The PAC denied the claim.

Tension built slowly as the PAC denied that it had anything to do with the Operation Barcelona, a symbolic reference to a violent campaign initiated by the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) earlier this year to pressurise the Department of Education and Training to scrap matric examination fees.

The PAC said Cosas had links with the ANC which had

■ After a war of words in the media recently, the Western Cape regional branches of the Pan Africanist Congress and the African National Congress met this week to discuss differences and to try to avert the type of political conflict that is ravaging Transvaal townships.

also publicly supported the campaign, but then distanced itself after it ended disastrously.

In response, the ANC denied that it had supported Operation Barcelona and cited the unprecedented public criticism of Dr Allan Boesak, who was against the campaign, by the Cosas executive.

Other issues which emerged included:

■ The ANC's outright condemnation of the stoning of vehicles of cars while the PAC said it also opposed wanton stoning but was not willing to "police the streets while there were still some Africans to be liberated".

■ The PAC's claim that the killing of Amy Biehl should be the joint responsibility of the organisations because the American exchange student was killed during the notorious Operation

Barcelona which the ANC-linked Cosas spearheaded.

■ The PAC's refusal to specifically condemn the death of the Miss Biehl, although it said it was "opposed all murders". The organisation said it could not comment until the trial was over.

According to the agenda, another purpose of the meeting was to stop the organisations from "bickering as they lose may sight of the really enemy — the racist apartheid National Party."

Though the meeting ended before resolutions could be tackled, both sides expressed satisfaction the get-together had been fruitful because each side "voiced its true feelings about one another".

Another meeting will be held on Monday.

■ PAC runs out of money, page 16.

PAC's new cry: Save us from debt

11A
ARG 20/11/93

VUYO BAVUMA

Weekend Argus Reporter

FUNDS for the Western Cape branch of the Pan Africanist Congress are running low and regional officials face eviction from their offices in Salt River because they owe about R3 000 — three months rental arrears.

The movement's telephone services were disconnected because of three months of unpaid bills which add up to R5 000.

The officials rely on faxes to communicate with the outside world.

To make matters worse, the PAC faces a R30 000 claim from UCT students whose cars were damaged by Pan Africanist Students Organisation members who went on the rampage after a meeting in September.

Because of their financial blues, the PAC, unlike their more resourceful counterpart, the African National Congress, have been unable to hold election campaign rallies.

In contrast, the ANC has held six rallies in the past two months in various local townships, including a successful week-long

■ The local Pan Africanist Congress, known for its radical stance and deep commitment to "reclaim" the Africans' dispossessed land, is locked in another battle — to overcome its financial troubles.

visit by Nelson Mandela in September.

Ironically, the PAC's financial woes come at a time when the movement shows a healthy growth — 42 branches in less than a year.

In a frank interview this week PAC regional secretary Bathembu Lugulwana painted a gloomy financial picture of the movement, but was still optimistic.

He said: "It's high time that the people should know that we are in a precarious financial position.

"Our office, which is our nerve centre, is no longer able to function normally. Our phones have been disconnected because we can't pay the bills and there's also a problem of rent arrears.

"People can't reach us, especially the media, and we are also unable to respond to queries. This leaves a bad impression on the people that we are inefficient or don't care."

Mr Lugulwana said the movement was not prepared to allow itself to be "disadvantaged" by its poor financial position.

"So far, we have collected about R6 000 after we appealed to our members to donate R10 each.

"We are planning to hold many fund-raising events. We sent five members to learn how to make banners and caps that we can sell."

The PAC was planning to instil a spirit of self-reliance in its members to overcome the problems, he said.

Because of the shortage of personnel at the office, the secretaries of the local branches were required to take turns to ensure the smooth running of the office until suitable replacements could be found.

Mr Lugulwana ascribed the PAC's financial problems to "the pinch of the international world which deprives our organisation of funding".

"Our organisation no longer gets funding. In the past, the national office used to supply us with funds to pay rent and telephone bills, but now we have to fend for ourselves."

Right warns of sabotage, ANC of reprisals

War talk erupts after new deal

OWN CORRESPONDENTS
and SABA

Star 20/11/93

WORDS of war and a war of words exploded yesterday between the Right and Left after the signing of the draft constitution of the new South Africa on Thursday. (11A)

A senior ANC official and Joe Slovo of the South African Communist Party vowed harsh retaliation if there was any obstruction of the reform process.

There were far-right threats not to recognise the transitional government, while the all-white Mineworkers Union (MWU) threatened violence.

The one glimmer of hope was an agreement between the ANC and Afrikaner Volksfront to set up a working committee to discuss differences (See Page 2).

The MWU warned that it would "shake the country to its foundations" with commercial explosives.

Reincorporation

And senior ANC official Matthew Phosa said "tanks will roll" if there was any obstruction to the reincorporation of the TBVC or self-governing states into South Africa.

Slovo told the right-wing Freedom Alliance that if its actions led to the spilling of blood, the Government would have a duty to meet such actions "with resolve".

Speaking at a news conference called by ANC-SACP negotiators, Slovo said the right wing had a right to mobilise in the political sphere against the agreements reached at multiparty negotiations.

"What we object to is the underlying threat from the leaders of the Freedom Alliance that if they don't get their way, they will use force.

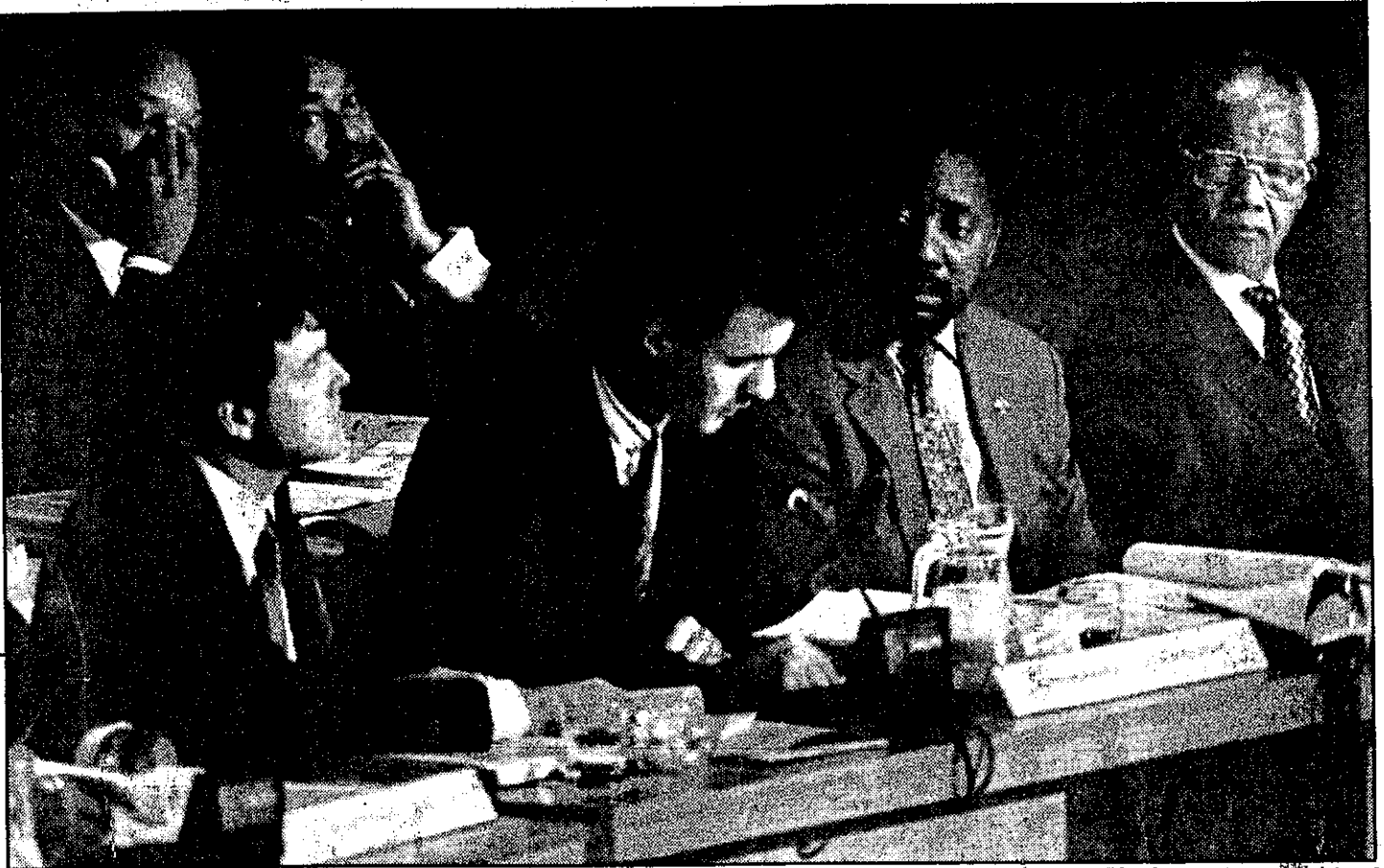
"If it comes to that and they continue to threaten to spill blood, it is the duty of the Government to meet that threat with resolve."

ANC constitutional head Mac Maharaj rejected AVF co-leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg's call for a white election. "He is losing contact with reality. A white election will never take place in South Africa again and it is impossible for the demand to be realised."

ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa told the conference that if the TBVC states and self-governing territories failed to participate in the April 27 election, certain clauses in the Interim Constitution would have to be invoked and the "law would have to take its course".

The Independent Electoral Commission had wide-ranging powers to ensure everyone had the right to campaign and to vote.

P.T.O. →



STILL POLES APART: ANC leaders look on with concern as the Afrikaner Volksunie delegation at the World Trade Centre objects to yet another resolution before the new South African constitution was adopted this week. ● Photograph: MYKEL NICOLAOU

ANC, AVF reach working agreement

AS A war of words between the Left and the Right escalated yesterday, following the adoption of SA's interim constitution on Thursday, the ANC and the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) agreed to establish a joint working group to pursue matters arising from their meeting.

In a joint statement issued at the end of their two-day meeting outside Pretoria, ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki and AVF co-leader General Constand Viljoen said their parties had committed themselves

to finding "a sustainable arrangement".

Although neither would say what had been discussed at the meeting, it is believed the AVF's demand for a "volkstaat" featured prominently.

The two men said their respective organisations had presented proposals on a number of matters and would refer these to their principals. Another meeting would be held soon.

In Pretoria yesterday, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said it was pos-

KAIZER NYATSUMBA Political Correspondent

sible to accommodate the Freedom Alliance between now and November 30, when the interim constitution will be submitted to Parliament. Speaking before the Government's meeting with the FA in Pretoria, Meyer said if his team found the FA's proposals acceptable, it would urge other parties to seek agreement and amend the constitution.

Meyer rejected suggestions that the interim

document reflected capitulation by the Government or a takeover of power by any party.

He was responding to a senior ANC official's remarks that the NP's last minute concessions ahead of Wednesday evening's plenary session amounted to "a complete collapse" of the Government (11A)

In another development, ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday called on his supporters to turn out in great numbers to vote for his organisation on April 27 — a day he said

would mark the "burial of the NP".

"We must never hear of it again," said Mandela in Durban, accusing the Government of neglecting the lives of black workers. (25A)

In contrast to the man many believe will be his boss next year, President De Klerk preached reconciliation in Cape Town, expressing optimism about next year's elections and the future.

The election, he said, would be about the future and not the past, about building and not recrimination.

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Star 20/11/93

'ANC must deliver or be thrown out'

11A ARG 20/11/93

DURBAN.— If an ANC government fails to provide basic needs it must be thrown out, said ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Mr Mandela, addressing a packed hall at Durban's King Edward VIII Hospital yesterday, said a government that failed to build schools, introduce free and compulsory education and provide medical care had no right to govern.

"Then you must throw it out," he told the cheering crowd.

"We are here in order to assure you that the ANC will deliver the goods."

He called on all workers to join the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) to make it a powerful organisation — "feared not only by employers but by political organisations as well, including the ANC".

Mr Mandela pleaded for support of the ANC in the April 27 election, saying this day should mark the "burial" of the National Party.

"We must never hear of it again."

At another meeting yesterday Mr Mandela, on the election trail in Natal, spoke to about 200 hawkers and other informal traders in Durban.

He said that only when black business was raised to the same economic level as that owned by whites would there be a proper market-driven economy.

Without economic empowerment of blacks "we can't solve the economic problems of this country generally, and of blacks", he said.

He stressed the importance of an ANC-organised business summit in Durban next month.

AT LAST! HIP, SLIP, HOORAY FOR A NEW SA!



LONG STORY ... Journalists awaiting the big moment resort to an old trick - napping. ■ Pict: TLADI KHUELE

THEMBA KHUMALO
Political Reporter

WEDNESDAY, November 17 1993, will go down in South Africa's history as the day in which a gigantic leap to freedom was made. It also marked the day the apartheid system was delivered its most fatal blow.



DID IT ... President FW de Klerk and his negotiator Roelf Meyer.

A wild, spontaneous cheer erupted at the World Trade Centre when the new political deal was agreed upon by the majority of South Africa's political groupings.

Nineteen of the 21 negotiating parties had agreed to a package for a temporary constitution to govern the country's transition to democracy.

For 20 hours on Wednesday ordinary South Africans were kept on tenterhooks as the multi-party delegates in the Ne-

gotiating Council engaged in heated debate before they finalised a draft transitional constitution. Their leaders were kept waiting, initially in hotels near the conference centre, and later, in a newly-built hotel at the World Trade Centre itself.

After a 16-hour debate (from 8am to 11pm), during which they occasionally traded insults, negotiators were ready to call in their leaders to give the

package a big nod. This went on until 3.30am on Thursday.

Most television viewers who had followed the events on the box, were fast asleep.

At last, we who had been reporting on the talks from the days of Codesa 1 in 1991, were able to tell many people that SA had just crossed the rubicon of racial prejudice.

At 11.30pm on Wednesday, haggard party

leaders looking like accused walking into the dock to hear sentence, started filing into the plenary session.

Dressed in pin-stripe suits, they shook hands, hugged and exchanged platitudes with a large contingent of local and foreign journalists and diplomats watching from the gallery.

Minutes later, ANC leader Nelson Mandela led his delegation consisting of Cyril Ramaphosa,

The men who guided bitter foes to peace and friendship

CIPress 21/11/93



Prof Kadar Asmal and others in. Mandela vigorously shook hands with President FW De Klerk and his entire government delegation.

Newspaper photographers and television cameramen passed their own verdict on who would win next year's general elections after they were allowed five minutes to take pictures of delegates.

Invariably, they neglected other leaders and focussed their cameras on

Mandela and De Klerk, with more attention on the ANC leader

Fifteen minutes later the session started in earnest with judge Ishmael Mahomed calling the occasion "this momentous day and hour in our history".

He said: "From now on no force can stop us from our emancipation from our painful past," in an apparent reference to those who were opposed to the peace process and



LED IT ... ANC president Nelson Mandela and Cyril Ramaphosa.

who threatened the country with resistance and civil war.

His introductory remarks were followed by an overview of the draft constitutional package by the three co-chairmen of the Negotiating Council - Baleka Kgositsile, Pravin Gordhan and Luwellyn Landers.

Against the spirit of the session, the PAC's Patricia De Lille and Corlea Kruger of the AVU, raised their hands

respectively to draw the attention of the delegates to their rejection of the whole package.

Ironically, the two delegates had been among those who delayed the convening of the plenary session while they argued persistently during the Negotiating Council debate.

Gordhan, a staid professorial figure who chaired the pre-plenary debate in the Negotiating Council, had to call De Lille to

order and asked her not to scream at him in the heat of debate. He also warned her to refrain from referring to other parties in derogatory terms.

This was after she had called an agreement between the ANC and the government on the one-ballot voting system next year a "fraud".

The PAC and the AVU were the only dissenting voices at the plenary when they rejected

the whole package but committed themselves to participating in the forthcoming elections.

The atmosphere in the plenary session became very tense at that stage, but the situation was later saved by the introduction of another item on the agenda; brief remarks from leaders of all the parties.

Afterwards the session was dominated by rhetoric and posturing until the moment of truth was reached - the signing of the package document by 19 leaders.

Then the cheering, singing and dancing started.

Chief NP negotiator Roelf Meyer presented his ANC counterpart and long-standing friend Cyril Ramaphosa with a birthday cake to mark Ramaphosa's 41st birthday.

Delegates ululated as the two indulged in an impromptu dance on the floor. SA's political leaders had not forgotten how to *jo!* after all!

ANC and AVF get together

By DESMOND BLOW

and Sapa
11A 27A

WARTALK by right-wing organisations is causing much concern, but there are hopes that negotiations between the Afrikaner Volksfront and the ANC will still lead to an amicable solution.

Talks between the two political organisations are



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to continue on Tuesday, after the ANC and the AVF decided to establish a joint working group following two days of discussions outside Pretoria. General Constand Viljoen led the AVF delegation, while the ANC deputation was headed by its chairman, Thabo Mbeki.

A joint statement issued on Friday at the end of the discussions did not specify the issues discussed, but observers said they believed the AVF's demand for a "Volkstaat" and self-determination for whites had been central.

■ To Page 2

now about AIDS". [poster]

1.

and Aids. [poster]
April 1992.

enting Aids. [poster]

ANC and AVF get together

■ From Page 1

However, in the days ahead the AVF and the Freedom Alliance would continue with negotiations in an attempt to solve problems.

"The Freedom Alliance and the AVF cannot be ignored.

"Their justifiable and reasonable demands are the key to stability,"

Viljoen said.

"We are keen for a solution between the Afrikaner and the African.

"We have arrived at a crucial stage. ANC leader Nelson Mandela should accept our sincerity in our effort to address problems."

Reason and honesty were required, not "cooked" deals and undue haste as was happening at

multiparty negotiations, said Viljoen.

A joint working group would be established to pursue matters arising from the two-day discussion.

The Freedom Alliance was also warned by South African Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo that if its actions led to the spilling of blood, the

government would have a duty to meet such actions "with resolve".

Speaking at a news conference addressed by ANC/SACP negotiators, Slovo said the rightwing had a right to mobilise in

the political sphere against the agreements reached at multiparty negotiations.

Inkatha prevents Mandela speaking

ANC PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela was prevented from speaking to the people of Dukuduku Forest in northern Natal yesterday after local chiefs and senior Inkatha members organised a meeting at the venue where he was supposed to address residents.

The regional ANC leadership claimed Inkatha was opposed to Mandela's appearance because local chiefs had not been consulted. *CIPress 21/11/93*

Speaking at Ngwavuma earlier, Mandela said the ANC was opposed to the unilateral removal of people from their land to make way for game reserves in the region. *(11A)*

He said authorities should meet the traditional leaders who in turn should get a mandate from their people regarding the establishment of the reserves.

Mandela said the ANC would protect the people of Ngwavuma who had complained they were under threat of removal.

He said if they were removed in the five months before next year's April 27 election, "we as the ANC will bring them back".

Natal gives Mandela wet, warm hello

By MARLAN PADAYACHEE

NELSON MANDELA's Natal election campaign trail ended on a colourful note yesterday with Indians lavishing him with gifts, garlands and "chutney music".

Not even a light drizzle dampened spirits at Durban's Chatsworth Stadium, where 10 000 cheered, clapped and ululated as the ANC president made his way to the centre stage decked with a giant ANC banner.

Elderly sari-clad Indian women, dressed in a rainbow of colours, held tiny lamps as ANC aides jostled with the crowd to clear the way for the "de facto" president to take his seat on a padded oak chair beside Cosatu's election candidate, Jay Naidoo.

Coming straight from talking to hostel-dwellers in Glebe, near the airport, Mandela was overwhelmed by the reception in Chatsworth.

His face glowed under the bright floodlights as he waved and greeted supporters in a style that brought out his charisma and statesmanlike figure.

It was a night the people of one of SA's most densely populated townships will not forget: rap mixed with Indian pop (known as "chutney music") as supporters danced and toyi-toyed in the rain.

Only the kaleidoscope of fireworks was missing from the dark skies. But there was enough thunder on stage as Mr Mandela and his lieutenants fielded some of the rockets from the floor.

Putting the race question to bed, Mr Mandela told Indians they were as black as Africans and coloureds, and that they need not fear affirmative action.

The crowd roared when the world's once most famous prisoner told them he was the political protégé of Yusuf Dadoo and Ismail Meer, the community's martyrs.

Then the ANC election campaign began, with Mr Mandela telling Indians he needed their vote to turn South Africa into a country in which they will prosper.



OVER THE COUNTER ... Nelson Mandela has a word with delighted youngsters in Durban this week Picture: AP

The art of scoring top marks on bottom lines

8 Times 21/1/93

11A

FW DE KLERK

MIKE ROBERTSON reports on the performances of President de Klerk and SACP chief Joe Slovo in regard to what they said were their bottom lines at the talks

DURING the referendum last year, President F W de Klerk listed 16 principles which he said the National Party would demand be either incorporated or addressed in the new constitution. This is how he fared on each point.

- The maintenance of standards — What the government had in mind was that residents of a particular suburb would be allowed to come together and elect a neighbourhood council. This council would set standards and ensure that residents in the suburb abided by them. This has not been achieved although the constitution does allow a council, if it feels it is necessary, to delegate some of its powers to a sub-municipal body. (Half a mark)

- A free market economic system — The constitution does not stipulate that South Africa shall have a free market system as the National Party initially insisted. But the Bill of Rights does protect property rights and the right to freely engage in economic activity — essential elements of such a system. (Half a mark)

- Prevention of domination and abuse of power — The Bill of Rights, Constitutional Court, Public Protector and Auditor-General provided for in the constitution will all serve to counter a government intent on abusing power.

- Effective protection of private property against arbitrary action by a future government — The Bill of Rights provides this protection.

- Job and pension security for civil servants — Achieved.

- Impartial security forces that could never be at the beck and call of any political party — The constitution stipulates that the National Defence Force shall refrain from furthering or prejudicing party political interests.

- Maximum devolution of power — Provinces have no exclusive powers and will only be allowed to raise taxes with the consent of the national Parliament. Mr de Klerk has failed to deliver on this issue. (No mark)

- Limitation of the powers of the State President — The National Party wanted a collective presidency consisting of the leaders of the three largest parties in the National As-

sembly. Chairmanship of the presidency would rotate annually. South Africa will have a single president with two deputies who do not have veto rights. But provisions such as the Bill of Rights will ensure that the powers of the new president are not as sweeping as those Mr de Klerk now holds. (No mark)

- Multi-party democracy — achieved

- A two-chamber Parliament — South Africa will have a 400-member National Assembly and 90-member Senate.

- A Bill of Rights — achieved.

- Separation of powers — The constitution provides for a separation of powers between the legislature, executive and judiciary.

- An independent judiciary — achieved.

- Proportional representation elections — achieved. Citizens will be able to vote for the party of their choice in the knowledge that their vote will count even if they live in an area dominated by a party they do not support.

- Strong regional government — Not achieved. See section on devolution of power above. (No mark)

- The maintenance of language and cultural rights as well as community-oriented education for those who want it — The Bill of Rights provides for all of these.

NEGOTIATIONS REPORT CARD

Name: F. W. de Klerk

Marks: $\frac{12}{16}$

Remarks: Overall a satisfactory performance but has failed to master important subjects.

GRAPHIC: FRANK KRIBSH

NEGOTIATIONS REPORT CARD

Name: Joe Slovo

Marks: $\frac{16}{16}$

Remarks: Good work, Joe.

JOE SLOVO

WRITING in the journal African Communist last year, Mr Joe Slovo listed the ANC's bottom lines in negotiations and suggested issues on which it could compromise. This is how he fared on each point:

- ANC members must accept that the immediate outcome of negotiations will be less than perfect — True, although perhaps not in the sense that Mr Slovo meant it.

- Compromises made by the ANC must not permanently block a future advance to non-racial democratic rule in its full connotation — Enforced power-sharing provisions in the constitution are temporary.

- The final constitution must be adopted by a democratically elected constitution-making body — Achieved.

- The constitution-making body must represent all inhabitants of South Africa's 1910 borders — South Africa will be a sovereign state, including the now nominally-independent homelands.

- The only limitation on the sovereignty of the con-

stitution-making body must be general constitutional principles which the key actors agree should be binding — The constitution contains such a set of principles.

- Effective structures must be put in place to ensure free and fair elections — An Independent Electoral Commission has already been approved by Parliament to perform this job.

- Acceptable time frames must be provided for the whole process as well as acceptable deadlock breaking mechanisms — An election date was set several months ago. The government of national unity will last for five years. If the final constitution is not approved within two years after the April 27 election, deadlock-breaking mechanisms culminating in the adoption of a constitution by a majority of 60 percent will come into play.

- The tricameral Parliament and its executive arm must be automatically dissolved upon the election of the constitution-making body — This will happen.

- ANC negotiators must be allowed to make quantitative compromises on matters such as whether elections should take place in nine months or six months — They were allowed to do so and in fact

made in the constitution for a minority veto.

- The ANC must reject compulsory power-sharing as a permanent feature of the constitution. A sunset clause could allow for compulsory power-sharing for a fixed number of years — Achieved.

- Kempton Park negotiators must not be able to finalise powers, functions and boundaries of provinces — The Constitutional Assembly will finalise these matters in conjunction with provincial legislatures.

- The new constitution must allow a new government to redress racially accumulated imbalances — The Bill of Rights allows a future government to practise affirmative action.

- Party representation in the cabinet should be on the basis of proportional representation and there should be decision-making procedures for the cabinet that would not paralyse its functioning — Achieved.

- The ANC should indicate that as part of a new government it would support a general amnesty — It has done so.

- The ANC must respect existing civil service (including SAP and SADF) contracts and pensions — It has done so and the constitution makes provision for this.

compromised even further.

- The ANC must reject a minority veto of any sort in the constitution-making process — No provision is

By EDYTH BULBRING

IN the early hours of Thursday morning, a nondescript man carrying two briefcases walked towards the exit of the World Trade Centre.

"Why are you leaving Fanie? There are problems to be solved," said the ANC's Jacob Zuma.

"They are all solved. I am leaving the new ones to you," the man replied with a smile.

The man was Fanie van der Merwe, the government's constitutional adviser and one of four men credited with holding together the negotiations that saw the endorsement of a democratic constitution.

The first two are ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa and his government counterpart Roelf Meyer, who made the deal. The others are Mr van der Merwe and the ANC's Mac Maharaj, who were always there to fix things and smooth the way for their bosses.

People like to think that during the process a great friendship was born between Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer, allowing a political settlement to be



DEEP IN DISCUSSION ... during years of negotiation, the NP's Roelf Meyer and the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa grew to trust and respect each other's talents
Picture: DAVID SANDISON

Lasting bonds forged in the heat of negotiations

31 Times 21/11/93

reached. This is not the case. (1A) (2A)

Both men were driven to broker the best deal for their principals and, having been thrown together, they simply got on with the job.

The ingredients that helped them complete their task was the trust and respect forged in talks that led to last year's Record of Understanding, which in turn paved the way for multi-party talks.

Although they clashed bitterly, the two men emerged with a healthy respect for one another. Later they began to trust each others integrity and commitment to finding a settlement.

The two became sensitive to each other's own battles within their respective organisations. For Mr Meyer it was the backbiting from members in the cabinet. For Mr Ramaphosa it was criticism from ANC

radicals that he was getting too close to the enemy and compromising their struggle.

At first both men would express delight over the internal political battles experienced by their negotiating opponents. Later, the glee changed to concern. They knew that when one of them had problems, the process had problems.

But friendship between these two men is years away — if ever. With the elections looming, they will fight each other ruthlessly to ensure victory for their respective parties.

Mr Maharaj and Mr van der Merwe had a different relationship. Some say they looked at each other from across the room and recognised similar qualities.

Both are shrewd and, when necessary, ruthless in achieving their objectives.

Together they sought ways out of seemingly

impossible deadlocks with patient determination and never lost their cool.

They always appeared optimistic and echoed each other that talking and more talking would provide the solution.

In addition they complimented each other. Mr Maharaj would see a solution, while Mr van der Merwe would identify the necessary instruments to achieve the goal.

While both men will never completely trust the other, they have a healthy respect for each other's skills.

The day after the plenary session, when Mr Maharaj telephoned the World Trade Centre to find out how preparations for the Transitional Executive Council were progressing, the message from Mr van der Merwe was: "I won't make any decisions without you."

Azapo, BCM enter the fray, but . . .

JOHANNESBURG. — The Azanian People's Organisation and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania have agreed to take part in the April 27 elections — on their own terms.

APR 22/11/93
Azapo spokesman Vuyisa Quanta said in a statement today the decision had been taken by the two organisations' committees at a meet-

ing in Harare at the weekend.

The committees believed true democracy involved people's right to make informed decisions and choices about their lives.

"We believe the present Kempton Park package is fundamentally flawed in that it protects white rule and privilege.

"But the two organs of the

BCMA have decided to get involved in the process to accord our people their right to views contrary to those expressed at Kempton Park thus far, and to widen their choices of which parties to support, and whether to exercise their votes or not."

Mr Quanta said specific tactics on how to take part were being worked out and would be released today. — Sapa.

Mandela ends Natal tour, again urges IFP to join talks

EMPANGENI. — Nelson Mandela ended a week-long election blitz through Natal calling for peace and unity and urging the Inkatha Freedom Party and its allies to return to negotiations.

Declaring his Natal trip an overwhelming success, the African National Congress president said he was confident of winning the election next year, but he wanted the IFP to return to the transitional process.

"I've urged leaders of the IFP to promote the welfare of the people of South Africa," he told several thousand supporters at a "people's forum" in Empangeni's Esikhawini township yesterday.

"There's no excuse whatsoever why they should have pulled out of the multiparty forum. We want them to come back to negotiations and contest elections.

"We've gone out of our way to accommodate them. But the more we make concessions the

more they move away.

"I don't know what else they want," Mr Mandela said.

"They musn't fear us. We are people of reason," he told the crowd in this once war-torn Natal township.

Recent arrests of several Kwazulu policemen and other "hit-squad members" as well as a Goldstone Commission investigation had brought relative calm to Esikhawini over the past six months, said the area's ANC chairman Welcome Mtimkhulu.

Mr Mandela's exhausting election trail through Natal began a week ago at Inanda, near Durban, where he addressed squatters at the sprawling Bhambayi shackland.

Bhambayi erupted in violence that night, leaving five dead and leading to renewed accusations by the ANC of involvement of the Internal Stability Unit.

Earlier that day, Mr Mandela attacked President De

Klerk, accusing him of using the ISU to wage war on blacks while talking peace at democracy negotiations.

Mr Mandela urged his supporters to embrace those policemen who were working to protect all sectors of the community but warned those who "kill our people" that they would not retain their jobs under an ANC government.

Ironically, it was members of the ISU who arrested 10 people and confiscated several handguns after IFP supporters began toyi-toying a few hundred metres from where Mr Mandela addressed a crowd in Sundumbili, near Mandini, on the North Coast.

A Kwazulu police patrol vehicle had earlier driven past the group of about 20 people, some of whom had knives.

Mr Mandela's message to the National Party throughout his trip was clear: "We are going to bury the NP on April 27."

Mr Mandela regularly used Mpumalanga as a shining example of peaceful ANC-IFP co-existence, urging supporters in other war-torn areas that they should engage their IFP counterparts in talks.

The ANC president was careful throughout his hectic schedule not to evoke Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's wrath by firing accusations at him, referring rather to "some leaders" and "surrogate organisations" when criticising the IFP and its leader.

Mr Mandela said the ANC had bent over backwards to try to bring Chief Buthelezi's party back to the transitional process: "What more can I do?"

"The more we make concessions, the more they move further and further away," he charged.

Mr Mandela was often mobbed and was given tumultuous welcomes at most gatherings. — Sapa.



RAIN OR SHINE: Nelson Mandela greets a crowd of around 10 000 people at Chatsworth Stadium in Durban.

(IIA) 22/11/93

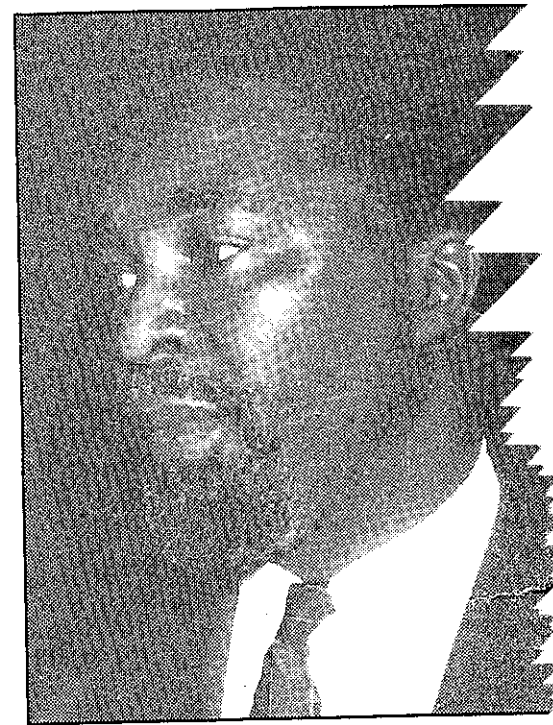
By Mathatha Tsedu
Political Editor

Sorry chapter ends for SA

■ HOME RUN *Rumblings of discontent as*

South Africa heads for crucial all-race election:

Sowetan 22/11/93



Thabo Mbeki led the ANC delegation to meet rightwingers.

THE LAST white-controlled Parliament opens in Cape Town this afternoon amid threats of war from the ultra-rightwingers.

Following the adoption last week of the interim constitution, those opposed to the deal have vowed to ensure that the deal falls flat.

The forces lined up against the deal are the Freedom Alliance (FA) comprising the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), Conservative Party (CP), Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF), Bophuthatswana and Ciskei on the one hand, and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), Workers Organisation for Socialist Action (Wosa) and New Unity Movement (NUM) on the other.

The rightwing elements met with both the ANC and the Government last Friday and reached deadlock.

Their demands for states/provinces/regions (SPR) to have exclusive powers were found to be unacceptable by the Government, according to chief negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer.

These groups had also demanded regional fiscal control, re-organisation of the SPR borders and the ability of regions to draw up own constitutions.

Meyer said at the weekend that "substantial progress" had been made on these three, but that the exclusive powers of the regions demanded by the FA were "impossible to accommodate and intolerable in the current situation".

It is understood that the insistence on strong regions emanates from a desire by the components of the FA to create a *Boerestaat* for the ultra-white right, and the maintenance of the status quo in the bantustans by the black members.

The CP, the main white party in the alliance, said yesterday the FA had produced a map of the SPR indicating how the idea of a *Boerestaat* could be accommodated.

"It is not a map of the *Boerestaat* as such but takes the SPR map as a basis and then indicates how the *Boerestaat* could be fitted in," CP MP Mr Fanie Jacobs told *Sowetan* yesterday.

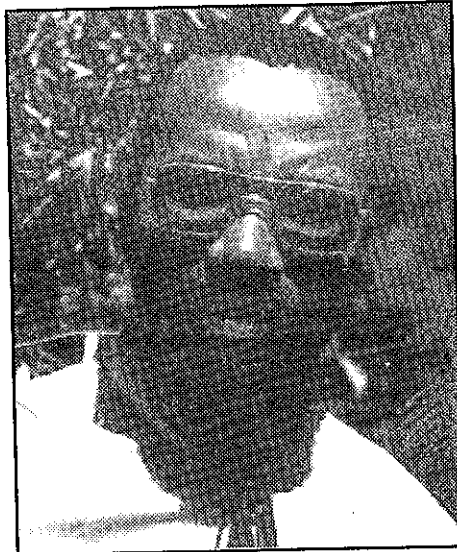
The proposal includes "parts of the Western Transvaal, Northern Transvaal and Eastern Transvaal, while the Orange Free State is still a subject of negotiations. It does not touch on the PWV region save for the fact that it borders on Pretoria. The borders with Pretoria still have to be negotiated," Jacobs said.

In the meeting with the ANC, the two groups agreed to form a working group to pursue the issues discussed, and further committed themselves to finding sustainable arrangements.

While AVF leader General Constand Viljoen has said the expected passage of the interim constitution between now and next week did not signal a cut-off date for inputs, the FA seems to be using a stick and carrot method.

Bombing campaign

For, following on the meetings with the ANC and the Government, an alliance of white rightwingers including the Mineworkers Union, SA Iron and Steel and Allied Union, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), Afrikaner Volkswag, Afrikaner Volkstigtig, Herstigte Nasionale Party, Boerestaat Party and others have threatened a bombing campaign to block the Kempton Park deal.



Mosibudi Mangena, the chairman of the BCMA which has been involved in bombing missions.

said it will not take part in elections, will announce its entry into the race at a crucial date and pool resources to ensure that they have a deputy president, who has to come from the party with the second majority.

This, were it to happen, could see Buthelezi as Mandela's deputy (if the polls are anything to go by), a sure recipe for continued skirmishes in the corridors of power which would ensure the downfall of the system.

This scenario would however need the FA to fight the election as individual components to

save the blacks the embarrassment of hooking up with white extremist racists.

The components would be able to come together after the election however and form a block that could sink De Klerk's hopes of deputising for Mandela. (SOWE)

The Government's and the ANC's relentless efforts to woo the rightwing are however also seen as a realisation that this faction possesses the firepower to make the coming months at the very least extremely uncomfortable. (IIA)

The weekly arrests of rightwing members with arsenals of war and the reported preparations and stockpiling cannot be ignored by the two parties, it is argued.

This would explain why the threat from the left has so far been almost ignored.

While Azapo's sister organisation, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA), has been involved in bombing missions in the Eastern Cape and Pretoria recently, these have not rocked the boat sufficiently for those within to feel any need to address the threat.

Azapo has itself been vociferous in its condemnation of the process but whether it can translate this into effective disruptive activities sufficient to worry the negotiators is another matter.

Wosa and the NUM have themselves not shown any muscle, either in mass action or in the theatres of war.

And so, as the last white Parliament sits to legislate itself out of existence, the clouds gather outside.

Whether the clouds will actually result in torrential rains, or hold no threat remains to be seen.

The alliance called on President F W de Klerk to call a whites-only election to test who represents the white electorate.

A programme of mobilisation would be embarked upon starting with a reaffirmation of the vow of Blood River on December 16, to be followed by the appointment of the AVF executive as a new government for the white right.

Threats of bombings were also made to ensure that De Klerk calls the white election and also stops affirmative action.

This was met with derision by ANC spokesmen, who said the FA call for a white election was not on.

ANC spokesman Mr Mac Maharaj said the FA was losing contact with reality. "A white election will never take place in South Africa again," he said.

There is speculation, however, that the FA was huffing and puffing to gain maximum publicity with the threats of violence.

It is speculated that the FA, which has so far

Election blitz 'a success'

Sowetan 22/11/93

■ PEACE CALL ANC wants IFP back in negotiations, says Mandela:

NELSON MANDELA ended a week-long election blitz through Natal yesterday calling for peace and unity and urging the Inkatha Freedom Party and its allies to return to South Africa's negotiating fold.

Declaring his Natal trip an overwhelming success, the African National Congress president said he was confident of an election victory next year, but said he wanted the IFP to return to the transitional process.

"I've urged leaders of the IFP to use their talents to promote the welfare of the people of South Africa," he told several thousand supporters at a 'people's forum' in Empangeni's Esikhawini township.

"There's no excuse whatsoever why they should have pulled out of the multi-party forum ... we want them to come back to negotiations and contest elections."

He requested leaders of "organisations such as the IFP to think carefully about coming back to negotiations".

(11A)
"We've gone out of our way to accommodate them. But the more we make concessions the more they move further and further away."

He said the ANC had made particular concessions on regionalism, but "I don't know what else they want".

"They musn't fear us because we are people of reason," he told the crowd in this once war-torn northern Natal township.

Recent arrests of several KwaZulu policemen and other "hit-squad members" as well as

a Goldstone investigation had brought relative calm to Esikhawini over the past six months, local ANC chairman Welcome Mtimkhulu said.

He added that yesterday's function was the first legal ANC rally in the township since 1989. The organisation had since encountered opposition from IFP-supporting township councillors.

Mandela, meanwhile, called on leaders of the church, labour, academia, security forces and other sectors of society to come out against those agitating for violence.

"It's necessary to unite and make a call that everyone must fight for peace," the ANC president added. - Sapa

BC groups may join elections

Sowetan 22/11/93

By Mokgadi Pela

THE central committees of Azapo and the BCMA were by late yesterday believed to be close to reaching a decision that could see the two organisations taking part in the April 27 elections.

In a communique released from Harare by BCMA's information and publicity chief, Mr Vuyisa Qunta, the two organisations said they would however take part in the process "on their own terms".

Qunta reiterated their view that the "Kempton Park process is fundamentally flawed in that it protects white rule

and privilege". He said the two organisations might get involved so that people could express views contrary to those held by the multiparty negotiators.

Informed decisions

119

Qunta said true democracy involved the right of the people to make informed decisions and choices on things that affected their lives.

He added that specific tactics of how to participate were being worked out by the two central committees and would be released at a Press conference in Johannesburg today.

Azapo's 15-man delegation was led

by its president, Professor Itumeleng Mosala, while the BCMA's delegation was headed by the organisation's chairman and commander-in-chief of the Azanian National Liberation Army, Mr Mosibudi Mangena.

Attacks on whites

The three-day summit at a top Zimbabwean hotel comes amid several bomb blasts and attacks on whites by Azanla.

These incidents include East London's Highgate Hotel in which five whites were killed, the Ladybrand attack and a series of bomb blasts around Pretoria.

Azapo, ally to boycott⁽¹¹⁷⁾ the election

CT 22/11/73

HARARE. — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) will not take part in South Africa's first non-racial election in April next year.

They will launch a campaign to persuade South Africans not to vote, Ziana news agency reports.

The parties are holding two-day consultative talks here.

Azapo deputy secretary-general Mr Lybon Mabasa yesterday labelled as a "sell-out settlement" the adoption of an interim constitution by multi-party negotiators last week.

"We hold the opinion that a sell-out settlement is in place in South Africa at the moment and that sham elections are going to be held to legitimise the continuation of white rule.

"We will participate in the process leading to the election by educating and trying to convince our people not to sell their birthright and freedom by casting votes that will put them in perpetual slavery," he said.

Illiterate blacks in South Africa were ill-informed about the implications of the choices they would make in April, he added. — Sapa

Winnie put up for MP

11A

CT22/11/92

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Former PAC deputy president Mr Dikgang Moseneke, Ms Winnie Mandela and Azapo spokesman Mr Kgomolemo Mokaere are among the people ANC branches in the PWV area have nominated for Parliament.

An ANC Pretoria sub-region spokesman said they had concluded their nominations at the weekend and they would be sending the names to the ANC PWV regional office today so they could approach those nominated to find out if they would agree to stand.

Also among those nominated for the 156 candidates required for the ANC's election list for the national assembly and regional

ANC lists candidates for PWV

legislature were ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba, Mr Matthew Phosa, Mr Penuel Maduna, Mr Aziz Pahad, Mr Sam Motsuenyane, Mr Sidney Mufamadi and Mr Joe Slovo.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehus said his organisation would have no problem with people nominated by the tripartite alliance even if those people did not belong to the ANC.

He said the ANC would not

have a problem with non-ANC people being nominated but would require that if they stood for the ANC they should be prepared to work under the ANC's leadership and implement the organisation's election manifesto.

PAC spokesman Mr Mpi Figlan said if any PAC member was proposed by non-PAC people or other organisations, that person would have to relinquish PAC membership.

ANC PWV region secretary general Mr Paul Mashatile said the names would be presented to an ANC national list conference in December.

"We expect to nominate 56 people for the positions of regional representatives to the national assembly, 100 for regional legislatures, and to nominate people for the national assembly," said Mr Mashatile.

Peace quest to KwaZulu

CT22/11/93 (114)

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela ventured into the heart of KwaZulu at the weekend and called on traditional leaders, the clergy and trade unionists to stand up and oppose those leaders who wanted to spill blood.

He also urged the IFP to return to multi-party talks saying

the ANC had made concessions to accommodate them.

Addressing a huge crowd at the Esikhawini soccer grounds yesterday, Mr Mandela called on his followers to talk peace to their IFP opponents like the people of Mpumalanga near Maritzburg and Nhlalakahle in Greytown where violence had been defeated.

Mr Mandela's visit was marred by intimidation of his supporters. Local leaders at Ngwavuma told him the reason for the small turnout was the threats that people's pension grants would be withdrawn if they supported the ANC.

His unscheduled visit to the people of Dukuduku forests was reportedly disrupted when impi stormed the venue.

Unions 'must address AIDS issue'

ERICA JANKOWITZ

TRADE unions needed to devote more time and resources to workplace AIDS education and persuading employers to sign AIDS agreements, the Workplace Information Group says. **BIDAY**

Writing in the latest Critical Health newsletter, the group said it realised unions had limited resources and numerous educational needs, but believed the lack of AIDS awareness needed to be urgently redressed. **(12)**

Cosatu and Nactu unions were involved in discussions in forums like the National Economic Forum, but had largely rejected health and safety issues. **2211193**

The group acknowledged that massive resources were required to implement comprehensive AIDS awareness training,

but believed it was essential and should be given priority by the union movement.

It said the labour movement had made progress and cited the recently signed NUM-Chamber of Mines agreement. However, it seemed that only the larger and better organised unions had managed to secure workplace training and the acceptable treatment of infected workers.

It said unions and employers should work together to devise and implement programmes that would at least cover basic training. Their long-term goal should be to develop a pool of skilled counsellors to take the process further.

Funds should be raised from companies, overseas unions and agencies and the state.

ANC branches name Winnie, Slovo, Mokaba

BIDAY 2211193
JOHANNES NGCOBO

FORMER PAC deputy president Dikgang Moseneke, Winnie Mandela and Azapo spokesman Kgomolemo Mokaere were among the people ANC branches in the PWV area nominated for Parliament at the weekend.

ANC Pretoria sub-region spokesmen said they had concluded nominations. The names would be sent to the ANC PWV regional office today. The ANC requires 156 people for the national assembly and regional legislature.

Nominees included ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba, Matthew Phosa, Pennuel Maduna, Aziz Pahad, Sam Motsuenyane, Sidney Mufamadi and Joe Slovo.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehus said his organisation would have no problem with people nominated by the ANC, SACP and Cosatu alliance even if nominees did not belong to ANC. He said that whoever stood for the ANC would be expected to work under the ANC's leadership and implement the organisation's election manifesto. **(11A)**

The names would be presented to a nationalist conference in December, ANC PWV region secretary general Paul Mashatile said.

Fifty-six people would be nominated for the positions of regional representatives to the national assembly and 100 for regional legislatures and the national assembly.

Airline to reinstat...



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New Act will result in greater civil litigation

BIDAY 22 1111 93

THE Occupational Health and Safety Act, due to come into operation on January 1, would result in increased civil litigation, Webber Wentzel labour lawyer Gasant Orrie said.

Speaking at a conference last week, Orrie warned of maximum fines of up to R100 000, two years' imprisonment or both if an employer was found to have been negligent, resulting in a death or injury.

"Apart from providing and maintaining safe systems of work, plant and machinery, an employer is required to provide such information, instructions, training and supervision as may be necessary to ensure, as far as is reasonably practicable, the health and safety at work of his employees," he said.

Employers also had to take all the necessary measures to ensure that the requirements of the Act were complied with by any person on the premises where machinery was being used.

He said it might be necessary for employers to stipulate any breach of these requirements as a disciplinary offence.

Employers should also consider making employees' functions and duties clearer in job descriptions so as to encompass safety standards. These should be communicated to all employees.

On the issue of non-employees directly affected by an operation, Orrie said com-

panies faced possible criminal prosecution for failure to ensure their safety.

This now fell under a statutory duty of care. Previously, a claimant had to show that the employer owed a duty of care.

Employees were given statutory duties in terms of the new Act, including being obliged to take reasonable care of their personal health and safety, he said.

In the event of an accident, Orrie said employers should arrange for trained, competent and properly designated employees to inspect the scene as soon as possible after it occurred.

He emphasised the need for employers to keep proper records and to have properly trained and qualified health and safety officers. "It will become more difficult for industrial relations officers and managers to act as health and safety officers".

A further cost complication was that until the amended Workmen's Compensation Act was promulgated in April 1994, high-earning employees would be able to sue employers for damages arising from negligence in regard to workplace health and safety issues.

At a ceremony on Friday, the National Occupational Safety Association honoured Consol Ltd and Telephone Manufacturers of SA for achieving three million work-hours without a disabling injury.

ERICA JANKOWITZ

Azapo will not take part in election

HARARE — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) will not take part in SA's first non-racial election in April next year, Ziama news agency said.

The parties are holding two-day consultative talks in Harare.

Azapo deputy secretary-general Lybon Mabasa yesterday labelled as a "sell-out settlement" the adoption of an interim constitution by negotiators last week.

He said Azapo and the BCMA would launch a campaign to persuade South Africans not to vote in the election.

"We hold the opinion that a sellout settlement is in place in SA and that sham elections are going to be held to legitimise

the continuation of white rule.

"We will try to convince our people not to sell their birthright and freedom by casting votes that will put them in perpetual slavery," he said.

Illiterate blacks in SA were ill-informed about the implications of the choices they would make in April.

"Azapo will explain why the elections cannot be supported and why the Kempton Park package cannot satisfy the interests of blacks in the country."

Azapo and BCMA demanded "total freedom" that enhanced the status of the oppressed, he said. Mabasa also predicted violence would escalate in the wake of the election. — Sapa.

Inkatha launches campaign

DURBAN — The Inkatha Freedom Party has launched a massive publicity campaign despite its president Mangosuthu Buthelezi insisting he will not lead it into elections for a constitution making body.

In full-page newspaper advertisements, Inkatha appealed to the public to "join the crusade" and declared itself to be "a power for good".

And according to the language Buthelezi and Inkatha spokesmen have been using lately, it would ap-

Own Correspondent

pear that Inkatha is under increasing pressure to re-join the mainstream political process.

This could be clarified by the KwaZulu chief minister at a public meeting in Durban's City Hall tonight.

At a rally in Pretoria on Saturday Buthelezi, although rejecting the constitution endorsed by negotiators at the World Trade Centre, said the Freedom Alliance would "come

second if an election were to be held tomorrow".

However, he said the alliance did not have to enter an election to prove its support and would demonstrate its power by fighting the "treachery in negotiations".

Buthelezi told the crowd: "I will not make the illegitimate constitution legitimate by participating in an election under it." He repeated earlier promises to hold a special general conference of Inkatha to decide on poll participation.

Work on abuses swamps office

B/DAY 22/11/93

PRETORIA — The Transvaal attorney-general's office has been swamped with work since publication last week of reports on maladministration in Lebowa and KwaNdebele by the Parsons and De Meyer commissions.

Transvaal attorney-general Jan D'Oliveira said he had limited resources with which to investigate the "multitude of allegations" emanating from the commissions.

The two commissions uncovered irregularities and maladministration in virtually every department they investigated, dating back to the late '70s. These included Lebowa's chief minister's office and its departments of education, receiver of revenue, works, transport and water affairs and KwaNdebele's chief minister's office as well as its departments of justice, interior affairs, welfare and pensions, finance and health.

Tens of millions of rand and hundreds of the self-governing territories' officials were implicated in the commissions' findings.

D'Oliveira said a special investigation team had been created and additional staff taken on by his office to deal with the "very large number" of cases to be looked at.

ADRIAN HADLAND

The four reports issued by the commissions, which detailed the numerous abuses, ran to almost 1 700 pages.

D'Oliveira said, however, the investigation and the opening of criminal dockets would take months rather than years.

Meanwhile, a finance department spokesman said a team from SA's inland revenue office was in Lebowa attempting to place the territory's receiver of revenue office on a sounder financial footing.

The unsatisfactory state of Lebowa's receiver had been a source of concern for a considerable time, Finance director-general Estian Calitz said last week.

New measures, including additional training for Lebowa staff, improvement of administration procedures and the assistance of SA officials, had been introduced.

Receiver of revenue offices in other self-governing territories had been kept under better control. While SA's inland revenue office had been aware of difficulties in Lebowa for some years, until they had taken part in the De Meyer commission investigation they "were not aware of the magnitude of the problem".

UK military attache takes up duty in SA

LONDON — The first British military attache to serve in SA for eight years, Brig James Parker CBE, a former deputy chief of staff of British forces in Germany, will present his credentials to the Foreign Affairs Ministry this week before officially taking up his embassy duties.

Britain's Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd, said in the House of Commons last week: "It is a direct British interest that SA should come through this tunnel of transition safely. Our

Own Correspondent

dealings with SA have returned to healthy normality. We are working to encourage British investment."

He said Parker would be the first defence attache to be sent to the British embassy in Pretoria for eight years.

"We want SA to return to being an area of prosperity and stability after being, for too long, a source of dissension and disturbance," Hurd said.

CP and ANC in local govt talks

B/DAY 22/11/93

GAVIN DU VENAGE

RIGHT-WING local government representatives and the ANC will meet today to discuss transitional measures that will probably be enacted at the end of the month.

The Transvaal Municipal Association, an organisation representing CP councillors, has accepted most of the provisions in the Local Government Transition Bill, as well as Chapter 10 of the interim constitution. The inclusion of the association was seen as a major breakthrough, as CP councillors have threatened to resist any attempts to integrate white towns with black local authorities.

However, intensive discussions between the association and ANC over the past few months had led to compromises, particularly on the ANC's side. Entrenched in the constitution is a provision that reserves at least 30% of council seats for minorities.

The association provisionally accepted the Bill and Chapter 10, pending the outcome of discussions.

Transvaal Municipal Association president Prof Ben van der Berg declined to give details at the weekend as matters were "still very sensitive". However, he was confident the two sides would reach agreement soon.

Once they have finalised discussions, the proposal will still have to be ratified by the Local Government Negotiating Forum management committee, which sits later this week. If the association endorses the agreements in full, the ANC/civic alliance will put pressure on the association to convince its members to go along with the process.

The association will be expected to intervene in councils that have up to now refused to begin discussions on integration.

Meanwhile, the DP has said it would "vigourously oppose" the agreement. DP local government spokesman Jaspar Walsh said the deal was racially biased and would provide "different answers depending on which town you looked at".

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Mandela reaches out to IFP

Star 22/11/93

Empangeni — Nelson Mandela called for peace and unity in South Africa yesterday and urged Inkatha and its allies to return to the country's transitional process.

Addressing several thousand supporters in the once violence-torn Esikhawini township, near Empangeni, the ANC president urged the Inkatha Freedom Party to "think carefully about coming back to negotiations".

Mandela said there were leaders within the

IFP who could contribute to the country's future, adding that there was no excuse for Inkatha's withdrawal from the multiparty Negotiating Forum.

"We've gone out of our way to accommodate them. But the more we make concessions, the more they move further and further away."

He said the ANC had made particular concessions on regionalism, but "I don't know what else they want".

"We urge them to re-

turn to multiparty talks."

Calling for peace and unity, Mandela said the various leaders of society, including clergy, traditional leaders, security force chiefs and labour leaders, should stand up and tell those leaders who were advocating violence that "that is not on". (11A)

Declaring his visit to Natal an overwhelming success, the ANC president said he had found huge support for his organisation in the province. — Sapa.

Azapo will not take part in election

HARARE — The Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) will not take part in SA's first non-racial election in April next year, Ziana news agency said.

The parties are holding two-day consultative talks in Harare.

Azapo deputy secretary-general Lybon Mabasa yesterday labelled as a "sell-out settlement" the adoption of an interim constitution by negotiators last week.

He said Azapo and the BCMA would launch a campaign to persuade South Africans not to vote in the election.

"We hold the opinion that a sellout settlement is in place in SA and that sham elections are going to be held to legitimise

the continuation of white rule.

"We will try to convince our people not to sell their birthright and freedom by casting votes that will put them in perpetual slavery," he said.

Illiterate blacks in SA were ill-informed about the implications of the choices they would make in April.

"Azapo will explain why the elections cannot be supported and why the Kempton Park package cannot satisfy the interests of blacks in the country."

Azapo and BCMA demanded "total freedom" that enhanced the status of the oppressed, he said. Mabasa also predicted violence would escalate in the wake of the election. — Sapa.

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Winnie elected deputy president of Sanco

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela has been elected deputy president of the South African National Civics Organisation. CT 23/11/93

Mr Lechesa Tsenoli had been elected Sanco president. He replaces Mr Moses Mayekiso.

● Sanco is to campaign for the ANC during elections, it said at its national conference at the weekend.

Azapo aims at united ^(11A) black vote

Own Correspondent

HARARE. — Azapo and its ally, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA), will take part in next year's election if the ANC and PAC agree to form an election front. But they have not pledged to renounce violence. *CT 23/11/93*

Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala, who returned from a four-day summit with the BCMA in Harare yesterday, said his organisation would take part in the elections on condition the PAC and the ANC agreed with its elections plan, which Azapo would reveal to the two organisations in meetings to be held soon.

"We will suggest the possibility of forming an elections front aimed at uniting the black vote," said Prof Mosala. If they agreed Azapo would field candidates.

His organisation had not asked the BCMA to relinquish its armed struggle, he added.

Boesak to stay as chairman

Political Staff

DR Allan Boesak has been nominated unopposed as the ANC's Western Cape chairman — and his ex-wife, Dorothy, as well as Mr Wilhelm Verwoerd and his wife Melanie, have been nominated to its regional executive.

But vice-chairman Mr Lerumo Kalaka and regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni are being challenged for their positions.

Mr Vincent Diba and Mr Amos Lengisi have been nominated against Mr Kalaka.

Mr Kalaka, Mr Yengeni and Mr Willie Hofmeyr have been proposed as regional secretary.

CT 23/11/93

27 die in East Rand violence

JOHANNESBURG — Continuing violence on the East Rand at the weekend claimed the lives of at least 27 people mainly in Thokoza and Katlehong, the police said yesterday.

Lieut Janine Smith said 15 bodies had been found in the two townships on Saturday and 11 on Sunday.

They had all been shot, stabbed or burned.

The body of a man with burn wounds was found in Tembisa on Sunday. A woman was found at Oakmore Station with an injured leg after she had been thrown from a moving train.

Gunmen injured a civilian when they shot from a moving train at a military patrol near Germiston on the East Rand at the weekend, Defence Force spokesman Capt Sonja Nel said yesterday.

She said the Defence Force had arrested four people and found two AK-47 rifles and magazines in Katlehong.

In the southeastern Transvaal town of Pongola, ANC Pongola chairman Zolane Mtetywa was shot dead and an unidentified woman wounded yesterday.

In Natal, at least 11 people were killed in a weekend of crime and violence, police said yesterday.

Eight killings were reported in the province, while the KwaZulu police said three people had died violently in the homeland.

Azapo seeks an election front

B/DAY 23/11/93

JOHANNES NGCOBO

AZAPO and its ally, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA), will take part in next year's election if the ANC and PAC agree to form an election front.

Azapo president Itumeleng Mosala, who returned from a four-day summit with the BCMA in Harare yesterday, said his organisation would take part on condition the PAC and the ANC agreed with its elections plan, which Azapo would reveal to them in meetings to be held soon.

"We have agreed with the BCMA that we should hold meetings with the PAC and ANC and suggest the possibility of forming an elections front aimed at uniting the black vote," said Mosala.

But he said it had been agreed that the organisation would discourage people from voting if its conditions were not met by the ANC, PAC and other possible allies.

His organisation had not requested the BCMA to relinquish its armed struggle, Mosala added.

The PAC's Mark Shinnars welcomed Azapo's decision, but said the PAC would have to meet Azapo and discuss its conditions.

MICHAEL HARTNACK reports from Harare that Azapo and the BCMA, after their summit, issued a

statement saying: "The two wings of the Black Consciousness Movement opted to participate in the campaigns leading to the April 1994 elections with the sole purpose of making sure that our people do not vote for their perpetual poverty, landlessness, oppression, homelessness and powerlessness."

Supporters would be discouraged from accepting office in a future government "that is unable to change the lives of black people for the better and to provide them with schools, clinics and jobs".

The "Kempton Park funfair negotiations" had reached agreements which "condemned black people to a life of poverty," the statement said.

They had "through stealth and cunning endorsed land theft and economic deprivation and also guaranteed jobs to the civil service whose duty it is to maintain the status quo".

The army, police and public service had been left intact, "thereby ensuring the continued repression of our people and the sustenance of white supremacy."

In a report yesterday, reference was made to the Black Consciousness Movement of SA. The official title is the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

Boesak's seat unopposed

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Allan Boesak has been nominated unopposed as the ANC's Western Cape chairman, and his ex-wife, Dorothy, with Melanie and Wilhelm Verwoerd, have been nominated to the ANC's regional executive. 23/11/93

Vice-chairman Lerumo Kalaka was being challenged by regional peace committee member Vincent Diba and veteran activist Amos Lengisi, while regional secretary Tony Yengeni, Kalaka and assistant regional secretary Willie Hofmeyr had been proposed as regional secretary. Ebrahim Rasool was unopposed as regional treasurer. (11A)

Among 49 nominated to the regional executive were MPs Jan van Eck and Jannie Momberg, Durbanville ANC chairman Desmond Stumph, University of the Western Cape rector Prof Jakes Gerwel, Dawood Kahn — who was suspended earlier this year for making anti-Semitic statements — and campaigner Johny Issel.

PAC upset at 'Azania snub'

WILSON ZWANE

THE PAC is upset at the unwillingness of the negotiating council, which meets on Thursday and Friday to wrap up its work, to entertain its proposal that the country's name be changed. *B/SCH 23/11/93*

PAC negotiator Patricia de Lille said yesterday the organisation had asked the council to discuss its submission that SA's name be changed to "Azania-SA" in the interim period and just "Azania" after the life of the government of national unity had ended.

But the council had deemed the matter not important enough to be dealt with by a commission on national symbols, De Lille said. The only national symbols which formed the brief of the commission were the country's flag, anthem and coat of arms. *(11A)*

De Lille said the reason for the "snub" was not known.

Mokaba heads ANCYL nominations

Youth League puts up 22 for ANC poll list

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba will lead a list of 22 ANCYL nominees for inclusion in the ANC's national election list for the election. The Star has been informed.

Mokaba, who will relinquish his presidency of the ANCYL when he turns 35 in January, is one of 22 young men and women whose names will be officially released by the league in Johannesburg tomorrow.

ANCYL sources said the youth wing had initially nominated 28 people from around the country for inclusion in the list of potential MPs, but six of them had declined to stand, preferring to remain outside Parliament next year and play a watchdog role.

Star 23/11/88

TOP three candidates should be among first 20 on the ANC's final election list, youth wing believes (11A)

"There is a lot of anxiety within the ANCYL about how the (negotiated) dispensation will work in practice. We will propose that one needs to keep a very strong organisation outside Parliament. We don't want the organisation to be absorbed by Parliament, but at the same time we don't want to surrender Parliament to the other forces.

"A lot of us think that the constituent assembly should be driven by forces outside of Parliament," an executive ANCYL

member said.

The nominees — who include people from the ANC's allies such as KwaNdebele's Intando Yesizwe Party and KaNgwane's Inyandza National Movement — are regionally, sexually and racially representative.

They include Mokaba, secretary-general Rapu Molekane, Mpetjane Lekgoro, former exiled youth leader Jackie Selebi, Mohammed Nazeema, Andries Nel and Elizabeth Peters.

The source said the ANCYL was confident it would get all its nominees on to the final ANC election list, with its top three included among the organisation's first 20 on the final list.

An ANC conference to finalise the names of parliamentary nominees is scheduled to take place on December 18.

Winnie gets top Sanco post

Civics back ANC in poll

■ BY CYRIL MADLALA

Winnie Mandela continued her fightback into the political mainstream when she was elected national deputy president of the powerful South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) at the weekend.

She was elected chairman of Sanco's southern Transvaal region in July, and now takes over as the number 2 civic boss from Lechesa Tsenoli, who replaces Moses Mayekiso as national president.

The organisation decided at the conference at Olifantsfontein to throw its full weight behind the ANC in the April election.

Tsenoli said that while other organisations hesitated or opposed participation in the election, the ANC had a track record of "readiness to negotiate and incorporate our reconstruction programme".

He stressed, however, that Sanco would support the ANC in the election without abandoning its non-party-political approach to its transformation and development work.

"This approach will be a re-

flexion of our decision to proactively influence matters that affect our people seriously," Tsenoli said.

The organisation was aware that this stance might be viewed negatively by other organisations, but according to Tsenoli, Sanco would still be able to "put our political hats aside and work effectively" with those organisations.

Sanco officials released to the ANC would have to resign from the civic organisation, he said, although Sanco would keep tabs on them to increase their lobbying capacity in the new government. Mayekiso, southern Transvaal regional executive Kgabisi Mosunkutu and Thozamile Botha, who was in charge of local government and development within Sanco, have been released to the ANC.

Sanco officials in their individual capacities could, however, stand for election on other parties' tickets, Tsenoli said.

The conference also endorsed local government provisions in the Interim Constitution agreed to at Kempton Park last week.

Secret poll tips Winnie for new govt

Star 23/11/93

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Winnie Mandela is one of the most popular ANC leaders and will probably be a member of Parliament next year, according to an internal top-level secret ANC survey.

A southern Transvaal leader of the South African National Civic Organisation and ANC PWV regional executive committee member, Mandela came fifth in a national popularity survey of ANC leaders, according to reliable ANC sources. (11A)

ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba, who will vacate his presidency of the league when he turns 35 early next year, was placed seventh.

The sources said Mandela, who was unceremoniously flushed out of the chairmanship of the ANC PWV Women's League about 18 months ago, came second to charismatic ANC PWV regional chairman Tokyo Sexwale in the region.

Mokaba reportedly came third in the northern Transvaal, where he was born.

The sources said the findings of the survey came as such a surprise to some that the organisation ordered that the results be classified as top secret.

Yengeni fights for his political life against SACP man

11A
AUG 24/11/93

□ Kalako announces stand for post of secretary

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

MILITANT African National Congress leader Tony Yengeni is fighting for his political life.

The regional ANC secretary is facing a challenge for his position from his South African Communist Party colleague Lerumo Kalako.

The position of regional secretary is the most powerful in the movement's local administration.

Yesterday, Mr Kalako, Western Cape vice-chairman of the ANC, made his intentions of fighting his Umkhonto weSizwe comrade clear.

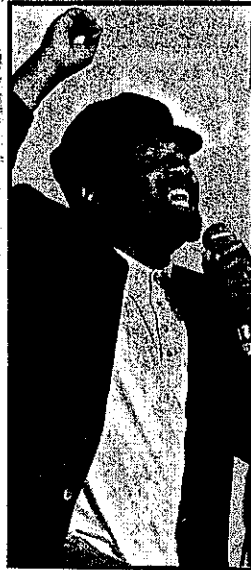
His decision has pitched ANC peace desk member Vincent Diba and former regional secretary Amos Lengisi into a two-horse race for Mr Kalako's deputy leader chair.

But it has also brought him up against Mr Yengeni in a contest which features two "young lions" of the turbulent 1980s who went from street politics into MK, prison and finally politics.

He is opposing Mr Yengeni "because I feel we have to take a particular direction in the elections".

Another reason was that branches in black, coloured and white areas have asked him to stand.

"I was approached in 1991 but declined because I wanted to continue my studies. Last



Mr Tony Yengeni

year I declined to stand for the same reasons. This year I'm ready."

He said the ANC also needed to show a face which appealed to a broad spectrum of the electorate.

"The organisation should also take a line which the coloured community finds appealing. We must not take it

for granted that the coloured community will support us."

He said it was important that the ANC's regional leadership presented a united front and did not send out different signals or perceptions.

"What we need is a leadership which will concentrate on building our organic structures. You can run around in rallies and on public platforms, but the key to winning the elections is to build strong ANC branches and community structures."

Would his decision to enter the battle affect his relationship with Mr Yengeni?

"It depends on how you feel. To me it's a political contest and nothing personal. Even if I lose it won't change anything."

Their election battle, certain to be a highlight of the ANC's regional conference starting at the Peninsula Technikon on Friday, has also caused a dilemma for the SACP which, according to its detractors, is manipulating events in the movement from behind the scenes.

Regional SACP secretary Lizo Nkonki said: "Our view is that the comrades must accept the decision of the majority."

Because it was an ANC election, the SACP would not endorse one of the two.

"Delegates must decide who they want. That's democracy. We shall support the people's choice."

Boesak has preference for serving in the Western Cape

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

ALLAN BOESAK, strongly tipped to be offered a Cabinet position after next year's all-race elections, says he would prefer to serve the African National Congress in the Western Cape.

This has been interpreted as a sign that the regional ANC chairman is thinking about becoming Western Cape leader after April 27.

Dr Boesak made his remarks while discussing the movement's 11-page preliminary election list at a Press conference yesterday.

The diverse list includes the names of ANC president Nelson Mandela, his estranged wife Winnie, Walter Sisulu and his wife Albertina.

The widows of Oliver Tambo and Chris Hani, Adelaide Tambo and Limpho Hani, also have been nominated.

So has Leah Tutu and musician Taliep Petersen.

Transkei military ruler Major General Bantu Holomisa, popular PWV ANC chairman Tokyo Sexwale, author André Brink, historian Colin Bundy, University of the Western Cape rector Jakes Gerwel, South African Democratic Teachers' Union national chairman Shepherd Mdladlana, Sadtu secretary Randall van den Heever, and Cape Professional Teachers' Association leader Archie Vergotine are also on the list.

So are Guguletu businessman Peter Motale, satirist Peter Dirk-Uys, former Crossroads doctor Ivan Toms, South African Council of Churches general secretary Frank Chikane, and fiery Natal Midlands ANC chairman Harry Gwala.

Labour Party members include Peter Hendrickse and Llewellyn Landers.

He said nominations could be

made until midnight on Friday.

Dr Boesak said the list was not final.

"It cannot be. These are simply nominations on an open list in which all sorts of names have been thrown in."

Many of those on the list have not been sounded out about their availability.

"We'll approach those whom we regard as the most suitable candidates."

Nominations would be finalised at a regional alliance conference to be held on December 11 and 12.

A national list conference would take place in January.

Asked about his own position, he said the question was whether he'd be best suited for the national assembly or regional government.

"My preference is to remain in the region if the organisation will allow it."

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Sowetan 24/11/93

AT LEAST 7 000 members of the Indian community braved the drizzle to hear African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela telling them about their place in the future ANC-led Government.

The weekend "people's forum" held at Chatsworth Stadium was part of Mandela's electioneering blitz through Natal. It was one of the many forums during which he talked to business people, squatters, the unemployed, informal traders, nurses and doctors and heard their concerns about what the future South Africa held for them.

At question time, members of the crowd revealed their fears about basic things such as affirmative action, housing and education for their children.

"Doesn't affirmative action mean discriminating against the Indians in favour of Africans?" a member of the crowd asked.

"Doesn't it mean admitting more black students to tertiary institutions at the expense of the Indians and the coloureds?"

"What about us who were civil servants under the now defunct House of Representatives? What is going to happen to our housing subsidies?" a concerned mother asked.

These were the kind of questions posed by the various groups that Mandela met during his whirlwind trip through Natal.

Hostel dwellers

Needless to say they depended, in some cases, on race as well as on social divisions.

Before going to Chatsworth Mandela was at Glebe Hostel where he spoke to about 8 000 hostel dwellers, including mothers and babies who had now become part of the erstwhile single-sex community.

"We want the hostels to be transformed into family units so that we can live with our husbands here in the city and not be sent to the rural areas," came the message.

As workers, the hostel dwellers also wanted to know whether there was going to be any change in the low wages they earned.

From the unemployed the key question was whether the ANC-led government would provide jobs. In squatter communities such as Inanda and Bhambayi the cry was for proper housing, schools as well as health facilities.

"We live like animals in shacks which offer no protection at all against the rain and the cold," Mandela was told.

In the rural areas, like Ixopo, the concern was once more about basic things such as lack of transport, few schools, lack of water and proper roads. But most of all, black communities were concerned about the security situation in the country.

"As it is, we are dying for supporting the ANC. What more during the elections?" came from areas such as Sundumbili, where recently ANC-SACP supporters were attacked by an impi during a rally at the local stadium.

ANC president Nelson Mandela was all things to all men — workers, squatters, nurses and unemployed — during his electioneering blitz through Natal, reassuring apprehensive listeners of their places in an ANC-led government. Sowetan's Political Staff sums up:



ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela gives the salute to a group of supporters on his whirlwind tour of Natal.

As for the white communities, their fears were about how the change was going to affect their livelihood and right to property.

"Are we going to lose our farms to blacks to address past policies?" asked a farmer in Greytown.

What about the militant black youth? Will the Government be able to control it?" asked an Empangeni businessman during "a forum with minorities" at the town hall.

Multitude of faces

In answering the questions, Mandela unmasked what was probably a sample of the multitude of faces he will be wearing as he woos South Africa's 21 million voters in the run-up to the April 27 elections.

On Friday he told the cheering crowd that when he spoke of black aspirations, he included Africans, Indians and coloured people. Talking to Inanda squatters, he even resorted to the rhetoric of the 1980s: calling De Klerk

the leader of "a white minority regime — who does not care about the lives of many people". In Ixopo he sweet-talked members of the Internal Stability Unit, telling them that he believed the police who were professionals and ready for transformation were in the majority. He then assured them that their skills would be needed in the future South Africa.

"Our doors are open," he said. This, however, came after he had blasted the police for supporting a system which had oppressed black people for years.

To the white audience he gave the assurance that black needs would be addressed without undermining the interests of whites.

Producing "the ace up his sleeve" Mandela assured them that his recent tour to seven overseas countries "was to raise funds not for any political party, but for all South Africans".

As one elderly Empangeni woman said after the forum on Thursday: "A very persuasive man."

will not be disrupted says Azapo

Sowetan 24/11/93

The CP is wrong — ANC

THE African National Congress' Western Transvaal region criticised Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg yesterday for speaking against Bophuthatswana's reincorporation into South Africa (I/A)

Hartzenberg did not have a mandate to speak on behalf of the people of Bophuthatswana, 99 percent of whom favoured re-incorporation, the ANC's

Klerksdorp regional spokesman Mr Rankoa Molefe said yesterday in a statement.

The region was reacting to the CP leader's statement in Parliament on Monday that any attempt to reincorporate Bophuthatswana would be interpreted as a declaration of war against the CP as well. — *Sapa*.

NEWS The struggle continues but April elections

Sowetan 24/11/93

No to voting — Azapo

By Mathatha Tsedu
Political Editor

THE AZANIAN People's Organisation is to participate in the coming elections but will not contest or field candidates.

The organisation's president, Professor Itumeleng Mosala, told a media conference in Johannesburg yesterday that this meant Azapo would try to convince people to "actively refrain from voting".

The media briefing followed a weekend retreat in Zimbabwe where consultations were held with the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

The BCMA and its armed wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army, are to remain outside the country, BCMA chairperson Mr Mosibudi Mangena said yesterday from Harare. Mangena said his organisations

would "continue with our programmes as we have always done", thus implying that the recent spate of bombings may continue.

The position put forward by Mosala represented a harmonised understanding between the two, Azapo's assistant secretary-general, Mr Lybon Mabasa, said. (UFA)

Mosala said the two BC organisations had looked at the outcome of the multiparty talks at Kempton Park, and had found that white supremacy and privileges were still entrenched.

"We are concerned that almost nothing is said about the land, while people have already struck deals with international finance institutions to mortgage our country even before we get it.

"We decided nevertheless that the process of democracy is too important to be left solely in the hands of those who were involved in the Kempton

Park talks.

"We therefore decided that we would take part fully in the process of the elections, with the sole purpose to ensure that our people will indeed be in a position to stem the neo-colonial solution that is coming out of Kempton park", Mosala said.

Mosala said the decision was based on the understanding that black people's struggle over the years has been to overthrow white power. The Kempton Park agreements did not achieve this and nominating members to serve in such a system would amount to collusion in deceiving people.

The organisation would, however, not disrupt the election process, but would campaign for an "active abstention", where people would stay away from elections not out of apathy but by rejecting the package, Mosala said.

ANC 'could get a two-thirds majority'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — It is possible the ANC will get an absolute majority and perhaps even a two-thirds majority in the national election, says Professor Lawrence Schlemmer, vice-president of research of the Human Sciences Research Council.

He said the National Party was likely to get fewer votes than the Freedom Alliance parties combined if they were to take part.

Prof Schlemmer said the ANC and IFP were running neck-and-neck in Natal and the NP could well be the deciding factor, depending on which

of the two parties it decided to throw its weight behind.

He also said that more than 50% of white South Africans felt closer to the Freedom Alliance than any other political party at the moment.

He was speaking at a seminar dealing with a major research project

CT 24/11/93 (114)
undertaken by a consortium comprising Frankel Pollak Vinderine, Sanlam, Ernst and Young and the HSRC.

He said the consortium had embarked on the largest survey ever conducted in Natal to track political trends as the country approached the election on April 27 next year.

'It would be mistake to ignore threat' PHILIP S. 11/24/93

Mandela warns on right wing

Star 24/11/93

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The most serious mistake South Africans could make would be to ignore the right wing as a threat that could affect the transitional process, ANC president Nelson Mandela warned yesterday.

Addressing a South African Chamber of Commerce and Industry lunch in Johannesburg, Mandela said the right wing had a substantial following in the civil service, the army and the police force, and boasted a number of trained engineers among its ranks.

The right wing was therefore in a position to do more damage to the country and its economy than the ANC's own military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, could when the ANC was still banned.

Mandela said it was precisely because of this that the ANC was engaged in talks with the right wing. And the more the organisation held talks with these groups, the closer they moved to each other on some issues.

This, he said, contrasted with the ANC's discussions with "black surrogates" such as Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Ciskei military ruler Brigadier

Oupa Gqozo and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope.

"The more we talk to the black surrogates, the further and further we move apart. We are nevertheless prepared to speak to them, even though they are all creations of apartheid. These are people who would have no political careers if apartheid had not been there," Mandela said.

He added that just as President de Klerk's National Party was once "in exactly the same position (politically) as that taken by (Afrikaner Volksfront

co-leader) General Constand Viljoen, (Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi) Hartzenberg and others", it was possible that through dialogue the right wing could be persuaded to turn its back on its outdated thinking.

Mandela said Freedom Alliance leaders would also be in the government of national unity if they each obtained the 5 per cent threshold in the April 27 election, and this would make all South Africans feel represented in the government.

He added that the ANC was concerned about all South Africans, regardless of race.

Azapo seeks pact to contest election

BIDAY 24/11/93

JOHANNES NGCOBO

AZAPO would participate in the April 27 election only if the PAC and ANC signed a pact calling for the establishment of a constituent assembly and the return of land to blacks.

Addressing a media briefing, Azapo president Itumeleng Mosala said if his organisation failed to get the election pact with the ANC and PAC, they would discourage Azapo office-bearers and members from voting.

"We are now going to embark on a process of informing our constituencies and members of the Patriotic Front about our conditions for participating in the process which would lead to the April 27 election," Mosala said.

"If the PAC and ANC do not agree with our election pact, which includes a call for the establishment of the constituent assembly, the transfer of power from the white rulers to the black majority and the return of black land, we would urge our members not to vote and not to accept nominations which might lead them to serve in the Parliament after April 27."

The draft constitution agreed upon by multiparty negotiators did not address the land issue, and therefore the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) and its allies felt the agreement would not transfer power to the majority.

In a joint communiqué in Harare on Monday, Azapo and the BCMA said the interim constitution was aimed at entrenching white power and privileges.

"De Klerk remains in charge and white supremacy calls the tune. This constitution legitimises the continued oppression and exploitation of the black majority. The essence of this is the establishment of a neo-colonialist situation," it said.

PAC national executive committee member Mark Shinnars said the PAC would have to meet Azapo to discuss their conditions.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the ANC welcomed Azapo's decision.

"We believe that their decision will send a message to other parties who are still undecided about the April 27 election."



Azapo president Itumeleng Mosala explaining at a media conference in Johannesburg yesterday why his organisation was calling for an election pact. Failing a pact, he said, Azapo would discourage supporters from voting. Picture: ABDUL SHARIF

Survey predicts ANC landslide

A SURVEY of SA's political future published yesterday predicted the ANC could win a major victory in next April's elections.

organisations stressed the survey results were subject to rapid change. The survey posed three key questions: whether the NP would retain

The NP could pick up further votes, however, if it could present itself as the most credible or logical counterweight to the ANC and the

Political Staff

Azapo in election, up to a point

■ BY MONTSHIWA MOROKE

The Azanian People's Organisation said yesterday it would take part in the campaign leading to next year's election "with the sole purpose of making sure that our people do not vote for their perpetual poverty and oppression".

Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala told a Johannesburg press conference that the organisation would launch an election campaign but would not con-

test the April 27 election.

Asked later to clarify Azapo's position on whether it would take part in the poll, a spokesman said its campaign would amount to an "anti-election programme". (11A)

He said Azapo was not saying the people should not get involved in a process they had been waiting for all their lives, but they should pause and then decide whether this was what they wanted.

Speaking for the first time following a consultative meeting between the Azapo leadership and

its Zimbabwe-based sister organisation, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, Mosala said his organisation would use the period leading up to the election as an education process and to put its position to "the people".

He added that Azapo insisted on the transfer of power from the white minority to the black majority.

"The agreements of the multi-sided Kempton Park funfare negotiations is calculated to condemn Black people to a life of poverty and slavery."

ANC list of candidates 'simply nominations'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE people on the list of possible ANC candidates in the Western Cape had not been approached to confirm their availability, ANC regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak said yesterday.

"This list is not by any means a final list. They are simply nominations," he said.

"The list is simply a matter for discussion. Many of the people have not been approached."

A meeting would held on December 11 and 12 to finalise the Western Cape nominations.

"It is a very open process. Individuals are emerging, even people outside of the ANC."

The list of potential candidates

includes lawyers such as Mr Esa Moosa, Mr Derrick Fine, Mr Joel Krige, Ms Shenaaz Meer and Mr Hannes Senekal.

There are also academics and teachers such as Professor Andre Brink, Professor Colin Bundy, Mr Yusuf Gabru, Ms Rhoda Kadalie, Sadtu president Mr Shepherd Mdlalana, Ms Mary Simons, Cape

Professional Teachers Association president Mr Archie Vegotine, Ms Ginny Volbrecht and Professor Harold Wolpe.

Others on the list are former political prisoner Mr James April, chairman of the Cape Town Olympic bid committee Mr Ngconde Balfour, South editor Guy Berger, former Black Sash president Mrs Mary Burton, former Robben Island pris-

oner Mr Eddie Daniels and current Black Sash president Mrs Jenny de Tolly.

Also on the list are former Springbok rugby captain Morne du Plessis, athlete Elana Meyer, historian Professor Andre Odendaal, musician Taliep Petersen, author Pieter-Dirk Uys, artist Sue Williamson and Mrs Leah Tutu.

(11A) CT 24/11/93

"If the PAC and ANC do not agree with our election pact, which includes a call for the establishment of the constituent assembly, the transfer of power from the white rulers to the black majority and the return of black land, we would urge our members not to vote and not to accept nominations which might lead them to serve in the Parliament after April 27."

PAC national executive committee member Mark Shinnors said the PAC would have to meet Azapo to discuss their conditions.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the ANC welcomed Azapo's decision.

"We believe that their decision will send a message to other parties who are still undecided about the April 27 election."

White PAC man speaks out

CAPE TOWN — Most white members of the PAC were Afrikaners because they had few problems identifying with Africa, an Afrikaans-speaking member of the organisation said yesterday. **BIDAY**

The member, a professional man from Pretoria, said the Afrikaner's obsession with the land was well-known and the PAC had a similar obsession.

He said in an interview, published in yesterday's issue of Die Suid-Afrikaan, that Afrikaners did not want to be in a party because they were white or Afrikaners. "They want to be a member as any other member, a person like other people, a person among other people."

The lifestyles of these Afrikaners was different from other Afrikaners because they totally accepted that the country would be governed and managed by black people. "They are not clinging to power. They do not fear the majority. They do not expect other standards."

Die Suid-Afrikaan editor Antjie Krog, who conducted the interview, said the man did not want to be named at this stage, but he had indicated he would publicly declare

Political Staff

his membership next year.

PAC information secretary Waters Tobote told the journal the main criterion for PAC membership was an acceptance of the principle of African rule of the majority African people. **(11A)**

"The PAC does not discriminate against whites, but many of the PAC's policies are, generally, speaking, not popular with many whites.

"White people are also generally speaking not receptive to the PAC's principles on socialism.

"There may be a few white members of the PAC, but there is not a single white member of the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

"A number of white people have made applications to the PAC, but anybody who applies to the PAC undergoes an interview, Tobote said.

Apla commander-in-chief Sabelo Phama was quoted as saying the Apla leadership had to handle a force of more than 10 000 guerillas.

calling for an election pact. Failing a pact, he said, Azapo would discourage supporters from voting

Survey predicts ANC landslide

A SURVEY of SA's political future published yesterday predicted the ANC could win a major victory in next April's elections. **BIDAY**

The survey, a study of investment risks, said the ruling NP was unlikely to win more than 20% of the vote.

"In a future election, the ANC will probably get an absolute majority of over 50% and may get two-thirds," said Lawrence Schlemmer, research director of the Human Sciences Research Council. **24/11/93**

He was addressing businessmen in an investment presentation covering SA's political and economic future.

The survey was carried out by the research division of the HSRC and the research department of stockbrokers Frankel Pollak Vinderine. The

organisations stressed the survey results were subject to rapid change.

The survey posed three key questions: whether the NP would retain its status as a significant counterbalance to the ANC, whether the ANC and its allies would achieve an absolute majority in the elections, and whether they would achieve a two-thirds majority enabling them to write a future constitution.

Surveys conducted between March and May, including four nominally independent black homelands, indicated 64% of the April vote would go to the ANC and its allies, between 15% and 18% to the NP, and 14% to 18% to the Freedom Alliance of white right-wingers and conservative homeland leaders.

The NP could pick up further votes, however, if it could present itself as the most credible or logical counterweight to the ANC and the Freedom Alliance did not run.

The survey also warned of the dangers of a weak NP and the erosion of support for the centre.

It said an ANC-dominated government after the elections would need "a credible and substantial coalition partner to function as a 'bridge' to control the state". **(20/11/93)**

An NP with no more than 15% of the vote and three or four ministers in a cabinet of 30 could not function as such a bridge.

But both government and the ANC were aware of the high risks of a failed election. — Sapa-Reuter.

Sanco launches monthly newsletter

WILSON ZWANE

THE SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) has launched a newsletter which will be circulated to all its branches, in an attempt to enhance communication between itself and its constituencies.

The newsletter, Umthunywa/Morongwa, is funded by the Perm and is produced by Sanco in conjunction with Planact

ly, would not "substitute for report-back mechanisms" such as conferences.

In this month's issue, former Sanco president Moses Mayekiso said Sanco had not been able to communicate effectively to its structures in the past.

He attributed this to a lack of resources, the rapid

communicate effectively had given rise to concerns that the organisation was not in touch with its grassroots structures.

By launching Umthunywa, Sanco was seeking to correct that.

"This first issue is aimed at providing information on people-driven economic development," Mayekiso said.

Newly elected Sanco

NEWS IN BRIEF

Firearms control

DRAFT legislation to tighten control over firearms and to allow the Commissioner of Police to close down the business of an arms dealer suspected of irregularities, was published yesterday.

The existing Act provided that people con-

PAC whites 'are mostly Afrikaans'

MOST white members of the Pan Africanist Congress are Afrikaners because they identify with Africa, says an Afrikaans PAC member.

The anonymous man — a professional from Pretoria — was interviewed in yesterday's edition of Die Suid Afrikaan magazine.

He said the Afrikaner's obsession with the land was well-known, as was the PAC's. Afrikaners sympathetic to the PAC accepted the country would be governed by black people.

PAC information secretary Mr Waters Tobote told the journal the main criterion for PAC membership was acceptance of African majority rule. He added that there were no white members of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

Apla commander Mr Sabelo Phama said Apla had more than 10 000 trained guerillas.

"The first half of 1992 saw perhaps the largest guerilla onslaught to be mounted in South Africa this decade," Mr Phama said. "Over 500 enemy security forces were killed . . . Apla lost 15 combatants."

(11A) CT 2441/93

Yengeni's ^(11A) ANC post threatened

CT 24/11/93

Political Staff

A KEY Western Cape ANC leader, Mr Tony Yengeni, could be ousted from his position as regional secretary this weekend.

The ANC's vice-chairman in the region, Mr Lerumo Kalako, confirmed yesterday that he would stand against Mr Yengeni.

Mr Yengeni, a former uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) commander in the region, has confirmed he will be in the race, to be resolved at the ANC's Western Cape congress in the city at the weekend.

Mr Kalako's challenge follows widespread criticism of Mr Yengeni's leadership style within the ANC and its alliance partners, Cosatu and the SACP.

Senior ANC sources said Mr Yengeni faced "a tough fight for his political life".

●ANC Western Cape regional chairman Dr Alan Boesak confirmed yesterday he would stand in next year's elections, probably for the Western Cape regional parliament.

Mr Yengeni, Mr Jan van Eck and Mr Jannie Momberg have also confirmed their intention to stand.

Mandela allays fears of property owners

WILSON ZWANE

ANC president Nelson Mandela moved yesterday to allay fears that an ANC government would expropriate private properties. *Biday 24/11/93*

Addressing the SA German Chamber of Commerce in Johannesburg, Mandela said his organisation had measures for redressing land ownership inequalities. An ANC government would establish a land bank and use the vast tracts owned by the SADF for this purpose, Sapa reports. By doing this the new government would not have to "touch anyone's property".

A government of national unity, made up of political parties which received 5% of votes cast, would preclude any "radical" government policy.

He assured foreign investors that an ANC government would not nationalise their business interests.

He said his organisation's top priority was to remedy, among other things, present income discrepancies between blacks and whites. This, he said, would be done in such a manner that whites' concerns were also addressed. *(11A)*

Foreign investors would be free to repatriate their profits and dividends.

Mandela also moved to smother suspicions that a new government would trample upon the rights of minority groups. While his organisation believed in a nonracial society, any group which wanted to retain its culture, language or religion would be free to do so.

Right-wingers had to be brought into the fold as they had the potential to wreak greater havoc than that wrought by the ANC during its armed struggle.

On homeland leaders, including KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, he said although they were getting "further and further away" as the ANC talked to them, everything should be done to address their fears of democracy.

Storm is growing over list

Sowetan 25/11/93

■ **BIG JOKE** Nomination to serve in

govt lacked courtesy — Moseneke:

By Glenn McKenzie

AMID A growing controversy over the African National Congress list of candidates for Parliament, at least one non-party nominee has rejected the offer to serve in an ANC government.

Former first deputy president of the Pan Africanist Congress Mr Dikgang Moseneke was nominated by ANC members to the list of names for next year's elections. Moseneke said he was not consulted about the nomination.

"I am totally surprised that my name was on that list. Sheer courtesy should have demanded that they inform me. There is no way I am going to be on anybody's list for parliament. It is really one big joke," Moseneke said. (IA)

Azanian People's Organisation information secretary Dr Gomolemo Mokae has also been nominated to the ANC list, it was learnt yesterday.

Earlier yesterday, the names of former Springbok rugby captain Morné du Plessis and long distance runner Elana Meyer were also on the list.

The disclosure of these non-party nominations has raised a storm, with the

ANC accused of causing confusion by nominating people without consulting them.

However, ANC National Executive Committee member Mr Joel Netshitenzhe said the names came from regions and branches and were still to be considered by the respective regions and later by the national structure at a conference scheduled for December 18.

Netshitenzhe added that party members were told they could nominate candidates from outside the party if they were considered worthy of such responsibilities.

Meanwhile, the ANC Youth League announced their nominees for the national and regional lists yesterday.

ANCYL president Mr Peter Mokaba, secretary general Rapulane Molekane, and ANC Youth Department leader Sello Selebi headed a list of 23 names to the national and regional lists.

Only five of the 23 names submitted are women. The ANC has pledged that at least 30 percent of all nominees will be women.

The ANCYL also said they expect a new ANC government to "deliver an affordable education system, employment, housing, health services, recreation facilities and a peaceful future".

Victorious ANC has to deliver, say youth

Star 25 III 1993

■ BY MONTSHIWA MOROKE

Millions of young people expected that an ANC election victory would deliver an affordable education system, employment, housing, health services, recreation facilities and a peaceful future, the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) said yesterday.

At a press conference in Johannesburg, ANCYL spokesman Parks Mankahlana said the election marked not only victory in negotiations and on other terrains of struggle, but also the beginning of bigger struggles (IIA)

"These are demands on which the youth of

this country expect the ANC to deliver, notwithstanding the Government of National Unity arrangement and the apparent designs of the detractors of the democratic system to spread mayhem and disorder."

The ANCYL sees itself not only playing a significant role in protecting youth interests in the Constituent Assembly and parliament, but also believed that a vital role should still be played by mass organisations outside Parliament.

"This is the underlying feature of our belief in a dynamic system of participatory democracy as opposed to a lifeless voting routine every five years."

ANC youth leaders shun nomination

Weekly Mail Reporter

SURPRISINGLY few members of the African National Congress Youth League's national executive committee have been nominated by the organisation as candidates for the constitutional assembly. This, sources say, reflects the fact that many youth leaders have secure political alternatives outside the assembly.

Only seven of the 22 candidates named by the league are currently active members of the NEC, the rest being drawn from ANCYL regions and other Patriotic Front youth organisations. "Most of the people in the NEC now will not be running for the constitutional assembly. We think we should benefit from the experiences of others outside the league so we can broaden our capacity to represent young people," said ANCYL publicity officer Parks Mankahlana.

Predictably, the list is headed by ANCYL president Peter Mokaba and its secretary-general, Rapu Molekane, but it includes academic Nazeema Mohammed, former South African Student Organisation leader James Maseko and local government activist David Abrahams.

The league's determination to maintain a strong organisation and leadership core outside the assembly also led to a number of obvious candidates not standing for election. Neither Mankahlana nor ANCYL political education officer Febe Potgieter, both regarded as important figures in the Youth League, appear on the list. "It was not a conscious decision that people had to stay outside of parliament," insisted Mankahlana, "but the dominant view is that once you are an MP, you resign your position in the league because we do not want to confuse parliamentary and organisational structures."

(117) WM 26/11 - 2/12/93
Exactly how the young parliamentarians will represent the youth in the assembly is still under discussion. "We realise that once they are elected to the assembly, they will no longer represent the interests of the league but a broader constituency. Even people who are not members of the ANC will be able to call them to account," said Mankahlana.

Build-up to the ballot: The negotiations skirmishes are over and the battle for voters has begun

WATCH this trio: Popo Molefe, Terror Lekota and Ketso Gordhan. All former mass democratic movement activists, they are now running the African National Congress Elections Commission.

This department, which will essentially run the ANC show in the build-up to the April ballot, has become an enclave of former United Democratic Front activists who are bringing to bear their old mobilising and organising abilities.

These three are old hands at UDF campaigns to get people to boycott the ballot, and they know how to get picketers to the voting stations. They have never tried the same with voters. But if the first two elements of their campaign for the April election are anything to go by, they are men to watch.

The first phase of their campaign centres on "people's forums". Nelson Mandela and other tripartite alliance leaders travel to public meetings around the country to invite communities to raise their concerns and to listen to them. It is foremost a listening — and not a speaking — tour.

This approach builds on two ANC strengths: Mandela's personal stature, and the traditional image of the ANC as a "parliament of the people", a broadly-based organisation that represents a diverse mass constituency.

The negotiations process has damaged the latter image, with many traditional ANC supporters feeling that the organisation has neglected basic voter demands in the rush for a settlement. For some, the initials "ANC" have become associated more with cocktail parties than with people's parties.

The ANC's strategy recognises this alienation. It acknowledges that there are many potential ANC voters who are disgruntled for some or other reason (because Winnie Mandela was booted out of office, or because she wasn't booted out of all of them; because of ANC policy on land, or because of a lack of ANC policy on land ...). The forums are intended to

Experienced trio lead shrewd ANC campaign

WM 26/11-2/12/93

Valuable organising and mobilisation experience gained during their time as UDF activists is being put to good use by the trio in charge of the ANC's Elections Commission, writes **Anton Harber**



On the campaign trail ... Nelson Mandela gets a warm welcome from supporters in Natal

PHOTO: AP

allow individuals to express their gripes and feel a part of the organisation again.

The key to the election result may be which party most successfully projects itself as the party of democracy, and the ANC is trying to jump the queue by demonstrating internal democracy at work.

At the same time, this process gives ANC leaders a chance to get a feel for the issues that matter most to people. It has the added advantage of allowing the ANC to start its campaign early without running the danger of exhausting the speech-making potential of its leaders before the climax.

By all accounts, the meetings have so far been highly successful. The

ANC took a risk by starting off in Natal a fortnight ago, but the gamble has paid off: in many cases there have been too many people attending with too many issues they want to raise with the leadership — a problem every politician would like to have.

Having had 14 such meetings in Natal — with attendance ranging between 200 and 10 000 — they now plan five or six in the PWV area, two in the Northern Transvaal and one in the OFS. Others will be held without Mandela.

It is a significant sign of ANC priorities that the election strategists made maximum use of Mandela in Natal (eight meetings in one weekend) and are not taking him to the Western Cape at this stage of the campaign.

The ANC is using its process of

drawing up nomination lists and a manifesto as the second phase of the campaign.

Normally, such documents are prepared before the campaign and presented as vote-catching tools; the ANC, however, is using the process of drawing up these documents to secure its basic support base.

At first glance, the elaborate process created to draw up the ANC's election lists over a three-month period seems excessively complex and arcane. But it is a shrewd way of mobilising internal support, involving members and potential members in the process and demonstrating a commitment to democracy.

The ANC was presented with a potential nightmare in selecting the

1 050 names it needs for the elections (200 on the national list for the national assembly; 200 on the regional lists for the assembly; about 470 for regional government; and 90 for the senate). It has to balance the conflicting needs of a diverse constituency, including its alliance partners, Cosatu and the Communist Party, and other members of the Patriotic Front, and find a balance of gender, age, race and region. It has to accommodate former guerrillas, exiles, former political prisoners and an old guard in search of pensions — all of this in a situation where there are hundreds of people competing for what would be well-paid and influential jobs.

The Elections Commission is trying to turn this into a weapon of potential advantage.

It has opened up the process to non-members, by inviting all "mass democratic movement" structures to make nominations, drawing into its ranks potential sources of dissidence and dissatisfaction. So even some Azapo members have been nominated, ensuring that people who may otherwise be drawn away by far left organisations are kept within the fold.

Anyone can be nominated, and some surprises are expected, though those nominated will be obliged, if elected, to join the ANC and submit to caucus discipline.

The names that come forward will be sorted by a special committee to ensure that the list is properly representative, all the candidates meet the legal requirements and the 30 percent quota of women is fulfilled. These names will then be put to regional votes which will determine the order of the list. The final say rests with the National Executive Committee, but it may only change the order of names; it may not add or remove candidates.

The regional meetings will also debate the manifesto being drafted by the Elections Commission.

This elaborate process ensures that while there is wide participation, there is also a measure of control over the outcome. But, because the powers of the special committee and the NEC are carefully proscribed, the potential for conflict is limited.

The whole procedure is being overseen by the Independent Mediation Services of South Africa. It climaxes with the national congress on January 7, the ANC's 82nd birthday, when the list, the manifesto and the reconstruction accord will be finalised.

This is a campaign built around process — the drawing up of the nomination list and the writing of the manifesto are part of, not mere tools of, the campaign. Only in the last few weeks will the campaign enter phase three — a more conventional set of meetings and speakers.

The campaign is driven by the 21 members of the Elections Commission office and will be carried through by 80 ANC sub-regions — essentially by branch structures that will direct the campaign at a local level.

But Molefe, Lekota and Gordhan stand at the centre of it, bringing with them strategies devised over the past two decades in resistance politics. Popo Molefe, former UDF general secretary, was a Delmas treason trialist and Alexandra activist; Terror Lekota, former UDF publicity secretary, served seven years on Robben Island in the 1970s and early 80s, and was also a Delmas treason trialist; and Ketso Gordhan, nephew of prominent negotiator Pravin Gordhan, learnt his trade in the Natal Indian Congress.

They have a little help from two American advisors from Bill Clinton's presidential campaign: Stan Greenberg and Frank Greer.

It is a powerful combination: US election success and UDF campaigning experience.

Cash-strapped SACC might retrench staff

1119

WM 26/11-2/12/93

THE South African Council of Churches faces a cash crunch which could lead to the curtailment of projects and staff cutbacks.

Behind its financial woes lie mounting difficulties in raising overseas donor funds. Overspending and misappropriation of funds have aggravated the problem.

It has emerged that:

●The SACC presented donors with a budget earlier this year of some R34-million.

Just over R19-million has been pledged, and not all the pledges will materialise during the current year.

The SACC is currently operating on a reduced budget of about R20-million.

The council is being forced to go to its local member churches, who have historically contributed very little to it, to find the cash it needs.

●The SACC's bursary and education department has overspent by some R1,5-million on its budget, while an undisclosed sum has been misappropriated.

SACC general secretary Brigalia Bam emphatically denied rumours that R2-million had gone missing.

The department's operations were suspended for two weeks while outside auditors investigated, and two officers of the department were fired. No charges are to be pressed, but an internal inquiry will assess what happened.

SACC staff are worried that the planned cutbacks will inevitably bring retrenchments. Their fears are enhanced by the memory of earlier redundancies,

which they say were clumsily handled.

Although insisting that no retrenchments were currently planned, Bam said the SACC had a staff of 218 "and we have to ask ourselves whether we can carry this into our new vision".

It also has 24 regional officers and the council was questioning whether the regions should be redefined in terms of the country's new regional dispensation.

Bam said the SACC was in the process of reassessing its role in the light of the changed political climate in South Africa.

A major portion of the council's funds has traditionally been directed towards a fund for legal and human rights cases, refugee relief (mainly for Mozambicans) and an emergency fund.

Because it was widely believed that Mozambicans were returning to their home country, Bam said, it was difficult to raise money for them.

However, the problem was far from solved — Mozambicans were still flooding into South Africa in large numbers. The SACC would have to raise funds separately for this project.

She added that the SACC believed a post-election programme to educate South Africans for democracy was needed.

Donors found it less abstract and easier to give money for voter education, which was already well funded.

A statement released by the SACC this week after its executive meeting said that the council's examination of its role and its proposed restructuring "may lead to a smaller council".

Stompie still haunts Winnie

WM 26/11-2/12/93 (1A)

Vuyo Mvoko

WINNIE MANDELA'S political resurgence may run aground on the African National Congress' charges for nominations to parliament.

These pointedly state that candidates "should not have a non-political history of crimes such as assault". In addition, the Electoral Act bars candidates with a criminal record from parliament.

Mandela was convicted in 1991 on charges of kidnapping and assaulting youth activist Stompie Seipei and three others.

The assault charge was overturned on appeal, but the charge of being an accessory to kidnapping was upheld.

If Mandela is nominated, the ANC's criterion will confront the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) with the ticklish question of whether to regard her trial and conviction as political. The final decision will be made by a vetting committee of the NEC.

According to press reports this week, a confidential internal ANC survey found her the organisation's fifth most popular

national leader and a likely MP next year.

At the weekend she was elected national deputy president of the South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco).

Two weeks ago she was elected additional executive member of the ANC's PWV region, the largest in the country, where she is said to be the most popular leader behind chairman Tokyo Sexwale.

Commented ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus: "If she is nominated, our NEC will decide. However, I don't think the particular clause, as it stands, excludes her. Since her nomination is still speculative, the concern is useless at this stage."

Despite a series of setbacks — her trial, the collapse of her marriage to ANC president Nelson Mandela and her loss of the chairmanship of the ANC Women's League in the Transvaal — Mandela's militantly populist rhetoric has won her strong support among township youth.

She has bolstered her image through close involvement with the East Rand squatter camps and through calculated jobs at the ANC's national leadership as being out of touch with ordinary members.



Two hours after this photograph was taken, John Lawrence (right) lay dead from bullet wounds in Winnie Mandela's car. Mandela's bodyguard, he was killed on Saturday at the Johannesburg Jamboree in an 18-round exchange of fire with an attacker. He had resigned from his bodyguard job and was in his last week of Mandela's employment

PHOTO: CLINTON ASARY

Outrage over 'sweetheart scam' at Cape renal unit



Gaye Davis

RENAL unit staff at Groote Schuur Hospital are outraged that no action has been taken against two former clinicians and the director of a medical supply company allegedly involved in a sweetheart scam which defrauded the unit of almost R1.5-million.

Sources within the unit told the *Mall & Guardian* it was estimated that as many as 50 percent of desperately ill patients referred to the unit for dialysis were sent away because of the cost of the treatment and the hospital's critical shortage of funds.

Yet nothing has come of a police investigation launched two years ago following an extensive hospital audit carried out after fraud was first suspected.

The three have appeared in court — for a succession of postponements which culminated this month in magistrate W Marais provisionally withdrawing charges of fraud and corruption against them.

Charges were not put to former chief clinical technician Willem van Dalen, his assistant Kevin Neil Abrahams and Servamed CC director and salesman Marius Petrus Kruger and they were not asked to plead.

Van Dalen and Abrahams were accused of requisitioning unnecessary equipment to the tune of almost R1.5-million. WM 26/11-2/12/93

Spand this Christmas at The Department of...



PAC, Apla keep their options open

11A
CUM 5-11/11/93

While a moratorium on violence was declared by the PAC this week, its implementation depends on the government meeting a vague list of demands. By **Weekly Mail Reporters**

EVEN though they have declared a moratorium on violence, conditions set by the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Liberation Army suggest they are only testing the readiness of their supporters to accept a ceasefire.

In this week's Harare meeting with Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, Apla made it clear that the maintenance of the moratorium and an eventual ceasefire was dependent on the government meeting a long and vague list of conditions.

Among the demands, to be met before the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) is in place, are that the government dissolve South African Defence Force commando units; disarm and clamp down on the white rightwing; undertake to ensure

the SADF and the police will not engage in violence against the African people; and release all Apla members and remaining political prisoners.

The government has already committed itself, in principle, to meeting most of the demands tabled. Others, like "turning farmers into genuine civilians in society" are unverifiable and therefore easy for the government to agree to.

The advantage of this for the PAC is that if the moratorium on violence proves to be politically unpalatable for its membership, or unenforceable, it can claim that its demands have not been met and return to the armed struggle.

"We are not going to unilaterally abandon the armed struggle. There are certain things both sides will have to reciprocate," said PAC deputy president Johnson Mlambo.

Quoting the statement made in March 1990 by former PAC president Zeph Mothopeng, Mlambo said: "We are not going to abandon the bullet before the ballot is secured to contest for political power."

PAC leaders in Johannesburg say, however, that they believe their military leaders have come

to accept that they cannot continue the armed struggle and fight elections. "They are becoming realistic about this," one said.

What the PAC is seeking is an honourable way of stepping down from its hardline attitude to armed struggle.

The PAC's political leadership has an eye on participation in the TEC and the ballot, while military leaders fear resistance on the ground to a change in policy.

This week's meeting, the result of long-standing demands that negotiations happen on neutral territory and with neutral chairmanship, was the first step to finding a way out of this dilemma.

Further meetings, in particular to plan direct discussions with the SADF, are planned.

The PAC has come under pressure from its financial backers to end the armed struggle. Mlambo conceded this week that the PAC is financially strapped, "but this has nothing to do with the outcome of the meeting", he said.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said: "It's a step in the right

direction that Apla agreed to a moratorium while we negotiate."

If the government meets its conditions, Apla would:

- Accept the outcome of any demonstrably genuine and fair democratic process.

- Agree to a moratorium starting after the establishment of a satisfactory mechanisms up to the outcome of next year's elections.

- Undertake to sign a permanent cessation of hostilities when a new democratic dispensation is in place.

"This does not mean we cannot act in self-defence or in the defence of our people," Phama told the government delegation.

Apla also stated that it will continue to recruit and train its members "for any eventuality", including participation in the creation of a new national army.

In the meantime, Apla has won formal recognition as a political force from the South African government.

"This will give Apla status as a political force so it cannot be treated merely as a gang carrying out criminal acts. This will put Apla on the same footing as Umkhonto weSizwe," said a PAC representative at the talks.

'Crucial role' for defiant Gwala

WMS-11/11/93 (11A)

Despite his differences with the ANC leadership, Harry Gwala believes he has a crucial role to play in the coming election, writes **Farouk Chothia**

IN a buoyant mood after besting Nelson Mandela in their recent confrontation, ANC Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala said this week that he would be willing to serve in a future regional assembly — and would continue opposing concessions being made to the government and right wing.

Gwala has said in the past that he would not serve in a future government. The fact that he is available for the regional assembly, and plans to take a hard line there, is unlikely to please the ANC's national leadership.

In an interview this week, Gwala said he saw himself playing a crucial role in leading the ANC to victory in the April 27 election as he would be among those providing strong leadership to defeat the "enemy".

He said the outcome of national elections would be determined in the densely populated PWV region and in Natal/kwaZulu which

has a quarter of the country's population.

"And it is in these areas that the enemy is stepping up violence. Their grand strategy in Natal is that it must remain a base of the IFP from where Chief Buthelezi will be able to draw his strength," said Gwala. He added that it was therefore necessary for the ANC to have strong leadership in Natal/kwaZulu.

"I am not the only person in that position (but) I am the most senior ANC member in this region. I'm not basing this seniority on chronological age but on the time I joined the ANC. I am the oldest member of the ANC in this region," said Gwala.

Mandela is known to hold a different view, believing Gwala has turned the Midlands into a "defiant" ANC region through his hardline stance on constitutional negotiations.

At the Midlands regional conference of the ANC a fortnight ago, Mandela criticised delegates for electing Gwala to the post of regional chairman last year — and urged them not to do so again. Gwala's re-election would be in violation of the ANC's constitution as the Midlands leader had been directly elected to the National Executive Committee at the ANC's first national conference.

In response, Gwala resigned from the NEC,

enabling him to retain his post as regional chairman. As he is now on the NEC as an ex-officio member by virtue of the fact that he is the chairman of a region, he has effectively outmanoeuvred Mandela.

Gwala denied having a heated row with Mandela at the conference. "It is misleading to say that. The ANC is a strong organisation and we have debates and discussion."

However, he conceded there were sharp differences between the ANC's Midlands region and the NEC on issues relating to constitutional negotiations — and it was unlikely that these would be resolved.

He said the Midlands region had strong reservations about the latest constitutional proposals which allow for two vice-presidents. "We will continue campaigning against it in the constituent assembly," said Gwala.

He added that he was willing to serve in a future regional assembly in Natal/kwaZulu — but not in a national assembly. "If I could help it I wouldn't be on any list. If I am pushed by my people I would suggest that they put me on a regional list," said Gwala.

He did not want to be chairman of the regional assembly, however. "I am too old now. It should be left for someone younger,"



Confident . . . ANC president Nelson Mandela speaks in KwaNdebele at a day-long summit of the ANC-led Patriotic Front yesterday where he announced his organisation's plans for the election. Mandela is flanked by KwaNdebele leader Prince James Mahlangu (left) and the Labour Party's The Rev Allan Hendrickse.

PICTURE: ALF KUMALO

ANC aims to win nine regions too

Star 25/11/93

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The ANC and its allies will go flat out to capture central power in the election and to win in all nine provinces, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday. (11A)

Addressing a day-long summit of leaders of the ANC-led Patriotic Front in KwaNdebele, Mandela said it would be "a terrible mistake" for the ANC and its allies to concentrate all their efforts on winning central power at the expense of the nine regions.

That, he said, would "weaken the centre and leave it cut off from the masses".

The ANC would have to win power at both national and

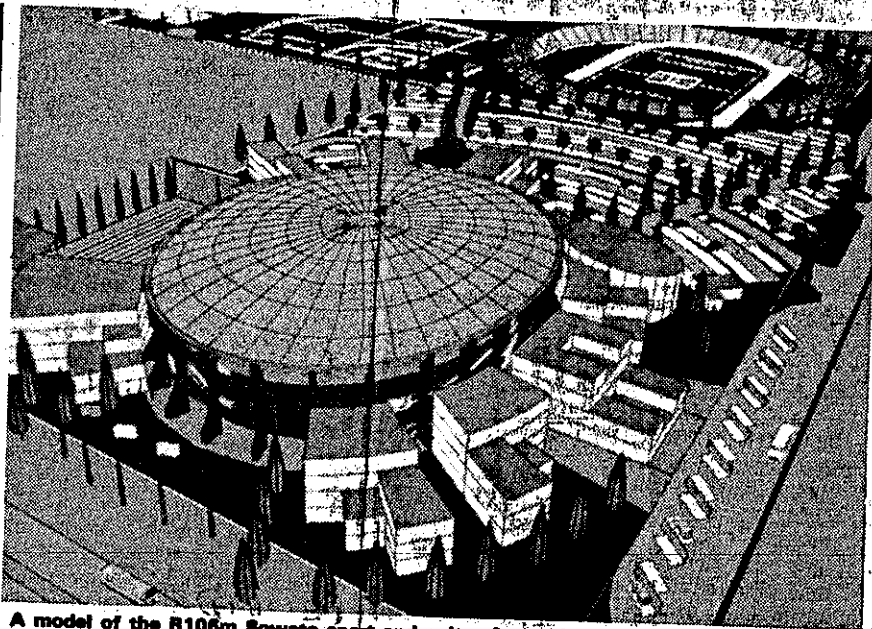
regional levels and provide "the forces who will establish effective local government".

He warned that the road ahead would not be easy, and that the forces which had tried without success to stop the negotiations process had now become more desperate.

"We must never allow them the capacity to grow and develop into a social force.

"We must be flexible and firm at the same time," Mandela added.

He said the reason the right wing posed such a real threat was that President de Klerk had always recoiled from acting firmly against it, just as he had failed to act decisively against those perpetrating violence.



A model of the R106m Soweto sport and cultural complex, which shows the covered stadium surrounded by units which will include a conference centre, library and hotel. The sports park on the right, and to the left is the baseball diamond. Graphic: Kerry Brookbank Architects

Mandela wrong on land, says SADF

THE SADF yesterday denied an allegation by ANC president Nelson Mandela that it was the country's richest landowner and said much of the land it had use of was suitable only for conservation.

Mandela said on Tuesday a new government would redress land ownership inequalities by — among other things — using vast tracts owned by the SADF.

The SADF said yesterday it did not own land. Land was allocated to it by the Public Works Department and as soon as the SADF did not have a use for it, it gave the land back.

The SADF said at present it had the use of 600 000ha of land, 0,5% of the land in SA. "Of this, 500 000ha is undeveloped and is

used for training areas, bombing ranges, shooting ranges and buffer zones around airstrips and ammunition depots."

A Public Works spokesman said if any of its "clients" handed back land, the department disposed of it along normal market lines. That is, it sold it by public auction or tender.

Elaborating on Mandela's remarks, ANC agricultural spokesman Derek Hanekom said the SADF land would not be expropriated as it was state-owned.

It would, instead, be used as part of a new government's redistribution programme, Hanekom said.

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Patriotic Front to contest poll under ANC banner

BIDAY 25/11/93

JOHANNES NGCOBO

THE Patriotic Front, with the exception of the PAC and Azapo, decided yesterday to contest next year's election under an ANC banner.

Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse told a news conference after the Patriotic Front summit in KwaNdebele yesterday that members of the front would address "people's forums" with ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Delegates to yesterday's summit also resolved that regional Patriotic Front conferences would be held in early December to decide on the process of nominations for an election list before the final list conference in mid-December.

Mandela told delegates from the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance; the Intando Yesizwe Party; Inyanza, led by KaNgwane's Cephas Zitha; Hendrickse; Transkei, led by Bantu Holomisa; the Lebowa United Peoples Front, led by Nelson Ramodike; the Venda government's Brig Gabriel Ramushwana and Gazankulu's Ximoko Progressive Party, led by CD Marivate that the front had achieved one of its objectives by ensuring that President F W de Klerk was not both a player and a referee in the run-up to elections.

"This was one of the first objectives contained in the declaration of the Patriotic Front adopted in Durban in 1991.

"In the negotiations process we took on the might of the apartheid state. We pro-

duced an outcome which lays the basis for uniting our country and our people into one nation," Mandela said.

The World Trade Centre agreement meant delegates could confidently say that the votes of the SA people would enable the front to remove the architects of apartheid from power.

"This was another objective the Patriotic Front set itself," he said.

He reminded delegates that the road ahead was going to be tough.

"There are formations on the extreme right — and here I include both black and white — and blacks, who cannot face the test of the electorate.

"They pose a serious threat. They know they cannot stop the change. They, however, do have the capacity for all sorts of destabilisation," Mandela said.

All other parties had one thing in common: they wanted to stop a runaway victory for the ANC.

"Our aim must therefore be to win power at the centre, to win power in all nine provinces and to provide the forces who will establish effective local government," he said.

"In deploying ourselves we must never lose sight of all three tiers of government. None of these can be left to accident or chance."

SAP calls talks on new union

MARIANNE MERTEN

BIDAY 25/11/93

THE setting up of a new police union would be discussed this week by interested parties in Welkom, community relations liaison officer Brig André van Heerden Beukes told the Goldstone commission in Johannesburg yesterday.

These talks were separate from consultations with the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union, he said.

Beukes, who testified on community policing, said the police had not only informed its members about its new policy, but had participated in many seminars and workshops on the subject.

A decision taken at a meeting between the police council, the national peace secretariat and others on June 30 to hold workshops on community policing with the more than 185 peace structures had not been implemented. Only the Wits/Vaal peace secretariat had held a workshop.

Beukes said although there still were difficulties in implementing community policing, especially in areas such as the East Rand, relations between the police and communities

had improved significantly in areas where police forums had been set up.

Forums had been set up in 291 station areas. Part-time forums were operating in 383 areas. Factors such as poverty, violence and crime prevented these forums operating in about 80 areas, he said.

Beukes denied that there had been resistance to the new philosophy from within police ranks. The concept of community policing had been criticised especially by frontline investigating officers, but it was "controllable criticism" rather than resistance, he said.

NEWS ANC plug for Elana, Morné du Plessis ● ANC seeks correct political answers

Sowetan 25/11/93

Mandela sees tough fight with rightwing

THE African National Congress was facing a "no-holds-barred battle" with white and black formations on the extreme right who could not face the test of the electorate, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Addressing Patriotic Front leaders in KwaNdebele, north of Pretoria, he said the white right, especially, posed a serious threat.

"They know they cannot stop the

change. They however do have the capacity to create all sorts of destabilisation."

However, the ANC was able to deal with this threat, said the African National Congress president. In the first place, it should find the correct political answers which would leave the right "an isolated tiny minority".

"We must never allow them the capacity to grow and develop into a social

force. We must be flexible and firm at the same time. (U/A)

"We must be willing to accommodate without abandoning our principles. We must be ready to adjust our tactics and never lose sight of our main goal."

He said one of the main reasons why the extreme right posed a real threat was because President FW de Klerk had always recoiled from acting with firmness against them.

"The same is true about the way in which the De Klerk government has failed and refuses to act decisively against those who are fomenting violence.

"We are facing a no-holds-barred battle. The parties ranged against the ANC are going to stop at nothing to reduce our strength.

"They will do everything in their power, they will use fair means and foul

means, to confuse the electorate, to scare them away from the ANC and its allies. They will do all they can to drive wedges between us."

Mandela said he was confident, however, that the ANC would be able to reach the people and convince them of their support.

"I am convinced that whatever tricks the NP has in store, we can out-manoeuvre them," he said. — Sapa.

Victorious ANC has to deliver, say youth

Star 25/11/93

BY MONTSHIWA MOROKE

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Millions of young people expected that an ANC election victory would deliver an affordable education system, employment, housing, health services, recreation facilities and a peaceful future, the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) said yesterday.

At a press conference in Johannesburg, ANCYL spokesman Parks Mankahlana said the election marked not only victory in negotiations and on other terrains of struggle, but also the beginning of bigger struggles. "These are demands on which the youth of

this country expect the ANC to deliver, notwithstanding the Government of National Unity arrangement and the apparent designs of the detractors of the democratic system to spread mayhem and disorder."

The ANCYL sees itself not only playing a significant role in protecting youth interests in the Constituent Assembly and parliament, but also believed that a vital role should still be played by mass organisations outside Parliament.

"This is the underlying feature of our belief in a dynamic system of participatory democracy as opposed to a lifeless voting routine every five years."

Gift for life



PF to fight as ANC partners

(11A) CT25/11/93

JOHANNESBURG. — Patriotic Front leaders agreed yesterday to fight next year's April 27 election as equal partners under the name, logo and banner of the African National Congress, ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, SA Communist Party leaders Mr John Gomomo and Mr Charles Nqakula, the Labour Party's the Rev Allan Hendrickse and Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa were among those who attended the PF summit at Mahlangu in KwaNdebele.

They agreed to strengthen the ANC-led electoral front "so that maximum unity of our people can be attained which will lead to a resounding victory at the polls", Mr Mamoepa said.

The leaders passed four resolutions which indicated the ANC's national and regional election lists could include names of non-ANC PF members. — Sapa

'ANC won't win outright power'

South 26/11 - 30/11/93

The ANC is the front-runner for the election next year, but don't rule out the PAC for second or third place, argues Dennis Davis.

WAGHIED MISBACH reports:

THE ANC could win between 55 and 60 percent, and "maybe a little higher", Professor Dennis Davis, Director of the Centre of Applied Legal Studies at Wits University, predicted at a seminar in Cape Town this week.

Davis was interpreting recent polls in a talk on the economic and political prospects for a future South Africa.

The controversial academic contended that the ANC would not get enough votes in next year's elections to gain outright power in a new government.

The ANC needs 66 and two thirds percent of the vote to enable it to write a new constitution.

Davis said it was unlikely the ANC would form a pact with the PAC in an attempt to get the votes, as the two organisations differed on fundamental issues.

The ANC was not a homogeneous organisation, and a section of its membership would be strongly opposed to a pact, he said.

Davis argued that the National Party would win about 15 percent, which may increase as "whites realise that FW De Klerk has pulled off a good deal".

The Democratic Party would win "no more than two or three percent" of the vote.

The PAC, though, was the "joker in the pack" and could still surprise by winning 10 percent of the popular vote — if it manages to improve its cash-strapped status.



DENNIS DAVIS

The violence is likely to continue through the elections'

(IF)

He said the Inkatha Freedom Party could win seven percent of the vote, but could not win Natal without help from another party.

Davis warned that a free and fair election depended on the actions of the IFP and the Freedom Alliance, as there was no current incentive for them to get involved in elections.

The "lunatic" right wing was also a threat to the elections.

"They range between the complete lunatics like Eugene Terreblanche, the semi-lunatics like Ferdi Hartzenberg and the lunatic/sane like Constand Viljoen."

But Davis argued that Viljoen's

Afrikaner Volksfront, a more moderate grouping, was likely to join the election process.

However, there were measures in place for participating parties to ensure a free and fair election. The penalties for breaking the rules would range from loss of media time, forced resignation of candidates to total exclusion of the party.

Davis said the measures were "Draconian", but this would nevertheless ensure that parties run "huge risks" for breaking the rules.

He said there was clear evidence a third force was involved in destabilising South Africa and that the violence, which has claimed more than 17 000 lives over the last three years, is likely to continue through the elections.

"Every time there was a breakthrough, violence peaked — around the unbannings on

February 2, 1990, the release of Nelson Mandela, the suspension of the armed struggle, the death of Chris Hani and the white referendum."

Other obstacles included the ability of a future government to deliver on its promises and the possibility of a free and fair election.

"If the government of national unity is not allowed to redress social problems, including the grinding poverty in the country, it would mean disaster for the country," said Davis.

A positive aspect for the future is that surveys reveal 87 percent of whites and 90 percent of blacks regard themselves as South Africans, instead of placing themselves in ethnic or religious categories, said Davis.

Studies also show that only 40

percent of Conservative Party supporters believe their policies can be implemented, while 60 percent know they cannot go back to the past.

"These are significant statistics. This is way off from what is happening in Bosnia and Angola at the moment, and reveals a greater move toward consensus in this country."

Further hope for a new South Africa is the emergence of a new "corporatism" in the economic structure of the country.

THIS meant it was no longer possible for the government to make unilateral decisions about the economy without consultation with bodies like the National Manpower Commission (NMC) and the National Economic Forum (NEF).

"A good example was the fight around the petrol price, when Finance Minister Derek Keys was chastised by Cosatu's general secretary Sam Shilowa and Bobby Godsell, the Executive Director of Anglo American Corporation."

He said similar agreement was also reached on the controversial lockout clause in the NMC, which has representatives of labour, business and government currently negotiating new labour laws for the country.

"The NEF and the NMC are shaping our economy in a way not previously thought possible," said Davis.

This would ensure that a government of national unity, along with bodies like the NMC and the NEF, would ensure there is emerging consensus both politically and economically in the first five years after independence.

He said there was also increased optimism outside the country, particularly from the United States, where companies were waiting for a political settlement before deciding to invest.

figures are available for a total of 27 towns. The weighted average consumption for all these towns is 290 l/c/d.

ANC moves into parliament

By Christelle Terreblanche

South 26/11 - 30/11/93

AS THE OLD order is busy signing itself out of the Houses of Parliament in Cape Town, the new order has moved in.

While many staunch parliamentarians are cleaning out their desks, new systems are up and running to facilitate the smooth entry of the ANC.

A six-person parliamentary planning unit appointed by the ANC moved into its offices in the Marks Building of parliament on Monday without any fanfare.

The opening of parliament this week marked the start of the three-week session for the tricameral parliament to rubber-stamp the transitional legislation prepared at the negotiation table, and is expected to last three weeks.

The session is expected to be the last meeting of the white parliament before the election in April next year.

(11A)
The ANC team consists of Mr Sindiso Mfenyana of Shell House, Johannesburg; Mr Giles Mulholland, a planning and computer expert who previously administered the membership section of the ANC's head office; Mr Jannie Momberg, MP for Simonstown; Mr Dave Dalling, MP for Sandton; Ms Gertrude Fester of the ANC Women's League; and Mr Bulelani Ngcuka, legal expert of the Western Cape ANC.

The team sees its work mainly as researching the way in which parliament is presently run, and eventually to plan and recommend essential administrative changes to the ANC with a view to its entry into parliament next year.

The team's low-key presence in



MOVING IN: The ANC's parliamentary planning unit starts its first meeting in parliament

parliament was hardly detected on Monday, even though team members were in the galleries during the opening debates and State President FW de Klerk's last opening speech.

Battling to install office equipment, they were reluctant to talk to SOUTH, but confirmed that they will report to Dr Zola Skweyiya, constitutional expert in the office of ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa. The unit is part of several systems set up recently as part of the ANC Civil Service Unit to plan the ANC's transition from liberation movement to government.

Other groups would explore the change-over of the presidency itself, involving the probable relocation of ANC president Mr Nelson Man-

dela to Tuynhuys and the administration of the new government of national unity's executive.

Part of the planning unit's task will be to visit Namibia and Zimbabwe to investigate the administrative and logistical transitions there.

The team's presence also indicates the ANC's commitment to Cape Town remaining the legislative centre.

The team says the main priorities of a new ANC government will initially be housing and education, which are much more important than relocating parliament at an estimated cost of one billion rand.

Members of the unit say they have the full co-operation of the parliamentary staff and access to all

papers needed to do their initial research.

One of their most crucial tasks is to recommend which kinds of system would be used to pass legislation: for example, choosing between open and closed committees.

Other issues include the question of salaries and parliamentary allowances, dress codes, language and interpretation.

After the three week session, the unit will also look at the nine regional centres of government.

It is they who will recommend to the ANC how much of the current parliamentary traditions and relics borrowed from the Westminster system will survive the transition to democracy.

Rejecting Modderfontein, Randburg and Sasolburg as outliers, there are 24 towns with consumption rates in the range of 197 to 427 l/c/d.

Yengeni calm before challenge

□ Position in ANC under siege

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

WITH his short-sleeved sports shirt open at the neck, a relaxed, often-smiling Tony Yengeni hardly looked like a man under siege.

Politely but firmly he declined to discuss a bid by his African National Congress regional executive committee colleague Lerumo Kalako to replace him as Western Cape secretary.

The contest between the two men for what is the second-most powerful position in the movement in the region will take place at the ANC's regional conference starting at the Peninsula Technikon tonight.

So determined is Mr Kalako to succeed the man who was the No 1 Accused in the Western Cape's longest-running political trial that he has not made himself available for re-election as vice-chairman.

"I'm not prepared to fight an election battle in the Press," is how Mr Yengeni commented on Mr Kalako's challenge.

He would, he said, be willing to discuss the issue after the conference.

He also declined to discuss an ANC opinion survey which suggested he was the most popular of the movement's Western Cape leaders.

Assessing the past year, he said his biggest regret was that he had ne-

glected himself and his family.

The assassination of Chris Hani, champion of the aspirations of the poor and disadvantaged people, was a devastating blow.

"His death demoralised many of us. We are feeling his loss in the movement and it will take a long time for some of us to recover."

He believes that activists influenced by the philosophy and example set by Mr Hani owe him a lot.

"To me it means that we have to realise the things he cherished. We have to continue with the job of liberation. We are faced with the challenge of either being co-opted or carrying on and empowering the masses."

His biggest nightmare was that the masses, who had been alienated by negotiations, would not understand what was happening after April 27.

Often controversial, Mr Yengeni became the most quoted ANC leader in the Western Cape this year and had a higher media profile than regional head Allan Boesak.

"In all my speeches I tried to emphasise the importance of the role of the masses in the process taking place. The response from the people has been overwhelming. I think I reflected their fears, aspirations and vision as well as giving them hope and courage."

11A ARCE 26/11/93

Challenge to Yengeni in leadership race

By Quentin Wilson

WHILE ANC Western Cape chairperson Dr Allan Boesak will go to this weekend's regional ANC conference unopposed as head of the ANC in the region, the same security cannot be predicted for current ANC secretary Mr Tony Yengeni.

In the provisional nominations list for the ANC's top regional posts, Yengeni faces challenges to his position from current ANC

Western Cape vice-chairperson Mr Lerumo Kalako, and assistant secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr.

At the regional conference, 800 ANC members from 150 branches are to elect a new regional executive committee that is to steer the organisation through the April election.

A provisional nominations list has been drawn up, consolidating branch preferences throughout the Western Cape.

Mr Vincent Diba, Mr Lerumo

Kalako and Mr Amos Lengisi are all on the shortlist for the position of regional vice-chairperson.

While Mr Ebrahim Rasool stands alone on the shortlist as treasurer, the position he currently occupies, the remaining portfolio of assistant secretary will be contested between Hofmeyr and the Reverend Chris Nissen.

Apart from the election of a new regional executive, other issues to be discussed at the conference include:

● The future of the civil service and the local government negotiations process;

● The interim constitution and negotiations package;

● The future of the ANC after elections and the role it will continue to play as an extra-parliamentary structure;

● Regional boundaries in the Cape;

● Election preparations;

● The ANC's relationship with the Labour Party.

South 26/11 - 30/11/93 (7/A)

POLITICS

Fri 26/11/93

Now for the hard part

The gulf between government and the Freedom Alliance on how to shape a new constitution is far wider than believed by optimists. There seems little hope that differences will be resolved on the basis of current bilateral negotiations.

Another round of talks was under way in Cape Town as the FM went to press, but neither side expected much progress. However, it was likely that the door would be left open for further discussion.

How to deal with the Alliance is becoming a major problem for both government and the ANC. It may in fact be easier for President F W de Klerk to convince the ANC of the need for a referendum to break the deadlock, than to get the Alliance back on board before April 27.

The Alliance comprises a rightwing grouping under the banner of the Afrikaner Volksfront, Inkatha and the governments of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana. De Klerk is understood to be increasingly disturbed by repeated claims by the CP that he has left Afrikaners in the lurch and that the Alliance has more backing than the groups represented at the multiparty talks.

In parliament this week, CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg taunted De Klerk by suggesting that the Alliance was "at least" the second most popular political grouping after the ANC. And, at a public meeting in Durban this week, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi claimed the Alliance represented more than half the country's population. He warned that if the Nats and the ANC ignored "the majority of SA's population" the country was "heading for an abyss."

But these calculations of support appear to assume that all Zulus and Afrikaners back the Alliance.

The parliamentary debate on the negotiation process illustrated the extent of the gap between government and the Alliance. They could not even agree on the basic constitutional concept that underlies their differences — though there should not be surprise at this.

De Klerk was apparently under the impression that the basis of current negotiations was the acceptance of federalism as a point of departure. He said this was confirmed to him by Alliance leaders twice last week. If this were not the basis of talks, negotiations would be "senseless." The issue for discussion was how to strengthen the federal concept.

But speaking immediately afterwards, Hartzenberg strongly rejected De Klerk's interpretation of the CP's position, which he said was confederalism and not federalism as envisaged by the interim constitution. In a confederal system, the CP's envisaged *volk-*

staat would in effect be an independent country that would have an arm's-length relationship with neighbouring states.

The interim constitution agreed to by the multiparty negotiators provides for a federation, in which not all the powers of the constituent members will be exclusive of central government. Hartzenberg said this was a union rather than a federation — and he has a strong theoretical case.

At the Durban meeting, Buthelezi also indicated support for confederalism. He said the interim constitution was fatally flawed. However, he was preparing to contest the general election next year in the belief that "true multiparty consensus" would be achieved by then. But the chances of this happening appear slim. The dispute between government and Inkatha goes beyond the interpretation of federalism. Buthelezi is also opposed to a two-phase transition and wants multiparty negotiators rather than an elected constituent assembly to draw up the final constitution.

He was prepared to continue talking to government "in the hope that sense will in the end prevail . . . Our arguments to the government will be that the only way we are going to achieve peace and stability is for SA's negotiators to draw up a final constitution before elections next year. We have a fight to put up against a fatally flawed constitution."

If agreement was not reached, Buthelezi

Centre would not be changed. He said it was up to the Alliance to provide further specific details of its demands within a federal framework.

"We are then prepared to go back to the negotiating council if we are convinced their demands are attainable and reasonable."

During the parliamentary debate De Klerk tried to split the Alliance by suggesting that Inkatha, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei should not associate with the CP if that party rejected federalism and nonracialism. He urged Alliance partners — particularly Inkatha — to "have the courage to dissociate themselves unequivocally from the CP." If they did not, the Alliance would be branded as the "apex of opportunism . . . It is simply not good enough that the Freedom Alliance presents itself as a political entity when that suits it while glossing over the fundamental conflicts of policy within its ranks."

De Klerk said it was still possible to bring them on board "given a genuine willingness and sense of urgency on the part of the Freedom Alliance." He said agreements reached within the next week or two could still be endorsed by both the negotiating council of the multiparty forum and parliament. "We believe that we have already made constructive proposals and are prepared to look together with the Alliance at what more can be done."

But it was clear from the CP's attitude that agreement is a long way off. The party is simply not prepared to consider at this stage the sort of nonracial framework within a federal system that government insists is a basic condition for participation in the election. The party was unmoved by De Klerk's claim that the new constitution provides an effective balance of power between the provinces and central government. Instead, Hartzenberg and colleague Fanie Jacobs warned government of Afrikaner resistance if military action were taken against Alliance partners who refused to accept the interim constitution.

De Klerk is not in favour of using force — which does not mean that the use of force can be ruled out. If the war talk of some elements in the Alliance turns out to be more than bluff, it is by no means unthinkable that the Defence Force will be called in to preserve the union and restore stability within it. ■



said he would not lead Inkatha into the election. If the party decides at a special congress in January to contest the election on the basis of the interim constitution, he will step down as leader.

But in a TV interview at almost the same time as Buthelezi was speaking, De Klerk said while every effort would be made to accommodate the Alliance, the essence of what had been agreed at the World Trade

NEGOTIATIONS

FM 26/11/93

What it took

A package deal over certain outstanding constitutional and electoral issues, clinched between government and the ANC in the final hours of the stretched negotiating council deadline on November 17, enabled the historic plenary to go ahead and adopt the interim constitution (2000) (11)

Its substance was, fittingly, read to the council in part by government's Roelf Meyer and in part by the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa.

On the thorny issue of Cabinet decision-making after April it is agreed that the Cabinet will function in a way that "gives consideration to the consensus-seeking spirit" underlying the idea of a government of national unity, as well as the need for effective government. No obligation there to consult, let alone government's original demand for a rotating presidency — against which,



Ramaphosa

the FM understands, the ANC had been prepared to deadlock the process.

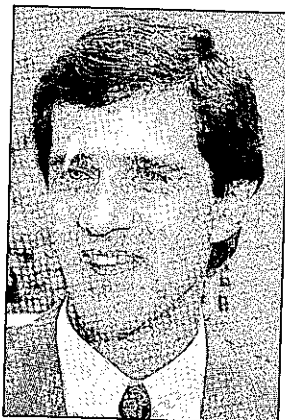
In the trade-off, centred on a government of national unity, the two sides agreed that "national elections will not be held under a new constitution adopted by the constitutional assembly (CA), until 1999, unless the Cabinet loses the confi-

dence of parliament."

The third element concerns provincial boundaries and powers. It states that the provisions of the new constitution to be adopted by the CA regarding the boundaries, powers and functions of provinces, and any amendment will require the approval of

the Senate with a two-thirds majority.

Fourth, provincial constitutions. Immediately after the first elections, a provincial legislature "shall" be entitled to adopt a constitution for its province. This must be consistent with the constitutional principles and the national constitution, and the constitutional court will have to



Meyer

certify this.

What the ANC extracted for conceding that forms the fifth leg of the deal: use of a

single ballot paper in the first elections for national and provincial legislatures.

Lastly, the clause on the deadlock-breaking mechanism says that should this become necessary in the making of a new constitution, "the deadlock-breaking procedures will culminate in the adoption of a new constitution by a majority of 60%."

When Codesa broke down, it was at least in part because government had dug in over its demand that the deadlock-breaking majority should be 75%. ■

Armed wing sowing voter terror — IFP

■ ELECTORAL INTIMIDATION

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL Congress' armed wing has embarked on an operation to intimidate voters and sow terror in Natal's communities to ensure victory at next year's elections, the Inkatha Freedom Party claimed yesterday.

It said Umkhonto we Sizwe would intensify its "Operation Sunrise" early next year with the aim of "forcing the broad electorate into submission".

The IFP had submitted a "highly confidential document" to the Government, outlining the alleged covert operation.

IFP president Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi also referred to the alleged operation recently, claiming MK is out to eliminate Inkatha office bearers.

The ANC in southern Natal slammed the claims yesterday as an attempt to create political grounds for attacks on its members and its soldiers.

The attempt to explain away the training of IFP death squads and their preparation for a civil

Confidential document sent to Government:

Sowetan 26/11/93
war to hold South Africa to ransom," said regional media officer Mr Dumisani Makhaye.

He said the MK "operation" existed only in the "poisoned and small minds of the most reactionary and violent sections of the apartheid security forces" (IA) (IS)

The ANC believed the IFP's information was coming from elements in the security forces which had infiltrated the IFP.

IFP national spokesman Ziba Jiyane said the information had come from "our intelligence sources who operate in the ANC".

The IFP says large-scale MK training is taking place to ensure the ANC's army is well represented in the joint peace-keeping force and in future security forces.

But, a small group of highly trained MK cadres will remain outside the peace force and the integrated security forces. This will be MK's "Special Operations Unit" the IFP claimed.

"This elite squad of professionals will be involved only in major offensive operations such as assassinations of key opponents, sabotage of crucial 'enemy' installations and attacks against any hostile military forces."

Other IFP allegations include surveillance by MK of the rightwing and attacks to counter threats from this grouping. The IFP further alleges that KwaZulu, Leskei and Bophuthatswana are being targeted and political opponents in these territories will be "eliminated." — Sapa.

AWB will share land but not power, says TerreBlanche

Leaders warn of war

Star 26/1/93

As South Africa yesterday waited eagerly for the Freedom Alliance's response to the Government's latest constitutional proposals, leading political figures pointed accusing fingers at one another and warned of the consequences of civil war.

The warnings, made by ANC president Nelson Mandela during his "People's Forum" election campaign and by AWB leader Eugene TerreBlanche, coincided with positive news from Mmabatho that the FA had accepted the "framework" of Pretoria's proposals.

The proposals, made at the Government's meeting with the FA in Cape Town early this week, are understood to deal with the interim constitution's clause 118 detailing powers provincial governments will have in the new order.

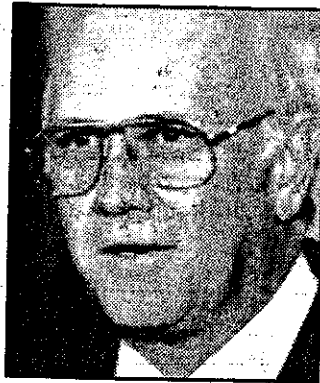
Addressing a packed hall in Port Elizabeth's Algoa Park last night, TerreBlanche said the right wing was preparing to go to "inevitable" war because Pretoria had "sold out" whites. Although his organisation was willing to share land, it was not prepared to do the same with power.

A few hours earlier, Mandela



Nelson Mandela . . . appeal to conservatives.

THE FA is pondering positive new proposals at the same time as war talk fills the air



F W de Klerk . . . time to accept responsibility.

la had told a 5 000-strong crowd at Mohlakeng Stadium near Randfontein that thousands of whites could die if rightwingers carried out their threat of civil war.

The ANC, Mandela said, had



Eugene TerreBlanche . . . whites "sold out".

received reports that the Right was "stocking arms to continue the carnage of our people", and this would not be to anyone's interest.

Mandela, who has called for reconciliation and talks with the right wing since his whistle-stop visit to the PWV region began, appealed to the Right and conservatives to help the ANC control the youth and their anger by not using language which would incite whites to oppose democracy.

Earlier at the Johannesburg College of Education, Mandela had castigated President F W de Klerk for failing to take decisive action to end violence.

Scare

He accused the Government of using violence to scare up to 40 percent of black voters away from next year's election in an attempt to reduce the ANC's majority.

But in Johannesburg last night, De Klerk took both the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) to task for their involvement in violence, saying it was time they made more effort to stop the carnage.

Speaking at his Export Award function, De Klerk said it was time the ANC and the IFP did "something meaningful instead of pointing fingers elsewhere".

The President said there was also reason for concern about the FA which was not sufficiently committed to resolution-oriented negotiations.

Although Government was prepared to accommodate the FA within agreements already reached in talks, it could not stop the process now just because "people, after three or four years, do not have clarity yet".

Political Staff and Sapa. 169

Mandela calls on business to help the ANC's reconstruction effort

RADICAL economic policies to uplift blacks and redress past imbalances would be possible only if the ANC achieved a clear majority in the election, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

He appealed to white businessmen not to emigrate but to contribute to economic reconstruction and join the "democratic forces in building a new SA".

Addressing the first PWV "people's forum" at the Johannesburg College of Education, which attracted a mixed audience of about 500, including some high-profile business leaders, Mandela appealed for

support for the ANC's reconstruction and development programme which would require greatly increased government expenditure and intervention in the economy.

"Since 1912, we have fought hard for black upliftment and it remains an ANC priority which we cannot neglect now," he said to polite applause rather than the toy-toting most campaign meetings inspired.

The World Bank, in a recent report, confirmed that SA could hope only for an export-led economic recovery if black economic empowerment was achieved. And once this had become entrenched, SA

BIDON 26/11/93
ERICA JANKOWITZ

would become a prosperous and flourishing country, Mandela predicted.

Tokenism in the form of a few black managers moving through company ranks would not suffice.

Mandela appealed to businessmen to play a role, alongside a future government, in encouraging black business development. Government's role would be paramount, but the private sector should be willing to inject capital into black ventures so they could compete on the same terms.

Foreign capital had already been approached to establish joint ventures with black businessmen, but local capital should also be active in this sphere.

Government expenditure would inevitably rise steeply with the ANC's stated aim of addressing disparities between the economic circumstances of different population groups. Massive investment in housing, education, health care and the provision of services would have to be made, but the ANC planned to encompass this within a job-creation scheme.

He stressed the need for increased gov-

Mandela

same standard as whites'.

Mandela reiterated the ANC's stand on capital punishment — it would be abolished under an ANC-led government.

"Hanging is a barbaric form of punishment whose failure to stem the increasing wave of violent crime has been demonstrated beyond all doubt," he said.

However, the ANC would examine, on a case-by-case basis, the merits of those who had received the death sentence knowing the ANC would not carry out the sentence.

He also moved to still fears on the future security of savings and pensions. The ANC would honour pension provisions and all public servants, retired and working, could count on them. Savings would also be safe

under the new government as any violation would mean the demise of the state.

"I may not have saved as much as my friend Sol (Kerzner)," Mandela quipped. "But I will fight any head of state who wants to take away my pension or my savings."

At a later forum at the Mohlakeng Stadium near Randfontein, Mandela warned that thousands of whites could die if right-wingers carried out their threat of civil war, reports Sapa.

He appealed to the youth to assist the ANC in appeasing the fears of whites and warned them to stop using language which incited whites to oppose change.

BIDON 26/11/93
From Page 1

ernment intervention in the economy to repair the ravages of apartheid. He likened apartheid policies to a "war against blacks" and said even European countries had resorted to massive state intervention in the economy — including nationalisation — after the Second World War.

This, however, would be a short-term measure and once the economy had stabilised, the ANC envisaged leaving regulation to market forces.

State intervention was also required in education to raise black education to the

To Page 2

AWB, Inkatha plan a Treaty of Vereeniging

THE AWB and Inkatha Freedom Party are expected to meet tomorrow in Vereeniging to agree to a "solidarity" pact, in terms of which "an attack on Zulus will be an attack on the AWB".

AWB Johannesburg spokesman Johan Thompson would not divulge details of the agreement, except that it would be between the East Rand and Vaal regions of the two organisations.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche was expected to attend the meeting, he said.

Inkatha Transvaal deputy chairman Humphrey Ndlovu said its Vereeniging

BIDAY 26/11/93
WILSON ZWANE
branch had arranged the meeting. He said — without elaborating — that the branch had been advised to cancel the meeting. But Thompson insisted it would go ahead.

He said the AWB was providing military-style training to Inkatha members in the Transvaal. He refused to say when the training began or how many Inkatha members had received training.

The training was strictly for self-protection purposes. Thompson denied claims that the AWB had provided Inkatha with

guns. "We train them only in the use of firearms. We don't give them firearms."

The only items the AWB had given to the residents of East Rand hostels were food and medicine.

Inkatha has repeatedly said the AWB is not training its members.

Sapa reports that Ciskei military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo said in Bisho that he had an agreement with Terre'Blanche that the AWB would defend Ciskei if the SA government turned against it.

Help from Afrikaners and farmers was just a telephone call away, he said.

ANC condemns fake 'dirty tricks' circular

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

A FAKE ANC pamphlet that says people working in white homes should have a right to shared home ownership was slammed by the ANC yesterday.

"This is the latest in a series of similar fake circulars circulating in the Cape Town area," it said in a

statement issued by its assistant secretary in the Western Cape, Mr Willie Hofmeyr.

"It appears to us there is a concerted attempt to undermine the ANC through the production of circulars which show great similarity to the dirty tricks pamphlets produced by the security forces during the 1980s.

"We call on the public to ignore this latest attempt to discredit the ANC through spreading lies.

"We look forward to the establishment of the Independent Electoral Commission whose mandate will be to deal with false propaganda of this kind," Mr Hofmeyr said.

He added that the ANC's security wing would be investigating the

issue.

The pamphlet, allegedly compiled by the ANC's chief recruiting officer, stated the defence force and police were lame ducks after the Umtata raid fiasco.

It claimed the ANC had used the churches in psychological warfare against whites to create a guilt complex and it had tricked the regime

(11A) CT26/11/93

to accept a unitary state system under the pretence of a federal model.

It also alleged surplus land belonging to whites would be redistributed and unoccupied white homes, such as sea cottages, would be given to homeless people.

● Stirring it up — Page 8

Yengeni (11A) 'falls out of favour'

ANC Western Cape secretary Mr Tony Yengeni has lost the confidence of the ANC/SACP national hierarchy in the nomination lists for future national and regional parliaments, sources within the alliance claimed yesterday.

They said the fiery ANC leader had fallen out of favour because of his "demagogic style" and because it was considered to be in the electoral interests of the alliance to break what was termed "the Winnie Mandela/Peter Mokaba/Tony Yengeni cabal".

ANC spokesman
Clark Dehaas said it was not possible for anyone to have been removed from alliance's lists for the election as they had not yet been compiled. Regional list conferences would be held between November 28 and December 13.

A special conference would be held on December 17 to compile both national and regional lists, and the national executive of the ANC would finalise the lists, with possible "minor changes" to the order, from December 20-22.

SACP showdown

(11A) ARC 27/11/93

Controversial Tony Yengeni faces fight for political life

■ This weekend Tony Yengeni faces a political high noon when he squares up to his SA Communist Party comrade Lerumo Kalako, who believes he should take over as regional secretary of the African National Congress.

VUYO BAVUMA, Weekend Argus Reporter

TO many people, Tony Sithembiso Yengeni masters the art of shooting himself in the foot.

Yet to others, his often controversial frank public statements merely reflect what millions of black South Africans regard as general knowledge.

But in some cases, his statements — like his support for Nuremberg-type trials in the new South Africa and the hanging of the killers of SACP leader Chris Hani — have elicited stern criticism from his own executive committee.

On at least one occasion, in an unprecedented move, he was repudiated by the regional committee for saying “the Ciskei dictator” — Brigadier Oupa Gqozo — should be killed to avenge the deaths of innocent people in Bisho.

Mr Yengeni's statements have also created the impression that the movement, battling to present a united face, was, in fact, a divided house — an impression it can ill afford in the light of the forthcoming elections.

However, figures like Chris Hani regarded Mr Yengeni as an important grassroots link with the marginalised “Young Lions” — most of whom have high expectations of the new South Africa.

Some critics perceive the former armed insurgent as a liability who invites criticism and who has, on at least two occasions, clashed with his colleagues in the press over the movement's policies.

This week the outspoken activist was uncharacteristically unwilling to discuss the challenge from SACP colleague and current regional vice-chairman Lerumo Kalako, but fears that his head would roll lingered on.

From about July Mr Yengeni has always

been accompanied by youths who acted as “bodyguards”, though some did not belong to the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto weSizwe. Others doubled up as secretaries at his well decorated office in Woodstock.

The beefing up of 39-year-old Mr Yengeni's security took place after his name allegedly featured on a hit list compiled by taxi operators.

This week he attended the Amy Biehl murder trial at the Supreme Court and — in the face of a strong PAC presence — called for justice to be done, free of intimidation.

But less than three years ago, Mr Yengeni condemned the courts as racist and illegitimate after he was granted bail in a protracted terrorism case.

In January this year Mr Yengeni led a bitter war of words against the Democratic Party two days before it held a public meeting in Guguletu.

He slammed the “DP's odious racist past” and said it was inappropriate for the party to hold the meeting in the township. The meeting was later disrupted. Two months later Mr Yengeni, like many of his col-

leagues, suffered a severe setback when Chris Hani was shot dead.

Like Tokyo Sexwale, though in less publicised circumstances, Mr Yengeni shed a tear when he heard about the death of his comrade-in-arms.

The two had been very close, with Mr Yengeni even playing child-minder to the Hanis when he stayed with them in exile.

Because of his robust statements — including pot shots at ANC negotiations “for ducking under the table during the AWB attack instead of confronting the enemy” — Mr Yengeni has been linked to the so-called hardline cabal comprising Winnie Mandela, Natal leader Harry Gwala, and ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba.

But these allegations have not been tested and Mr Yengeni always dismisses them as “malicious rumours disseminated by the enemy agents”.

After the St James massacre Mr Yengeni chastised the PAC for “killing innocents in church” — a knee-jerk allegation made long before any judicial process began.

'No place' for Zulu state bid

DURBAN. — There could be no state for a separate Zulu people and residents of Natal would crush any attempt to prevent the province from being part of South Africa, said ANC southern Natal chairman Mr Jeff Radebe.

Opening the ANC's fourth annual regional conference here yesterday, Mr Radebe said Natal/KwaZulu was part of South Africa and would fulfill its obligations to the country.

"There is no place for mobilisation of people on ethnic grounds," he said. — Sapa

ANC and SACP sued

JOHANNESBURG. — A summons has been served on the ANC and the SA Communist Party on behalf of former ANC member Mr Sipiwe Lombo, who is suing them for R2,3-million damages allegedly suffered during six years of abuse in jails and camps north of the South African border.

Attorney Mr Mathew Laurens yesterday confirmed details of the summons, alleging that Mr Lombo was tortured in various camps "at the instance of" prominent ANC-alliance leaders, including the late Mr Chris Hani, Mr Ronnie Kasrils, Mr Alfred

Nzo and Mr Joe Modise.

He said the summons was served on Wednesday. There had not been a response yet. (11A) CT 27/11/93

After leaving South Africa to join the struggle against apartheid, Mr Lombo was allegedly confined for nearly six years in prisons in Botswana and Zambia, two camps in Angola and finally in a Ugandan jail.

Once he was allegedly forced to "dig his own grave" and shots were fired near him while he was buried up to his neck. And once he was allegedly tied down to be bitten by red ants. — Sapa

'Right is De Klerk's real rival'

CIPROD 28/11/43

THE leaders of political parties who are able to obtain five percent of the vote in the April 27 election will serve in the government of national unity for the next five years, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Mandela was replying to a question about whether State President FW de Klerk would serve on such a government if his National Party did not manage to secure five percent of the vote.

The ANC leader was addressing sup-

porters at Ivory Park squatter camp at Thembisa near Kempton Park yesterday during a four-day election tour of the PWV region.

"We are saying that the first deputy president will come from the ruling party and the second will come from the second strongest political party," he said.

(11A)
"If Mr de Klerk's party is beaten by the right wing, then he will not be the second deputy president." - Sapa

Yengeni ousted from top job in shock vote

S1 Times [C/metro]
28/11/93

11A

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

FORMER MK commander Tony Yengeni was ousted as ANC Western Cape regional secretary at the ANC conference in Cape Town late last night after a dramatic three-pronged showdown for the second most senior position in the region.

The shock ousting of Mr Yengeni, 39, could further heighten tension between "doves" and "hawks" in the region.

The other candidates for the position were UWC Public Administration student and former Western Cape chairman of the SACP, Lerumo Kalako, and the lower-profiled Boyce Williams.

Dr Allan Boesak, who was the only candidate for the position of chairman at yesterday's Western Cape regional conference of the ANC in Cape Town, was elected unopposed to become chairman for the third year in succession.

The conference enters its third and final day today.

The "hawks" are more commonly known in the Western Cape as the "Yengeni/Winnie Mandela/ Peter Mokaba" cabal.

Hofmeyr replaced

This is because of the frequent visits Mr Mokaba and Mrs Mandela pay to the Cape to join Mr Yengeni on platforms and back his public warnings against alleged ANC capitulation at Kempton Park.

In another shock move, political activist and attorney Mr Willie Hofmeyr was replaced by the Rev Chris Nissen, who was elected unopposed.

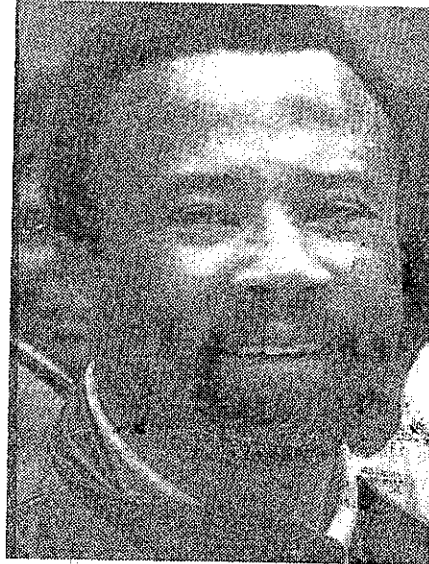
The treasurer, Mr Ebrahim Rasool, was also returned unopposed.

Among the original nine candidates nominated by more than two branches for the position of vice-chairman to replace Mr Lerumo Kalako was Mrs Melanie Verwoerd, wife of Stellenbosch professor Wilhelm Verwoerd, grandson of the architect of apartheid Dr H F Verwoerd.

Wilhelm and Melanie are both active members of the ANC in the Western Cape.

Mrs Verwoerd declined to enter the fray and at the end of the night, there were five candidates in the running for vice-chairman.

Mr Vincent Diba, head of the ANC Peace Desk in the western Cape, was elected to fill Mr Kalako's position of vice-chairman. He pipped Jannie de



OUT ... Tony Yengeni

EXCLUSIVE

Lange, Zola Nqose, Noel Williams and Bulelani Nqeka for the position.

Mr Yengeni, a former political commissar and political prisoner, joined the ANC as an underground guerilla in 1976 and commands great respect among the masses in the townships. He was a close confidant of the murdered SACP chief, Chris Hani.

He commands a vast following at grassroots level and among township "young lions" and is unlikely to disappear from the political spotlight despite yesterday's setback, say observers.

In the meantime, Dr Boesak has written off the DP as an election "threat" during an address over the weekend, but at the same time he acknowledged the Western Cape region would be the toughest region to wrest from what he perceived to be the ANC's main opposition, the NP.

"We need not, I think, waste our time on the DP.

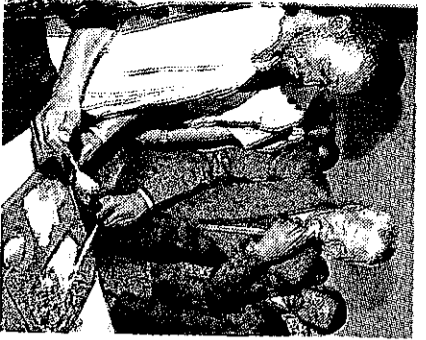
"The real enemy is the NP and it is the NP that will be our real opponent in this election," he said.

The ANC has in recent months tried hard to brush up its image as a party representative of the cosmopolitan composition of the Western Cape and has nominated high-profile coloured and white personalities to its regional and national lists, including the Verwoerds.

From pink salmon to miners' pay

SITimes 28/11/92

(11A)



ANC president Nelson Mandela hit the campaign trail this week. PETER DE IONNO went with him

ON THE HUSTINGS WITH MANDELA

NELSON MANDELA has a curious effect on the people he meets. It is a strange kind of awe, more reverence than fear.

In his presence, ordinary people, not the politicians and hustlers who surround and use him, but everyday ordinary people, are reduced to mumbles when he reaches out to them, proffering his strong right hand. Knees wobble and they stare, freezing momentarily, basking in his aura of gentle nobility.

"Very nice to meet you," or "Good to see you," he says, his voice deep and resonant, cadenced so that every word sounds chosen and polished. Invariably, they reply: "Good to see you, sir" or "Mandiba" with their eyes, uplifted to his, speaking more than words.

There is also sadness in these brief, touching encounters. They are more brushes in corridors and foyers than meetings. Mr Mandela, liners for each one, often bending forward to invite another word, but it rarely comes. Then he is gone, rushed along by the pressure of impossible schedules.

It was quieter when he met Martha Mphahamba, a cleaner at Radio 702, on Tuesday. She brought him coffee as he waited alone for a few minutes before his first talk-back programme at the station.

8.30am and brief him until his diary starts at 9.30am.

His office staff, led by the formidable duo of Barbara Masekela and Jesse Duarte, battle every day to send him home to rest in the afternoons to ready him for evening functions. His only illness this year has been a mild cold.

This week there has been little time for rest. With Mr Mandela as the draw card, the invitation to thousands on "People's Forums" has been enthusiastically accepted.

THIS first phase of the election campaign, echoing the meetings that laid the foundations of the 1955 Freedom Charter, will run at full tilt until the middle of December, when hundreds of people will have stepped out of the crowds and up to microphones in halls, hostels, townships and mines to question the ANC leadership on its objectives and motives.

In the Northern Transvaal, rural women have been targeted, in the Western Cape, the ANC worries about a swing in the coloured vote to the National Party.

In January, after a policy conference has completed the ANC's election manifesto, the second stage of politicking on the hustings begins, culminating in a high pressure flurry on the eve of the historic April 27 poll.



TIME WILL TELL... Prospective voters, black and white, confronted by an election poster at a teachers' training college in Johannesburg

make radical economics impossible.

He was the centre of attention, too, at the Patriotic Front summit at Looppruit in KwaNdebele. The only wine farm in the Transvaal it normally takes its business from day-trippers who come on buses from as far away as Potchefstroom.

cal oblivion was their only alternative. The afternoon stretched long while ANC strongman Jacob Zuma reported on the state of talks with the rightwing. They would tell what Mr Mandela normally takes were bringing the ANC and the white right closer to understanding, but the gap had widened between them and the "black right".

parties have yet to start theirs, but around Mr Mandela the confidence of victory is palpable.

Already his black supporters, who turned out in thousands on the PWV, are calling him President Mandela, referring not to the ANC but to the country. Their new chant of "One president, one Mandela" sets them roaring. Mr Mandela does nothing to whip up the adulation his appearance creates, but he does not discourage it. When he arrived by helicopter at the Bhongweni village at Randfontein Estates gold mine about 600 people, mainly women, children and teenagers, whooped and thronged towards him as he stepped out with his right fist raised in salute.

Mr Mandela, a born campaigner. In a canteen he sam-

pled the pap from a miner's plate and outside, with a megaphone thrust into his hands, he turned a 15-minute courtesy visit into an impromptu pitch for votes.

At Kaserne hostel, he danced with supporters toying in greeting. There, the whole frantic cavalcade fell into context. With Johannesburg as a backdrop, about 500 people sat in a broad semicircle before their leaders in the

age-old way Africa has always wanted jobs, houses and security. The junior ministers to temper expectations of pragmatism. But when Mandela spoke the room tensed, he was the real prize were sitting out in the

Their faith was tested. "The President" at the end they could reach only in the

Picture: DAVID SAMUEL

CALLERS would only be cut off in the interests of preventing boredom: "Please don't think me rude," he says.

"It would not be an interview unless there were some difficult questions," Mr Mandela replies, putting at ease the unspoken, and ultimately unfulfilled, fears that he would be subjected to the wrath and bigotry of the station's predominantly white callers.

Furious filtering of calls ensured the programme broke no new ground. Questions about his health, ANC links with the SA Communist Party, affirmative action fears and the rightwing offered few challenges.

He sat, relaxed, perched on a high stool in the fishbowl studio, casually swinging his feet to some internal rhythm as he spoke of "walking the last mile".

At 10pm, his ever-present, ever-silent clutch of earnest young bodyguards whisked him away to his Houghton home.

Smiling, he rose tall from his chair as she approached, took the cup and clasped his hands around hers. After a few quiet sentences she drew away, stepping backwards with an unsteady curtsy.

"The people have been very kind. I draw strength from them," he said. "It is not always easy to be able to sit and find out about a person."

Even David Blood, the usually garrulous late-night programme host, apparently dressed for some other occasion with clown-like, look-at-me, red braces, seemed tongue-tied outside the studio.

There Mr Mandela is not the symbol of resistance to apartheid made flesh, not the inspirational figurehead, not even the president-in-waiting. There at home, protected by his US Secret Service-trained bulletcatchers and looked after by four staff, he is his own man.

He relaxes by reading news and biographies — Helen Suzman, Ronnie Kasrils and Carl Niehaus are the current list. In the evenings, he entertains visitors, many of them comrades from the days of legal practice, the time when he was the elusive "Black Pimpernel" before he was sent to jail for 27 years.

Mr Mandela, an impressively fit 75-year-old, sets a pace that leaves others flagging. Up at 5am for an hour-long walk, usually alone.

Breakfast of porridge, milk and fresh fruit at 6am. He is in his Plein Street office at 7am. His staff arrive at

With five months to go, the ANC is grabbing the moment, riding on the wash of congratulation and celebration that flowed from the completion of an interim constitution at the World Trade Centre 10 days ago.

On Tuesday, respectfully introduced as "Mr President" by German Ambassador Dr Hans-Christian Ueberschaer at a German South African Chamber of Trade luncheon that packed the Zoo Lake Restaurant with 380 prosperous businessmen, Mr Mandela held them rapt, including those in the overflow rooms who could only see him on closed-circuit television.

Between the smoked salmon and avocado entree and the poached kingklip main course, he spoke without notes for 35 minutes. He promised that the government of national unity would

But on Wednesday, so many Mercs and BMWs choked the car park it looked like the Germans had come back for a second helping.

The homeland financial scandals seemed far away and the security at this meeting of old friends and allies was so low-key it was invisible. Mr Mandela moved about freely, watched but not shadowed by his bodyguards, chatting, laughing and draping his arm around the shoulders of old friends.

He saved his warmest embraces for General Bantu Holomisa, who dashed in and out by helicopter, pin sharp in a navy blazer and mirror-polished shoes.

After three hours locked away, the ANC announced what had been a foregone conclusion, that the 10 remaining members of the PF would fight the election under the ANC banner, rallying around Mr Mandela's call for victory in all nine provinces as well as nationally. Politi-

Mr Mandela was patient to the end. At nearly 5pm, he was resigned to missing the launch of Ronnie Kasrils's book *Armed and Dangerous*, 30 minutes and 150km away in Johannesburg. A frown was all he showed of his feelings.

ON Thursday, at the Linder Auditorium in Johannesburg, opening the first of the forums, Mr Mandela aimed at the heart of the fears of whites, who made up about half the 700-strong audience, which included invited "opinion-makers" and business leaders.

Sol Kerzner, the good-natured butt of a comparison between his and Mr Mandela's fortunes, left bubbling with anticipation that the election would make the ANC leader state president.

This is just the beginning of the ANC campaign, and other

Unpaid staff abandon PAC

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter

THE PAC is cash-strapped to the extent that many of its office workers around the country are unpaid, and some have left in a huff.

But the organisation says its lack of funds has not prevented it from expanding — in the Western Cape alone 42 new branches were started this year.

Mr Barney Desai, the PAC's national publicity and information secretary and one of its chief negotiators at Kempton Park, confirmed this week that the organisation's parlous financial position, but promised "a big surprise" at the hustings next year.

STI 1100 28/11/93
"Yes, we are short of money, and staff sometimes get paid only when we have money," Mr Desai said.

The PAC office in Cape Town, the nerve-centre of the Western Cape region, is reported to be cut off from the outside world because its telephone and fax services have been cut.

It also faces eviction because of rental arrears. (11A)

Mr Desai said that despite its lack of funds, the PAC would still take part in the elections.

Final plans and election strategies will be made at its national congress in mid-December, and he predicted the PAC "would be a force to be reckoned with".

Mr Desai said although the PAC was not yet part of the Transitional Executive Council, "things could change".

He said that the PAC's participation in the TEC depended on the outcome of forthcoming bilateral talks between the PAC and the government on a mutual cessation of hostilities.

He explained that overseas funding for the organisation has dried up, "and we have to rely on our own resources".

But he added that the decision taken at Kempton Park about state funding for participating parties would help the PAC face the hustings "in a less disadvantaged manner".

SITimes 28/11/93
By PETER De IONNO

THE ANC was prepared to try anything that would prevent civil war in South Africa, Tokyo Sexwale, the organisation's PWV regional chairman said yesterday.

Addressing 2 000 squatters at an ANC People's Forum in Ivory Park near Kempton Park yesterday during Nelson Mandela's four-day election tour of the region, Mr Sexwale brought the cheering crowd to its feet when he chanted: "Away violence, away civil war."

In a clear reference to the rising tempo of "war talk" coming from leaders of elements of the Freedom Alliance, Mr Sexwale said: "Civil war is not wanted by South Africans, it is not wanted by all our people, black and white."

He said the ANC was committed to resolving political differences peacefully.

"We want to issue a warning to those who want to start civil war, we shall stand together fighting for peace against all of those who want civil war."

"But whoever starts that war — whether it's in Ulundi, whether it starts in Ventersdorp — must know war does not know any colour. It does not know any borders."

He urged supporters to "defend yourselves hard if you are attacked", adding "these defence units must be disciplined".

As he spoke, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu was telling the northern Transvaal ANC regional conference in Gazankulu the right-wing threats were "not enough to stop Nelson Mandela becoming president in April".

The ANC attempt to cool the political temperature came just hours after the SADF cancelled weekend leave for soldiers in response to threats of civil war.

On Friday the SAP said it had opened a docket of incitement to commit crime against Afrikaner Weestandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre Blanche who



SUPPORTIVE ... IFP members march with the AWB yesterday

(Picture: MARTIN POPE

ANC vows to avert civil war

reportedly urged his supporters to steal weapons in a speech in Port Elizabeth.

He allegedly told them an overwhelming majority for the ANC in April would mean war.

But the threats continued yesterday with Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi predicting civil war unless a federal constitution was adopted.

He stressed the IFP was not calling for civil war but "there is no saying what

our followers will do when they realise they have been betrayed by the National Party and the African National Congress".

In Vereeniging yesterday Mr Terre Blanche watched as AWB and IFP supporters marched through the town together before the signing of a mutual defence pact.

The national IFP leadership said the regional leaders were acting without authority.

Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope warned the ANC of conflict if Freedom Alliance demands for federalism were not acknowledged.

He told the annual military parade at the Odi stadium, in Mmabatho, the ANC warning of "tanks rolling" into homeland states which resisted the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council was a threat which underlined "murderous" ANC intentions.

POLITICS

Boesak's team for the Western Cape



Allan Boesak



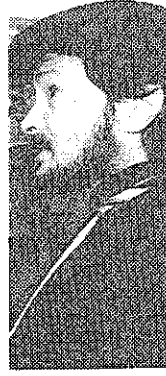
Lerumo Kalako



Tony Yengeni



Willie Hofmeyr



Salie Manie



Rashieda Abdullah



Jannie Momberg



Christmas Tinto



Hilda Ndude



Cameron Dugmore



Bulelani Ngcuka



Johnny Issel



Amos Lengisi



Jan van Eck

Yengeni ousted in battle for key ANC post

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE tussle between fire-brand Tony Yengeni and his SA Communist Party colleague Lerumo Kalako for the position of secretary of the Western Cape region of the ANC was not such a close contest after all.

In the election at the fourth annual congress of the region in Bellville at the weekend, Mr Kalako won by 282 votes to Mr Yengeni's 186.

The third person in the race, Boyce Williams, got four votes.

Dr Allan Boesak was elected chairman for a third successive term.

The new regional executive

committee, one third of whom are women, includes former United Democratic Front stalwarts Johnny Issel, Christmas Tinto, Hilda Ndude and Melanie Verwoerd, wife of Hendrik Verwoerd, grandson of apartheid ideologue Hendrik Verwoerd.

Former assistant secretary Willie Hofmeyr is to become part of the ANC's election machinery and was not available for re-election. His position went to Chris Nissen.

Also back on the executive is MP for Claremont Jan van Eck who quit earlier this year because of ill health.

Mr Van Eck said his doctors had declared him fit.

The full executive is: Allan Boesak, Vincent Diba (vice-chairman), Lerumo Kalako

(secretary), Chris Nissen (assistant secretary), Ebrahim Rasool (treasurer), Tony Yengeni, Max Ozinsky, Rhoda Joemat, Johnny de Lange, Cameron Dugmore, Salie Manie, Zou Kota, Jan van Eck, Rashieda Abdullah, Hilda Ndude, Christmas Tinto, Amos Lengisi, Willie Hofmeyr, Melanie Verwoerd, Jean Benjamin, Noel Williams, Johnny Issel, Jannie Momberg, Bulelani Ngcuka and Lizo Ngqungwana.

Mr Kalako, 39, said his spirits were high when he ousted Mr Yengeni.

His emphasis would be on building ANC branches, zones and sub-regions to prepare for the elections.

Likely to be a key part of the ANC's election drive, Mr Kalako said delegates to the

congress had expressed serious concerns about the violence.

"The comrades thought this was one area we should pay attention to. It's one way of destabilising our branches."

He dismissed the Pan Africanist Congress as "really no threat despite what the newspapers predict".

He said there was a tendency among those aged between 10 and 17 to shout PAC slogans.

"When you come closer to them, they know nothing about the PAC, nor are they members of its structures. Others are just young thugs or juveniles."

But the ANC would not underestimate the appeal PAC slogans had for the youth.

ARC 29/11/93

US boost for SA

ANC (NA) CT29/11/93 'dove' Kalako ousts Yengeni

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

FORMER MK commander Mr Tony Yengeni was ousted as ANC Western Cape regional secretary at a weekend conference geared to bolstering the ANC's electoral chances next April.

The ANC's militant and often controversial leader was comprehensively thrashed — by 282 votes to 186 — by former SACP Western Cape chairman Mr Lerumo Kalako, who last night promised a more "collective" style of leadership in the region in the run-up to the election.

The dumping of Mr Yengeni in favour of the more moderate Mr Kalako sparked scenes of wild jubilation at the Peninsula Technikon.

Victory

It was seen in ANC circles as a major boost for the organisation's bid to attract coloured and white voters in what is expected to be the most closely contested region in South Africa on April 27.

In another victory for the "doves" at the conference, the head of the ANC's peace desk in the Western Cape, Mr Vincent Diba, was elected to fill Mr Kalako's position of vice-chairman in a five-way contest.

The Rev Chris Nissen was elected unopposed

To page 2



NEW LEADER ... Supporters lift former SACP Western Cape chairman Mr Lerumo Kalako (top, left) into the air after he ousted Mr Tony Yengeni as ANC Western Cape regional secretary. Picture: BENNY GOOL

Trade pact negotiated

ARG 29/11/93 (74)

JOHANNESBURG. — South Africa and the US government's Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) will sign a "cornerstone" business treaty in Cape Town tomorrow, visiting US Secretary of Commerce Mr Ron Brown said last night.

Mr Brown is leading a delegation to South Africa of 25 senior executives from big and small US firms including representatives from the telecommunications, manufacturing, financial and real estate sectors.

He said the OPIC agreement was the cornerstone of a US strategy for investment in South Africa. Its finalisation would give great confidence to US and other foreign investors, enhancing prospects of investment in South Africa and strengthening commercial ties between the two nations.

The corporation is a government agency intended to promote US private investment in developing countries. It assists US investors by financing projects through direct loans and/or guarantees, insuring such projects against a broad range of political risks, and providing other services including advice, information, matchmaking and investment missions.

Speaking at a media briefing in Johannesburg, Mr Brown said the negotiations on the treaty were "virtually complete".

US exports to South Africa totalled \$2.4 billion (R8.4bn) last year, or 44% of US exports to sub-Saharan Africa, making it America's most important export market in the region.

Since the lifting of most US federal economic sanctions against South Africa in mid-1991, 30 American enterprises have re-established a presence in the country.

Mr Brown is to sign the deal in Cape Town tomorrow and Minister of Finance Mr Derek Keys is likely to



TALKING TRADE ... United States Secretary for Commerce Mr Ron Brown (left) talks to top businessman Dr Nthato Motlana at a function in Johannesburg yesterday.

sign on behalf of South Africa. Mr Brown meets Mr Keys and the multi-party Economic Committee, which includes the ANC, Inkatha and the PAC, tomorrow afternoon.

His visit is the first by a senior US government official and was made at the request of US President Bill Clinton in late September, after ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela called for the scrapping of remaining economic embargoes.

Match-make

ANC foreign affairs head Mr Thabo Mbeki was upbeat about Mr Brown's visit and expected it and the signing of the OPIC agreement to signal a marked change in American investor attitudes towards South Africa.

Mr Brown has said he hopes to "match-make" black SA entrepreneurs with American enterprises.

Mr Clinton last week signed into law the South African Transition to Democracy Act, which lifts remaining federal sanctions and encourages local governments to do the same. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

Lexington for after action



Let's co-operate — Allan Boesak

By Wagheed Misbach

SOUTH Africa should not use the United States as a model for future affirmative action policies, said Dr Allan Boesak, ANC Western Cape chairperson at an Independent Business Forum conference last week.

"They haven't done well. Even if we use the same terms, we see things differently from them," said Boesak at the event last week.

He said the United States had failed as the issue had become a point of conflict.

"We have to see the opportunities for co-operation, rather than a battlefield."

He appealed to the business community to build together for the future rather than have the issue become an area of conflict or "site of struggle" for the democratic movement.

"One area where businesspeople and politicians can work together is to dispel the fears on both sides about the issue," said Boesak.

However, Boesak also warned



ALLAN BOESAK

that the ANC would set up meetings with companies which were ignoring "coloureds" in recruitment and only recruiting Africans.

He accused these companies of "racism and politicking". He said apartheid created the divisions by dividing the oppressed communi-

South 29/10 - 2/11/93
'We have to right the wrongs of the past and create equal access to the opportunities that will be created in a new democratic context' (IIA)

ties into Africans, coloured and Indians.

"It's wrong to perpetuate the injustices of the past.

"The perversity of apartheid created these categories where Indians were treated better than coloured and coloureds in turn treated better than Africans.

"The oppressed communities cannot yet again be made victims of distorted thinking from certain companies in the Western Cape."

He admitted there was real racism from coloureds of the "swart gevaar" — that blacks would take over their jobs. But these fears could be dispelled with discussion.

He said the ANC would com-

pile a list of the Western Cape companies with such policies and would go public only if the companies were not responsive to their demands.

However, the ANC would not be prescriptive, but would seek dialogue with these companies.

He applauded the aim of some companies' commitment to voluntary involvement, which would involve them designing their own timetable to tackle the issue. But he felt this was not enough.

"Far too many will not react to that. Instead of a having a long protracted battle that would continue for five or 10 more years, an ANC-led government would need to have legislation.

"Business will not react to this unless encouraged to do so."

Boesak said the ANC did not have a "worked-out" policy on affirmative action, but the issue would be on the agenda of the major reconstruction conference in December which included Cosatu and the South African Communist Party.

"Affirmative action for the ANC was part of the economic reconstruction of South Africa. This is central to ANC policy.

"It is a political necessity as well as a moral responsibility."

"We have to right the wrongs of the past and create equal access to the opportunities that will be created in a new democratic context."

Boesak said the "structured designed injustice" of the past in all spheres, including education and access to facilities, that has to be rectified.

The issue should also not be confused with equal opportunity or social responsibility programmes, he said.

Women's liberation: make it happen

South 29/10 - 2/11/93

"IF you assume something will be done about bringing women into liberation it doesn't happen," says Baleka Kgositsile, general secretary of the ANC Women's League. "You have to do something to ensure that it happens." (SBSA)

This is the motivation behind her tireless fight to ensure that the new South African constitution will provide equality for the sexes.

According to Kgositsile, a "tough battle is being fought and won" to get women's issues onto the agenda at negotiations.

She feels that the present negotiations are laying the foundation for non-sexism in a future constitution.

"We need to lay the basis of non-sexism on agreements reached in the new constitution. The first constitutional principle strives towards equality of men and women. (IIF)

"So even if others were to draw up the constitution, they would have to confine themselves to the basis we have laid," she says.

"We insisted that women should attend, and this educated the participants. The Democratic Party did a survey on women's involvement, and found that the men had initially been reluctant on this issue, but because they had to bring in women, they found that we are capable."

Kgositsile feels that women have gained a lot of ground on the ANC's election list.

"The National Working Committee of the ANC has just met and a decision was taken to recommend to the national executive committee (NEC) that at least one third of the election list should be women," says Kgositsile, stressing the phrase "at least".

"This figure will be worked into blocks so that any given part of the election list will be one third women."

The recommendation still has to be approved by the NEC, but Kgositsile anticipates no problems with it.



BALEKA KGOSITSILE

Mandela criticises black Freedom Alliance leaders

Sowetan 29/11/93


By McKeed Kotlolo

■ AGAINST FREEDOM They want continuation of minority rule.

ANC PRESIDENT Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday urged people who did not want freedom to leave South Africa before the April 27 general election next year.

Addressing thousands of people at the Medunsa sports grounds near Garankuwa, Mr Mandela reminded Bophuthatswana president Mr Lucas Mangope, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Ciskei leader, Brigadier Oupa Gqozo that by opposing the coming election "they are saying they do not want freedom but the continuation of a minority government".

ANC supporters ululated and chanted slogans as Mandela addressed them in

Xhosa, Zulu and Tswana.  Mandela criticised Mangope and warned him that he was occupying the presidency of the homeland not because of the will of the people but "because of the guns of the SA Government".

He said several years ago the people of Bophuthatswana, led by Mr Rocky Malebane-Metsing, overthrew him (Mangope) but he was returned to the same seat by the SA Government.

Responding to the IFP and AWB joint march at the weekend, Mandela said it was not a surprise because one of

the IFP leaders, Mr Musa Myeni, signed a non-aggression pact with Eugene Terre'Blanche some months ago.

He also criticised newspaper reports which quoted him as having agreed to give Pretoria and the Eastern Transvaal to the rightwing.

"The statement is just an invention by a journalist to create confusion".

"Chief Mabhoko and the KwaNdebele cabinet also attended the meeting at which I was quoted as making the statement and none of them know about this," he said.

To roaring applause from the crowd, Mandela said he was going to give "immediate attention to the issue of the 700 expelled Setlogelo Technicon students who were fired for allegedly not having their student cards".

Lashing out at Buthelezi, Mandela said he (Buthelezi) knew very well that he was not the leader of all the Zulu people and this was indicated during his (Mandela) meeting recently in Natal which was attended by 90 000 people, including traditional leaders.

Referring to Terre'Blanche's war talk, Mandela said he should not be taken seriously. He described him as "a great dreamer".

Terre'Blanche was trying to emulate Adolf Hitler and "that is why he is wearing a swastika," he said.

Outsiders get vote

Sowetan

29/11/93

By Don Seokane

AFRICAN National Congress members should look beyond card-carrying members of the organisation when nominating people who could be voted on to the ANC's ticket, deputy president Walter Sisulu has said.

Addressing the fourth annual conference of the ANC Northern Transvaal region at the weekend at Singwedzi College of Education at Malamulele, Gazankulu, Sisulu said individuals outside the organisation who are selfless and dedicated to serving the people should also be nominated. (119)

Sisulu said independent opinion polls indicated that the ANC has the highest support in the region with 73 percent.

"Despite the rightwing and Freedom

Alliance's threats of war, the will of the majority to deliver democracy in the country shall prevail," Sisulu said.

Sisulu's call for non-party members to be nominated came despite the uproar last week when sportsmen and women, as well as political leaders of other organisations, were revealed to be in the ANC lists.

Earlier during the conference, outgoing regional chairman Mr Ngoako Ramatlhodi said the National Party and Pan Africanist Congress were attempting to undermine the ANC and project themselves as "liberators of our people".

Ramatlhodi said the PAC should be reminded that "when our houses were being demolished, theirs were deliberately forgotten".

No agreement over volkstaat — Mandela

Star 29/11/93

ANC president Nelson Mandela made it clear yesterday he had not agreed to Pretoria and the eastern Transvaal becoming an Afrikaner "volkstaat". (I/A)

He was addressing more than 20 000 people at the Medical University of South Africa (Medunsa) in Garankuwa, north of Pretoria.

It was the last leg of Mandela's four-day PWV election tour.

Media reports last week claimed Mandela had mooted the idea of an Afrikaner homeland, comprising the eastern Transvaal and Pretoria but excluding the neighbouring townships of Mamelodi and Atteridgeville.

The ANC leader also accused President de Klerk of failing to stop right-wing war talk and township violence.

He criticised the "lame-duck government" of being unable to deal with the country's problems.

He again warned that many whites would die if the right-wing made good on its threats of civil war.

After a bloodbath that would claim many black and white lives, Afrikaner Weerstand-

beweging leader Eugene Terre-Blanche would plead for mercy from the new government, Mandela said.

He said TerreBlanche would be remembered as someone who tried to defend minority rule by attempting to plunge the country into bloodshed, but failed.

Referring to homeland leaders insisting on self-rule, he said the April 27 election would be a day of reckoning for Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope, Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo and KwaZulu's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who afterwards would be out of jobs.

Chief Buthelezi knew that he was not the leader of all Zulus as he liked to believe, a fact demonstrated by the thousands of Zulus which attended the ANC's "Sonke" rally near Durban recently, the ANC leader said.

Mandela again accused the SAP's Internal Stability Unit (ISU) of waging war against blacks.

He also criticised De Klerk for not acting on information he had received from him about alleged ISU activities in the townships.

— Sapa.

Yengeni is demoted

Sowetan 29/11/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

A POPULAR and one of the most powerful regional leaders of the African National Congress, Mr Tony Yengeni, has been ousted as Western Cape secretary of the organisation.

The former Umkhonthe we Sizwe commander has been replaced by former Western Cape ANC vice-chairman Mr Lerumo Kalako. (117)

The decisions on a new regional executive were taken at the ANC Western Cape regional congress which ended yesterday.

However, Dr Allan Boesak retained

his position as regional chairman. Yengeni would still remain in the regional executive.

The election of Kalako fuels the debate on the existence of "hawks and doves" within the ANC hierarchy.

Yengeni, a staunch communist and close friend of the late SACP general secretary Mr Chris Hani, was a firebrand in the region.

Many saw his militancy as militating against potential support from the "coloured" community, who are seen as a conservative lot.

His defeat came only days after a secret survey in the region showed him to be the most popular leader.

Yengeni on committee

29/11/93

(118)

Political Correspondent

THE 20-member ANC regional executive committee (REC) elected at the weekend includes deposed regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni and Mrs Melanie Verwoerd, wife of the grandson of Dr H F Verwoerd.

The top five positions went to: Dr Allan Boesak (chairman), Mr Lerumo Kalako (secretary), Mr Vincent Diba (vice-chairman), the Rev Chris Nis-

sen (assistant secretary), and Mr Ebrahim Rasool (treasurer).

Among the ordinary members of the REC are: Mr Willie Hofmeyer, Mr Jan van Eck, Mr Jannie Momberg, Mr Christmas Tinto, Mr Bulelani Nguka, Mrs Hilda Ndude, Mr Zou Kota, Mr Salie Manie, Mr Amos Lengesi, Mr Johnny Issel, Mr Lizo Ngqungwana, Mrs Rashieda Abdulla, Mr Cameron Dugmore and Mr Johnny de Lange.

Star 29/11/93

Boesak re-elected to ANC post

Cape Town — ANC western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak was re-elected unopposed for a third term at the organisation's regional conference at the weekend.

Tony Yengeni, often at loggerheads with his local leader and supportive of more extreme views, was ousted as regional secretary — the second most senior regional post.

Yengeni, an SACP member and former Umkhonto we Sizwe commander, was ousted by fellow SACP member and former SACP Cape regional chairman Lerumo Kalako, the former ANC regional vice-chairman.

Yengeni is understood to have

caused the ANC extreme difficulty in penetrating the crucial coloured community by backing Winnie Mandela and ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba at Peninsula meetings where the "Kill the Boer, kill the farmer" slogan drew wide attention.

Another important change in the regional executive team was the departure of former assistant secretary Wille Hofmeyr.

Hofmeyr said he wanted to be more closely involved in the April 27 election campaign.

Boesak told the congress that the region would be the most difficult to wrest from the ANC's real opposition, the NP.

■ ANC southern Natal leader

Jeff Radebe was re-elected chairman at the weekend. The core leadership of the ANC in the region remains unchanged.

■ Key members of the ANC's northern Transvaal regional executive committee were re-elected yesterday. (1A)

MK cadre Collins Ohm Chabane was returned unopposed to his position of secretary — the second time since the launch of the branch in 1990.

Ngwako Ramatlhodi, former media secretary of late ANC president Oliver Tambo, was re-elected chairman.

Mokaba, who received one nomination for the position of regional chairman, lost. — Sapa.

From page 1

as the regional deputy-secretary and Mr Ebrahim Rasool was returned unopposed as treasurer.

The 20-member ANC regional executive committee elected at the weekend have a racial mix broadly representative of the people living in the Western Cape.

ANC regional chairman for the third straight year, Dr Allan Boesak, said at a press conference last night that he had "no doubt that we could not have chosen a better team" to fight the election.

Dr Boesak, who was elected unopposed, said he had "no illusions that it is going to be a very tough race", but he took heart from the latest polls which showed that the ANC and the National Party were running "neck-and-neck" in the region.

The election contest for the Western Cape was "more or less" going to be a race for the coloured voters, who compromise about 58% in the region.

Branches

The ANC had 90-93% support among African voters in the region and almost 6% among whites — double the national average for the organisation.

The Rev Chris Nissen was elected unopposed as the regional deputy-secretary and Mr Ebrahim Rasool was returned unopposed as treasurer.

Mr Yengeni did not attend last night's press conference along with most of the 20 members of the newly elected regional executive.

ANC (11A) CT29/11/92 'dove' Kalako ousts Yengeni

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

FORMER MK commander Mr Tony Yengeni was ousted as ANC Western Cape regional secretary at a weekend conference geared to bolstering the ANC's electoral chances next April.

The ANC's militant and often controversial leader was comprehensively thrashed — by 282 votes to 186 — by former SACP Western Cape chairman Mr Lerumo Kalako, who last night promised a more "collective" style of leadership in the region in the run-up to the election.

The dumping of Mr Yengeni in favour of the more moderate Mr Kalako sparked scenes of wild jubilation at the Peninsula Technikon.

Victory

It was seen in ANC circles as a major boost for the organisation's bid to attract coloured and white voters in what is expected to be the most closely contested region in South Africa on April 27.

In another victory for the "doves" at the conference, the head of the ANC's peace desk in the Western Cape, Mr Vincent Diba, was elected to fill Mr Kalako's position of vice-chairman in a five-way contest.

The Rev Chris Nissen was elected unopposed

To page 2

POLITICS

Communists 'happy' with set-up

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE South African Communist Party says it is happy with the composition of the African National Congress's regional executive committee — it has five members on the 25-person committee, including the second highest position.

The party's Lerumo Kalako is the new ANC regional secretary in the Western Cape.

Other party members on the committee, according to regional

SACP secretary Lizi Nkonki, are Tony Yengeni, Zou Kota, Max Ozinsky and Umkhonto we Sizwe regional commander Lizo Ngqungwana.

Declaring himself satisfied with new committee, Mr Nkonki said the SACP, the ANC's alliance partner, had not campaigned for a party-dominated committee.

"Our approach is not sectarian. We are happy that non-party members are on the committee. We want the committee to be more representative and to represent the non-racial nature of the

struggle."

He said the SACP would fight the election under the ANC banner.

He hoped the alliance would continue after April 27.

"The battle against oppression is not over yet. We hope to strengthen the alliance after the elections."

The SACP is preparing for its regional conference this weekend.

Central committee member Raymond Sutner will deliver the keynote address.

1119

ARL 30/11/93

No mercy, Sowetan 30/11/93 says the ANC

AFRICAN National Congress leaders told thousands of their Pretoria supporters that the new government would not pardon criminals.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela told the rally at the Medunsa Sports Stadium at the weekend that the Government had requested that those prisoners guilty of apartheid crimes be pardoned.

He said no criminals would be pardoned when the new government takes over. "They will be sent to Satan to ask for forgiveness," he said.

Responding to a supporter who wanted to know if Clive Derby-Lewis and Janusz Walus would still be alive when Mandela took over as president in the new South Africa, a member of the panel answering questions at the rally, Mr Tokyo Sexwale, said: "Yes, they will be alive."

He added: "They will be alive because we want them to beg for mercy." Both men were sentenced to death for the assassination of SACP leader Chris Hani earlier this year (11/9)

Yengeni will lose his salary

Political Correspondent

FORMER MK commander and ousted ANC Western Cape regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni is set to lose his ANC salary.

Mr Yengeni, who lost his job to Mr Lerumo Kalako at the weekend, was, however, elected as one of the 20 additional members of the Western Cape regional executive committee (REC) — a non-

paying position.

The only members who receive a salary on the Western Cape executive of the ANC are the secretary and the deputy-secretary. In the other eight regions of the ANC the salaried positions are those of chairman and secretary. Western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak, who is the director to the Foundation for Justice and Peace, does not receive an ANC

salary.

Mr Yengeni, who can still apply for a paying job in the ANC regional office along with other ordinary members, was not available for comment yesterday.

The ANC was not prepared to comment on whether Mr Yengeni would lose the right to a bodyguard, as this was regarded as a security matter.

(11A) CT30/11/93

Mandela warns 'we will crush you'

ANC president Nelson Mandela has said political groups conspiring to undermine democracy will be crushed.

"If, in spite of all our efforts, the right wing — with their black surrogates — decide on violence, a lot of innocent people will die," he told BBC television's foreign affairs documentary programme Assignment, to be screened in Britain today.

"But eventually those elements will be crushed and they will come back and beg for mercy."

Reuter reports Mandela says "the people are sufficiently united" to move on without the white right and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Sapa reports from Cape Town that Mandela yesterday paid a visit to Robben Island, his prison home for more than two decades. Mandela flew to Robben Island

after addressing businessmen in Cape Town earlier.

Accompanied by former PAC deputy president and fellow islander advocate Dikgang Moseneke, he flew to the island by chartered helicopter.

Before he left, Mandela, who had changed his business suit for more casual clothing, said a documentary was being made about his life. "Visiting the island is part of that documentary." (U) (A)

Moseneke, a Pretoria advocate, said the documentary was being shot by Zenzi Khulu Promotions. "We are going to the island to record a bit about his life and time there for posterity."

Moseneke, who was imprisoned on the island as a 14-year-old, said he was not held in the same section as Mandela.

"He was in the section for leaders. I was too young to lead then." — Sapa.

Ramaphosa to lead ANC on the TEC

BIDEM 30/11/93

ANC chief negotiator and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa will be the organisation's chief delegate to the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), which is expected to start operating next Monday.

The ANC said in a negotiations bulletin yesterday that its national working committee had appointed another top negotiator and NEC member, Mac Maharaj, alternate member of the TEC (11A)

The organisation will be represented on the TEC's law and order subcouncil by peace desk head and NEC member Sydney Mufamadi, while Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise will serve on the defence subcouncil.

ANC Women's League NEC member Mavivi Manzini will serve on the subcouncil on women, NEC member Aziz Pahad on the foreign relations subcouncil and Billy Cobbet of the ANC's local government department on the local and regional government subcouncil.

Deputy economics head Tito Mboweni will serve on the finance subcouncil. The ANC said its intelligence subcouncil rep-

LLOYD COUTTS

representative would be announced later.

The bulletin said the ANC would begin implementing agreements reached in negotiations once the TEC was established.

"The process of transition will then be on course. In this regard, our objectives are to ensure that we level the political playing field and create a climate conducive for free and fair elections to be held."

This would be done by ensuring that all armed formations, including the SADF and the SAP, were placed under "joint discipline", which would enable the ANC to combat violence.

"The subcouncils of the TEC will also be in a position to ensure that the NP regime is not able to use any of the state resources or structures to unfairly prejudice the other parties," the bulletin said.

The DP, meanwhile, confirmed yesterday that it would be represented by negotiator Colin Eglin, with Ken Andrew its alternate TEC member.

A spokesman had no further details.

Ramaphosa heads TEC team

(117)

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa will head a high-powered ANC team serving in the Transitional Executive Council and its seven sub-councils, it was announced yesterday.

Ramaphosa will serve as the ANC's representative on the

TEC. He will alternate with ANC national executive committee member (NEC) Mac Maharaj.

Writing in its in-house journal Negotiation News, the ANC said NEC member and peace desk head Sydney Mufamadi would serve in the sub-council on law and order, while defence secretary Joe Modise would be in the sub-council on defence.

Deputy ANC international affairs director Aziz Pahad will serve in the sub-council on foreign relations and Billy Cobbet in the sub-council on local and regional government. Deputy economics planning department head Tito Mboweni will be part of the sub-council on finance, and Mavivi Manzini will be on the sub-council on women.

Ramaphosa is ANC's top choice

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — ANC chief negotiator and general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa will be the organisation's chief delegate to the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), which is expected to start operating next week.

The ANC said yesterday its national working committee had also appointed Mr Mac Maharaj as an alternate member of the TEC.

The organisation will be represented on the TEC's law and order sub-council by peace desk head and NEC member Mr Sydney Mufamadi, and uMkhonto we-Sizwe commander Mr Joe Modise will serve on the defence sub-council.

ANC Women's League NEC member Ms Mavivi Manzini will serve on the sub-council on women, NEC member Mr Aziz Pahad on the foreign relations sub-council and Mr Billy Cobbet, of the ANC's

local government department, on the local and regional government sub-council.

Deputy head of economics Mr Tito Mboweni will serve on the finance sub-council. The ANC said its representative on the intelligence sub-council would be announced later.

The DP confirmed yesterday that it would be represented by negotiator Mr Colin Eglin, with Mr Ken Andrew its alternate TEC member. CT 30/11/93

114

BLACK POLITICS

1993

DECEMBER

FW, Mandela warn right wing

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk yesterday joined ANC president Nelson Mandela in warning of firm action against right-wingers who attempted to derail the transition to democracy and tried to take the law into their own hands.

However, De Klerk distanced himself from Mandela's call for the formation of an anti-fascist front if the Freedom Alliance continued trying to block black majority rule.

De Klerk said after meeting US Commerce Secretary Ron Brown that it was unwise to start hanging "fascist" labels around the necks of people like Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope. Rather every effort should be made to bring such leaders on board.

De Klerk and Mandela said yesterday that talks with the Freedom Alliance were making progress and that there was no need for the alliance to rebel because the Transitional Executive Council was about to be installed.

However, Mandela added that "those who have been persecuting us have formed the so-called Freedom Alliance — it is a group of men who want to maintain minority rule. If they continue along these lines we will have no alternative but to call for the formation of an anti-fascist front."

Brown said he had promised Mandela full US support for the transition to democracy and the campaign against political violence. He also said the TEC was an important landmark in SA's history and both it and government still had important roles to play.

Political Staff

Brown also commended De Klerk for indicating that government would not tolerate disruption of the political process and that it would do everything in its power to curtail violence.

"Violence is on the minds of business people and we have been encouraged by what we have found here. There is great potential and opportunity in this country. We want to see the violence curtailed and we commit ourselves to a free and fair election and full participation by all," he said.

Sapa reports Mandela said after meeting Brown he felt confident the ANC had powerful friends. "We will continue persuading those who fear democracy not to undermine the process of bringing peace to our country."

US President Bill Clinton had been forthright in his efforts to facilitate the transition to a nonracial society and the democratic forces in SA had the support of the US.

Mandela said he had briefed Brown on negotiations and violence.

Later, after his meeting with De Klerk, Brown said his delegation had been overwhelmed by its reception in SA.

"We will leave here encouraged and optimistic about your future."

De Klerk described the occasion as historic, as it was the first visit of a US cabinet minister to SA.

"This is final proof of the irreversibility of the new constructive relationship between the

US and SA. We look forward to the expansion of interaction in all fields as well as to the lifting of sanctions in the various states."

De Klerk also said he felt "a sense of fulfillment" that the goals he had set when he became President were being achieved.

"People refer to me having crossed the Rubicon. I am glad the international community has also crossed the Rubicon and that we are now on the same side.

"The new constitution reflects to our satisfaction all the fundamental issues we raised during last year's referendum campaign. The statement that the government has crumbled is not true when an objective analysis is made.

"Our role will not end here, we are not liquidating a system so that we can disappear, but are changing to make the system more just and equitable.

"I foresee for ourselves a dynamic role in the government of national unity. I feel upbeat and confident, also about the future of all South Africans."

Addressing students and diplomats at the University of the Western Cape, Brown called on SA to grasp the outstretched hand of the US and the world.

Many would see the April 27 elections as the end of the struggle, but elections created only the opportunity for change. They should be seen as a beginning, not an end, he said.

Brown was expected to travel to Durban last night for an evening meeting with Buthelezi, according to a programme released by the US Information Service.

ANC

Tony takes it on the chin

APR 11/12/93 (11A)

Deposed Yengeni disappointed but vows to keep 'fighting for the liberation of our people'



Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, The Argus

TONY YENGENI ... defeated but still determined to speak his mind "because if we don't do it and speak the truth about poverty and violence the voice of the people will be silenced."

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

TONY Yengeni is no longer secretary of the ANC in the Western Cape, but just Tony Yengeni, 39, an additional member of the movement's regional executive committee.

He's slowly coming to terms with his changed status and has accepted the "verdict" of delegates who overwhelmingly voted to replace him with Lerumo Kalako at the movement's conference at the weekend.

"It was real democracy and democracy is what I'm committed to," he said as he broke his silence about his ousting.

"I accept that Lerumo has been elected. One has to congratulate him. I hope he is able to lead and guide our membership in the right political direction."

Congratulating his successor was necessary because of the need for unity in ANC ranks.

"The elections brought tension into our ranks. Now that the conference is over we need unity between the leadership and members and be-



tween our leaders."

Is there still a future in the ANC for Tony Yengeni?

"I'm still young and have a long and full life ahead of me. I'm facing a new challenge."

His ousting was a setback, but he has lost a battle and not the war.

"Let me put it this way: I've been involved in the struggle for a long time, sometimes under difficult conditions, but never to win a position. To me it's business as usual ... I'm fighting for the liberation of our people."

He said he would not skulk off and become a dissident capable of wreaking havoc.

"I'm going to remain a loyal and disciplined ANC member. I don't see myself going to parliament. I'm going to remain to improve the situation of the people on the ground."

He also pledged to champion the cause of the youth.

"They are our future. We need to win their confidence,

trust, respect and co-operation if we want stability and peace. This is an area in which I want to be involved."

As a committed revolutionary he has resolved to rally ANC members around the new leadership to give them strength and support.

"If this is not done there's no way in which the leadership can win the elections with a clear majority."

Some claim he was ousted because the doves have started to rule.

"Perhaps I'm more militant and radical than some of my colleagues. I don't hide this. It's because I'm committed to the redistribution and transformation of society and not to cosmetic change."

This is why he had joined the ANC, SA Communist Party and Umkhonto we Siswe.

His militance springs from the ideological standpoint of the ANC and SACP.

"I openly and freely express my views militantly because I have nothing to lose. I speak my mind because if we don't do it and speak the truth about poverty and violence the voice of the people will be silenced," he said.

"We need people in the ANC who are not afraid to call a spade a spade."

The key challenge facing the ANC in the Western Cape was to win over coloureds, Indians and whites.

"No right-thinking comrade can be against this. The point is that it must not be done at the expense of the most exploited, disadvantaged and the poorest section of the population, the African people."

Africans were not in the majority in the Western Cape, but as "freedom fighters we must still be committed to the liberation of all our people".

He said he was uncomfortable about the liberation struggle being reduced to winning the coloured vote.

"We must never forget that our struggle is about non-racism, equality and non-sexism."

Since his fall from power he has had numerous telephone calls from people pledging their support and inviting him to speak at meetings.

"Some people called just to say 'be strong you have a contribution to make'."

These calls have helped. Now all he wants is some rest because the past five months have been hectic. Then it's back into the hurly burly world of politics.

focus on Elections

THE PROBLEM IS rather different. The organisation needs 400 candidates for the national and regional election lists. This is made up of 200 national and 200 regional.

The list in the ANC's possession contains over 1 500 names and it is still growing. Besides the 10 or so freak nominations of sportsmen and women as well as non-party members, the rest of the 1 100 men and women who have been seen by some people, and maybe themselves, too, as deserving of serving in Parliament, will have to be told "sorry, try another time".

Many of the names are understood to be for the national list which, as already spelt out, can only take 200. So, while other organisations may be going around soliciting names, the ANC is wrestling with an editing problem.

And space, as any journalist will tell you, is hell. You can only take that much and face the wrath of those edited out.

Other groupings

Gender sensitivity has ensured that at least 30 percent of the 200 have to be women, leaving 140 places for men and other groupings who support the ANC.

The 100-member National Executive Committee (NEC) will naturally feel entitled to be included, after all the membership of the organisation has already shown confidence in them by electing them into that structure.

Save for about 10 or so women herein who would now be included in the women's quota, and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and SACP chief Charles Ngqakula, who have said they prefer to serve the parties from outside, the 88 others have to go in.

Of the remaining 52, 20 go to Cosatu and its much-needed support from the working class. Another 20 is earmarked for the SACP as the other major tripartite alliance partner, leaving 12 in the pot.

The five white independent MPs who are ANC members and who repositioned themselves strategically at the right time and have served and represented the organisation in the ongoing debates, bring with them much needed experience and have to be included.

Seven places

Seven places must go to at least the following groupings:

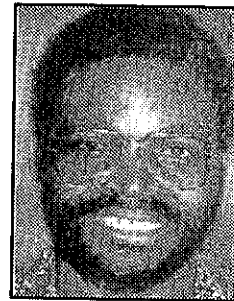
- Other tricameral parliamentarians who have experience are crossing to the ANC, hoping to be in the lists; and

- Thebantustan partners of the "patriotic front at Codesa", who include Transkei, Lebowa, KwaNdebele, KaNgwane and Venda. They have played their part at the talks, diligently supporting the ANC even where such support implied political suicide, such as the single ballot system.

If the need for their backing was based on their assumed support at grassroots level, is it not only natural that they be included in the list?

Sowetan 11/2/93

The African National Congress has a huge problem regarding the coming elections. It is not as if it is concerned about winning, because, we are made to believe, is a foregone conclusion. Political editor **Mathatha Tsedu** explains:



(11A)

‘The legions of homegrown activists who kept the fire of struggle burning and who had to pay dearly for this are also hoping for recognition to serve their country at the highest level’

How many for each? What about Contralesa and its chiefs, represented as they are by provinces? How many should they get to ensure their interests are safeguarded?

The legions of homegrown activists who kept the fire of struggle burning and who had to pay dearly for this, and those in the civic movement and sports, are hoping for recognition too and with that a chance to serve their country at the highest level.

Returned exiles

If you add to these the returned exiles, some of whom bear scars of battles, while some bring immense experience in the world of diplomacy, the numbers in the lists just disappear.

That is before the Indian Congresses of Natal and Transvaal, whose members did sterling work during the years of struggle and at the talks.

Will the organisation be faced with a need to have a specific number of "Indians" and "coloureds" to ensure support from these seemingly difficult segments of the community?

The need to woo the "coloured" vote has already seen militant Tony Yengeni lose his position as secretary of the ANC's Western Cape region.

The organisation meets around December 18



Cyril Ramaphosa ... outside looking in.

in a conference to finalise the lists. It is here that the trimming will have to be done and it is here that many a battle is to be fought.

Few will come out smiling while many may shed a tear or two.

Those on the list will then engage in another battle, of where in the list they appear, in a proportional representation ballot.

Unless the ANC gets 100 percent support, which no one has said would happen, those on the bottom of the list fall off.

Generous predictions

For example, if the organisation was to get 80 percent, as the most generous predictions have stated, only 160 will go into the constituent assembly. The others fall.

Who will be on the list, and where on the list will one feature, is probably the biggest question taxing many an ANC mind.

And only December '18 will provide an answer.

Mandela hijacks clerics' summit on violence and calls for action

8/Day 11/2/93

MARIANNE MERTEN

ANC president Nelson Mandela nearly derailed a black leaders' summit on violence in SA yesterday when he told delegates they were wasting time by preaching to the converted.

He told the SA Council of Churches' conference in Johannesburg that previous conferences on violence had not had a specific course of action in mind. He suggested the summit adopt the resolution on appropriate action to end the violence.

It was useless to debate who was responsible for the violence. What was required now was a course of action to stop it.

"The time has come for us to take a decision to make it clear to the communities and the international community that we have now decided to stop the carnage," he said. Instead of giving lectures something needed to be done.

There was almost no one who did not know the causes of the violence and the Goldstone commission had already offered six or seven explanations. Despite all efforts the violence had escalated, he said.

Summit chairman Archbishop Desmond Tutu said earlier the collective credibility built up during the anti-apartheid struggle

had taken a considerable beating.

The fact was that SA had a problem called black on black violence. (11A)

"You are more scared now than under the viciousness of apartheid that you will be eliminated by our own people," he said.

SA's new government would face an "impossible task" trying to curb political violence. Reuter reports Tutu also called on black communities to unite against continued political killings.

Although apartheid was to blame for the

violence, it was time black people looked to themselves to stop the killing. "We cannot spend time looking away from us. We are also responsible for the violence."

In the past black leaders and their communities had been united against apartheid, but it was "surprising" that they could not be united to fight against violence, he said.

"Our collective ability and credibility has taken a very considerable beating. The international community and people in SA now doubt whether we can make it."

After Mandela's appeal the conference

agenda was revised and a panel to discuss a resolution against violence was set up.

At this stage the meeting was closed to the media as delegates felt their input was too sensitive.

Invited representatives of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei did not attend the summit for all black organisations and communities. Among the delegates were members of the ANC, SACP, PAC, Azapo, Nafcoc, the Independent Development Trust, the National Hostel Residents' Association, and Transkei military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa.

Alleged Azanla cadres arrested

Source: 11/2/93

By Russel Molefe and
Don Seokane

THIRTY-NINE alleged cadres of the Azanian National Liberation Army were arrested on Monday in a swoop on an underground cave by security forces at Donkerkloof near Lebowa-kgomo in the Northern Transvaal.

The group, including a woman and four others whom police claim to be commanders, were allegedly undergoing military training at the cave which stretches for about 2km underground.

Police liaison officer for the Far Northern Transvaal Major Arno Vogel said yesterday the suspected Azanla cadres were found in possession of an AK-47 rifle, R1 rifle with 12 rounds of ammunition and a Z88 pistol.

Azanla is the military wing of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania. (IA) (SFA)

Vogel said police had swooped on the cave after receiving information from unnamed sources.

Trained to disrupt

The group is in the custody of the South African Police in Pietersburg and is being held under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. The Act empowers the police to detain suspects for not more than 30 days.

They were initially held under Section 50 of the Criminal Procedure Act.

Vogel said there were indications the group was being trained to disrupt next year's elections.

Police yesterday took journalists to the cave which is situated about 70km southeast of Pietersburg.

Soldiers on a truck mounted with searchlights were also on the scene to launch a search for more weapons.

The cave has a single entrance and the cadres were camped about 2km inside. Stockpiles of clothes, food, water, cigarettes and other essentials could be seen inside the cave. The cave is said to have been used by Chief Sekhukhune of the Pedis as a hide-out during the war with the Boers in the last century.

The general secretary of the Harare-based BCMA, Mr Mpontsheng Kgokong, said the movement was unaware of the arrests and the existence of the alleged "training camp".

ANC slams threat to cut power and water

**DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
and EDWARD MOLOINYANE**
Staff Reporters

THE African National Congress has slammed as "outrageous" the city council's decision to suspend electricity to streets, civic centres, sports facilities and administrative offices in four townships.

The Pan Africanist Congress called the move "unacceptable" and warned of mass action.

The cuts, when implemented, could disrupt the payment of social pensions due in the next six days, as well as services such as refuse removal.

The council has also threatened water supplies to the half-million people living in Langa, Nyanga, Guguletu and New Crossroads.

A spokesman for the Cape Provincial Administration, which had held meetings with the council over the issue, said there was "concern" about the council's decision.

The power cut meant offices would be without light, and services would be disrupted as Ikapa vehicles would be unable to refuel from electrically operated pumps.

But an Ikapa Town Council official said the threats had not been carried out early today and the situation was normal.

He said senior Ikapa officials were attending a meeting in Cape Town, where the issue was being discussed further with the city council.

Peninsula Pensioners' Association chairman Winard Zantsi condemned corruption in the Ikapa Town Council over the payment of bills.

Vincent Diba, vice-chairman of the ANC in the Western Cape, said it was outrageous that people should be punished for the corrupt and illegitimate Ikapa local authority's inability to meet its financial obligations.

"Even more shocking is the attitude of the council, which seems prepared to disrupt an entire community without apparent regard for public safety or convenience. We call this a highly irresponsible attitude."

ANC facing 'fine line' after ballot

Jobs a priority UK told in TV film

ALAN ROBINSON
The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — An incoming ANC government after South Africa's crucial April 27 elections will walk a fine line between democracy and disaster.

That was the overriding impression given to millions of Britons in a peak-time documentary investigation broadcast here on Tuesday night.

The burden of meeting the enormous expectations of black people and of dealing with recalcitrant whites will be huge and ANC leaders admitted it in a revealing programme compiled by the BBC's South Africa correspondent John Harrison.

Countless black people came to the microphone to tell Mr Harrison of their hopes in the immediate post-apartheid days: Without fail, the message was peace, jobs, good money, decent houses, proper schools and universities.

Some were convinced that it would all come within two years because "the government has lots of money".

ANC youth leader Peter Mokaba was blunt: "Jobs are the highest priority. If we don't provide jobs for the people, we face a disaster ... no doubt about that."

Economics supremo Trevor Manuel agreed: "Apartheid has left us with a legacy of massive distortion in the labour sphere. Democracy won't have a chance without speedy and intensive affirmative action. We know that."

But there were warnings from foreign industrialists that South Africa's labour costs were already too high and that its exports would not find a ready market abroad because other countries could easily undercut them.

Jobs would have to be shed and vast sums spent on plant and machinery.

President-in-waiting Nelson Mandela told Mr Harrison: "When we win this election, we will hold office. We won't gain political power. That would mean control of the public service and the security forces which will come later."

But he was not deterred: "We are not the first liberation movement to take office without experience."

There was a firm warning to recalcitrant civil servants from Mandela's senior adviser Jessie Duarte. She said any employee who did not intend to accept the policies of and work with the new government should resign now, and added: "If they don't, we will fire them."

Earlier, British viewers were given a horrifying picture of the black-on-black violence that is rocking the townships.

Mr Harrison chose the story of the death and burial of Peter Ngubeni in Thokoza to illustrate the grim reality of ANC-Inkatha warfare.

Mr Ngubeni was burned to death by "ANC comrades" as a suspected Inkatha informer. The comrades refused to allow his family to bury him, shot up his home as a warning and then burned it to the ground.

Even though the official ANC promised to help give him a funeral in Thokoza, he had to be "buried like a dog" in an unmarked grave in the veld 19 days after his death.

Mr Mokaba said the ANC condemned what had happened: "We condemn anyone who would fight against the dead," he said and admitted there were gangs running out of control in some townships.



Archbishop Desmond Tutu addressed residents of Phola Park squatter camp and Tokoza Hostel on Tuesday during a tour of the violence-torn East Rand areas. The tour was part of a "summit of violence" attended by church, political, business and community leaders organised by the South African Council of Churches. PIC: PAT SEBOKO

Clergy blame FW

Sowetan 2/12/93

By Mathatha Tsedu
Political Editor

LEADERS of black political and church organisations yesterday said State President FW de Klerk had demonstrated he was unable to end violence in black areas.

They were speaking at the conclusion of a "Black Leaders' Summit" held at a Kempton Park hotel.

Convened by church leaders Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Bishop Stanley Mogoba and Bishop Khoza Mgojo, the summit looked at ways of stemming the killings.

Leaders of the African National Congress, Azanian People's Organisation, Pan Africanist Congress, South African Communist Party and several bantustan governments and parties took part.

Components of the Freedom Alliance, including the Inkatha Freedom Party, did not attend.

Also invited was Bishop Barnabas Lekganyane of the Zion Christian Church, who did not attend.

The summit found that the violence was a "deliberate strategy of destabilisation whose

aim is to undermine the democratisation process".

(IIP)

"It is the responsibility of any head of state to protect all citizens and residents in a country. However, State President de Klerk has demonstrated a clear inability to make proper and legitimate use of the considerable resources at his disposal to end the carnage and destabilisation," the leaders said.

The leaders said the "refusal" by the Internal Stability Unit to deal with violence or restore stability emanated from De Klerk's inabilities.

They called for the unit to be withdrawn from affected areas and be replaced by "community policing".

The leaders, however, also noted that the violence had engendered "devastating contradictions and conflicts within black communities which are further exacerbated by political intolerance".

They recognised, too, that the magnitude of the violence constituted "a problem which no individual leader or political party can deal with single-handedly".

They called for the institution and implementation of joint control of security forces with international involvement.

PAC leaders get tough message

Sowetam

2/12/93

By Glenn McKenzie

ABOUT 30 youths claiming to represent the interests of the Pan Africanist Congress youth blasted Mr Clarence Makwetu and other PAC leaders yesterday at Vista University in Soweto.

Addressing a Press conference, the group — claiming to be the Azanian National Youth Unity PWV region — called for the immediate disbanding of “the Makwetu faction,” and an immediate end to “negotiations with the settler-colonial regime”.

The group also criticised PAC leaders Gora Ibrahim and Barney Desai for putting “the Hindu language ahead of land for Africans”.

“We are opposed to what those individuals are doing to the African people,” said Mr Percy Yende, who

claimed to be finance secretary for the Azanyu PWV region.

Yende and other youths said they also opposed talks taking place between the PAC leaders and the South African Police.

(U/A)

Destroy settlers

“We cannot negotiate. The more we destroy settlers, the more this violence will come to an end,” said Mr Joe Moropa, who claimed to be the PWV secretary for Azanyu.

But PAC political commissar Mr Jaki Seroke said the group did not represent Azanyu, and “wouldn’t even warrant a response from the national leadership”.

Azanyu national representative Abdul Rahman also said the group did not represent the movement as it claimed.

Walking a fine line

Star 2/12/93

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But there were warnings from foreign industrialists that South Africa's labour costs were already too high and that its exports would not find a ready market abroad because other countries could easily

WHEN the ANC runs the show ... it will have problems. British viewers get the lowdown, reports Alan Robinson

(11A)

undercut them. Jobs would have to be shed, and large sums spent on plant and machinery.

President-in-waiting Nelson Mandela told Harrison: "When we win this election, we will hold office. We won't gain political power. That would mean control of the public service and the security forces, which will come later."

There was a firm warning to recalcitrant civil servants from Mandela's personal assistant, Jessie Duarte. She said any employee who did not intend to accept the policies of, and work with, the new government should resign now. "If they don't, we will fire them."

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trate the grim reality of ANC-Inkatha warfare.

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Mokaba said the ANC condemned what had happened: "We condemn anyone who would fight against the dead," he said and admitted there were gangs running out of control in some townships.

Harrison asked the SAP's Lieutenant-Colonel Ray Harald whether his men would take up arms against their own people if the white Right rebelled.

Harald replied: "We will act against anyone who is a criminal, be they white, black, Left or Right. If they are ordered to shoot white people, they will have to do it."

Mandela was also blunt on the subject of violence: "If our enemies take up arms, they will be crushed ... and the rest will come back and beg for mercy."

DP may vote against interim constitution

Storm over last-minute changes

Star 21/2/93

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Democratic Party (DP) last night warned it might vote against the interim constitution when it is presented to Parliament next week because of a clause accepted at the World Trade Centre late yesterday.

Upset by the acceptance of a Government-ANC proposal watering down the deadlock-breaking mechanism in a constituent assembly, DP federal chairman Ken Andrew said his party might seriously consider voting against the interim constitution.

He said in terms of the accepted clause 73 of the interim constitution, a referendum could be held within two months after next year's April 27 elections, possibly leading to another election within a year.

The clause says if the new constitution has the support of 51 percent of the constituent assembly it can then be referred to a panel of constitutional experts who will be required to give their advice within 30 days, notwithstanding the other parties' unhappiness with the document.

An amended draft of the proposed constitution recommended by the panel of experts would then be passed.

But if the experts should not agree then the constitution would be adopted by a simple

THE Government has given in to the ANC in return for the retention of features of the status quo, say the DP and the PAC

(IIA) (SPPA)
majority in the constitution-making body and be presented to the public through a national referendum.

The DP would like this option to be available not earlier than two years after next year's elections, fearing that a majority party might not try hard enough to reach broad agreement with the other parties in the constituent assembly.

However, the DP had earlier won a major victory when it got negotiators to defeat a joint Government-ANC proposal that members of the proposed 90-member senate should be able to represent regions without necessarily living in them.

But the DP and the PAC lost the battle on a similar clause with regard to members of regional legislatures.

This was despite the party's plea for uniformity for both the summit and regional legislatures.

In terms of the amendment, people placed on a party's election list need not necessarily live

in those regions.

This contrasts with an earlier proposal that members of regional legislatures should be "ordinarily resident" in those regions.

"This means you can have someone being the premier of, say, Natal-KwaZulu without living in the province," said one source.

DP and PAC sources accused the Government of having made a number of important concessions to the ANC in the twilight of negotiations in return for the retention of a number of salient features of the present status quo, such as the predominantly white civil service.

The sources said this amendment had been suggested by the ANC to enable it to accommodate most of its senior members who would be hoping to hold senior positions in the national and regional governments next year.

The DP has begun to seriously question the ANC's commitment to strong regional government, and sources within the party fear that Nelson Mandela's organisation might be seeking to weaken regional government.

At the time of going to press negotiators had just begun the debate on the final draft of the interim constitution which will be spirited away to Parliament in Cape Town as soon as it is concluded.

TRANSITION
FM 3/12/93
Power is shared

The first meeting of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) will take place in Cape Town on Tuesday. After that it will convene at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park until its Pretoria offices are ready.

Government and the National Party had yet to finalise their nominations to the TEC and its seven subcouncils as the FM went to press. The task is largely up to President F W de Klerk, who is deciding whether his representatives should be mainly politicians or technocrats (HA) (SPPA)

However, government's chief negotiator and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer seems certain to be his chief TEC representative, possibly with Fanie van der Merwe, his chief adviser, as the alternate member. This would be appropriate because the ANC's national working committee has decided that secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa will, after all, be the ANC's TEC delegate, with Mac Maharaj as the alternate. Maharaj and Van der Merwe worked closely behind the scenes in the secretariat of the negotiating process.

The rest of the ANC's team includes: Sydney Mufamadi (law & order subcouncil), UmKhonto we Sizwe commander Joe Modise (defence), Tito Mboweni (finance), Aziz Pahad (foreign affairs), Billy Cobbett (local & regional government) and Mavivi Manzini (women). Its nominee for the sub-

FM 3/12/93
council on intelligence is yet to be announced. Among the candidates could be Patrick Lekota, Joe Nhlanhla and Penuel Maduna. (HA) (SPPA)

The SA Communist Party's chief representative on the TEC is Joe Slovo, assisted by Joel Netshitenze.

The calibre of representative put forward by the ANC reflects the seriousness with which the alliance views the TEC, which is meant to ensure free and equal political activity in the run-up to the election on April 27 (FM 26 November 1993).

The Democratic Party's main representatives on the TEC are Colin Eglin and Ken Andrew. Andrew is also likely to serve on the finance subcouncil.

The ANC says in its latest negotiations bulletin: "Once the TEC is established, we would then be able to start implementing all our agreements. The process of transition would then be on course. In this regard, our objectives are to ensure that we level the political playing field and create a climate conducive for free and fair elections to be held.

"This is to be done by ensuring that all armed formations, the SADF and SAP in particular, are placed under a joint discipline. We would then be able to combat violence. The subcouncils of the TEC would also be in a position to ensure that the NP regime is not able to use any of the State resources or structures so as to unfairly prejudice the other parties."

The TEC, it goes on, "would also ensure that the Independent Electoral Commission and the Independent Media Commission are put in place."

Parties — including those in the Freedom Alliance who have been boycotting the talks — have until midnight today (Friday) to nominate their TEC representatives.

Its first task will be to appoint members of the Independent Electoral Commission and the Independent Media Commission. The TEC will have the power, based on a simple majority of the 21 parties on it, to instruct De Klerk's government to take any steps necessary to maintain law and order. De Klerk and his Cabinet will continue in office until the new president has been elected and has assumed office. The newly elected parliament has 30 days in which to elect a new president.

Government and the ANC have proposed that the TEC be responsible for maintaining law and order, "including the declaration of a state of emergency or an unrest area," during the period after the election and until a new president is chosen.

At the World Trade Centre this week, outstanding business includes the final lap of the Local Government Transition Bill, draft legislation on the re-incorporation of Walvis Bay into Namibia, re-incorporation of the TBVC states into SA, the independent broadcasting monitoring group and largely technical constitutional amendments centred on the six-point package deal agreed by government and the ANC on the eve of the

negotiations plenary (Current Affairs November 26).

The hope is to finalise the draft interim constitution this week before it goes to parliament for enactment. ■

Books

Date

South 312 - 7/12/93

UDF stalwarts lead W Cape ANC

By Quentin Wilson

ALREADY dubbed the "dream team" by delegates at the ANC's regional conference over the weekend, the newly elected regional executive comprises more ex-UDF leaders than before.

Of the 25-person executive, at least 16 were actively involved in the UDF and in building the mass democratic movement before the ANC was unbanned in 1990.

Most noticeable is the inclusion of Mr Johnny Issel, a key UDF organiser in the Cape during the eighties.

Of the six new faces on the regional team, five come with a proven UDF track record.

Apart from Issel, Mr Max Ozinsky, Ms Rhoda Joemat, Ms Jean Benjamin and Mr Noel Williams are all UDF stalwarts.

The other newcomer is Ms Melanie Verwoerd, Stellenbosch academic and wife of Dr H F Verwoerd's grandson.

"We think it will help us tremendously," commented Dr Allan Boesak, the Western Cape ANC chairperson.

"It has been one of our goals to recapture the skills of old UDF leadership for our election campaign.

"They understand the specifics of politics in this region. They helped build the UDF and they helped build the mass democratic movement."

The focal point of the weekend's considerations at the Peninsula Technikon, was the election of Mr Lerumo Kalako as regional secretary in the place of Mr Tony Yengeni by 282 votes to 186.

Apart from making public statements that were sometimes inconsistent with mainstream ANC thinking, Yengeni was also criticised for making decisions without the collective stamp of approval from his regional executive.



ANC TEAM: Members of the Western Cape executive, from left, Ebrahim Rasool, Rashieda Abdullah, Zou Kota, Hilda Nduda, Rhoda Joemat, Max Ozinsky, Salie Manie, Lerumo Kalako, Amos Lengisi, Johnny de Lange, Allan Boesak, Jean Benjamin, Jan van Eck, Melanie Verwoerd, Chris Nissen, Johnny Issel, Cameron Dugmore, Christmas Tinto Photo: Yunus Mohamed

Time for collective leadership — Kalako

By Quentin Wilson

FROM the ANC's underground to Robben Island to the UDF to exile, Mr Lerumo Kalako's political journey has now taken him to the second most senior position in the Western Cape ANC.

The newly elected ANC Western Cape secretary says his diverse struggle background stands him in good stead to knit together a more united ANC in the region.

"One of my most important tasks," says Kalako, "will be to emphasise a collective approach and to present a united ANC to our membership and to the public."

While his predecessor Mr Tony Yengeni was not afraid to speak publicly when he disagreed with national ANC policy, part of Kalako's brief is to keep in line with the decisions of his collective.



LERUMO KALAKO

"In the underground there was no opportunity for regular consultation or broad decision making. There were orders which people followed. No questions asked.

"Now we are in a completely different situation and the emphasis is on accountability and collective leadership," Kalako said.

Kalako's political involvement started while he was at school in Port Elizabeth during the seventies.

During the 1976 uprisings Kalako made his mark as a student organiser. He was detained in September 1976, and held for five months.

Fearing arrest again, he lived in the basement of a furniture shop where he was contacted by the ANC to start an underground cell.

Early in 1978 he was arrested again, and banished to Robben Island for 10 years. There Kalako

says he received a "thorough and vigorous political education" under the tutelage of current ANC Midlands leader, Mr Harry Gwala.

From prison Kalako took root in the Western Cape, working in the underground of the ANC and the Cape Youth Congress.

Halfway through 1987 Kalako left his studies at the University of Cape Town and made his way to the ANC's Quibaxi camp in Angola where he received military training and did battle against Unita forces.

In March of 1991 he was elected as an additional member to the ANC's Western Cape regional executive committee and the following year served as vice-chairperson.

For last year's conference Kalako was nominated as secretary. He declined because of his study commitments at UCT.

But with his Bachelor of Social Science degree completed, Kalako says he is ready to sit in the ANC's Western Cape hotseat for the duration of the election campaign.

ANC & LP get married

By Quentin Wilson

AFTER months of heated debate, the ANC in the Western Cape has finally accepted the controversial Labour Party (LP) into its election alliance.

Despite a discredited past of parliamentary participation, the LP's seat on the ANC's bandwagon was secured last weekend at the ANC regional conference.

Delegates at Peninsula Technikon resolved to accept the LP's long-standing offer as an alliance partner at a regional level.

During the entire negotiations process, the LP and the ANC argued for joint positions in a working alliance at national level.

Despite an operating "Patriotic Front" between the two national leaderships, the ANC in the Western Cape — and particularly branches in Coloured townships — have balked at any cosy relationship with its former arch rival.

The thinking so far has been that the LP would be more of a liability to ANC vote catching than an asset.

But after continual pressure from the national leadership, supported by ANC branches in African townships, the Western Cape ANC committed itself to march in step with other regions.

Speaking after the conference, Dr Allan Boesak, ANC Western Cape chairperson, emphasised that although the LP was welcome on board, there would be "no guarantees" of LP nominations automatically making the ANC's regional or national lists.

"There will be no special allocation of seats to the LP from the outset. Nominations can be made, but ultimately membership will be allowed to vote on the final composition of lists to the regional parliament and national assembly," Boesak said.

South 312-7112/93

'We want Tony Yengeni'

on Wednesday she would organise a campaign to reinstate Yengeni.

At the ANC conference in Bellville, delegates voted overwhelmingly in favour of Mr Lerumo Kalako for the key ANC post.

But according to Ebrahim, the

result was part of a well-orchestrated move by the regional leadership to sideline Yengeni from a heavy-weight position in the organisation.

"The newspapers say that coloureds are afraid of him, but that is simply not true. He is our hero,

he is like a second Chris Hani to us. He has worked tirelessly for the election campaign so far, but now they want to remove him.

"Yes, he is militant, but the boers have their militant people and we need our own. He has risked his life

By Quentin Wilson

A GROUP of angry ANC supporters have come out against the ousting of former ANC secretary, Mr Tony Yengeni, who was outvoted at the ANC's regional conference over the weekend.

Spokesperson for the group, Mrs Miriam Ebrahim from the Robbie Waterwich branch in Belgravia, said

for our people and this is the thanks he gets," Ebrahim said.

She added she was organising a petition to deliver to the ANC's Woodstock office later this week.

If Yengeni was still not reinstated she said she would organise a march on his behalf.

At the time of going to press, ANC officials at the Woodstock office were unavailable to comment.

'A giant among us'

South 3112 - 7/12/93

By Waghied Misbach

THERE are 20 000 children between the ages of 12 and 16 still in jail and apartheid is squarely responsible for "turning children into criminals and murderers", ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said in Cape Town this week.

Accepting the Newsmaker of the Year Award from "Muslim Views", a local newspaper, Mandela said it was up to the government to challenge this alarming statistic because it created a "situation of grave concern".

He was presented with the award at the Civic Centre by Ms Shabana Azmi, a leading Indian actress who won the International Human Rights Award with Mother Theresa in 1989 for her work in the slums of Bombay.

Presenting the award to him, Azmi described Mandela as "a true giant among us human beings...who brought an end to the evil of apartheid".

"Martin Luther King once had a dream. Nelson Mandela has realised that dream. He has shown the entire world the path to peace and harmony. He is a relentless fighter for political and social justice."

She said Mandela was a source of inspiration to the people of India and Indians "stood solidly" behind him. (HIA)

Mandela said the priorities of the ANC and the entire democratic movement were to correct the socio-economic problems of blacks in this country.

Only three percent of last year's school leavers managed to get a job in the formal sector, he said.

"We have a situation where the white minority owns 87 percent of the land, but where the majority of 85 percent of the people only own 13 percent of the land."

Yet, whatever the crimes of the past, there could be no retribution or revenge, said Mandela.

"We want all South Africans, black and white, English and Afrikaans, to rally around the democratic forces and build a new



CANDLELIGHT DINNER: ANC president Nelson Mandela at the Cape Town Civic Centre this week Photo: Yunus Mohamed

South Africa."

However, the right wing still represented the greatest threat to peace, he said. Mandela warned the ultra-right that if they did not want to listen, "we will crush them".

He said the ANC was also responsible for South Africa's return to international sport.

The ANC had recommended that cricket, athletics and rugby — "the religion of certain groups in

South Africa" — be allowed back in the world arena.

"When the International Olympic Committee gave us 62 places, it would have meant only whites would go."

Mandela said he "put aside everything" in South Africa to visit IOC president Juan Antonio Samaranch in Lausanne, Switzerland. He had convinced Samaranch to double that figure, Mandela said.

Surprises amid mixed bag

Star 3/12/93

A Nobel Prize laureate for literature, a leading human rights advocate, a top black businessman, some former Democratic Party MPs, homeland leaders, former United Democratic Front and Mass Democratic Movement activists, and former exiles — they are all on the ANC Youth League's rather short list of nominees for the national assembly.

And chances are that all — or most — of them will become MPs after the April 27 election.

Although the national assembly will accommodate 400 members, the ANCYL has kept its list of nominees below 100. Of the 97 people it has nominated, it wants the top 50 — including South African National Civic Organisation deputy president and ANC PWV regional executive committee member Winnie Mandela — to go through in the order in which they have been nominated.

Placed 33rd on the ANCYL list, Mandela, who was unceremoniously bundled out of the Women's League, is also on the Women's League's list of nominees.

The nominees will now be presented to the

THE ANC Youth League's list of nominees for the national assembly contains a few shocks. Political Correspondent Kaizer Nyatumba takes a look at it



ANC's national list committee, ahead of the December 18 conference to finalise nominations.

First, the expected. Nelson Mandela, of course, heads the list, and 81-year-old deputy president Walter Sisulu is not featured. Leaders of homelands aligned with the ANC (KaNgwane's Caiphus Zitha and his predecessor Enos Mabuza, Lebowa's Nelson Ramodike, KwaNdebele's Prince James Mahlangu and Gazankulu's Samuel Nxumalo) all have pride of place on the list.

So, too, do some of the MPs who joined the ANC after resigning from the DP last year: Pierre Cronje, Jannie Momberg and Jan van Eck.

Now, the surprises. Transkei military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa, outspoken former western Cape secretary-general Tony Yengeni and Venda military ruler Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana are not on the list.

Unexpected nominees are Nobel laureate Nadine Gordimer, advocate George Bizos, SC, Dr Max Coleman, former Nafcoc president Dr Sam Motsuenyane, troubadour Mzwakhe Mbuli, South African Council of Churches president Brigalia Bam, and Thabo Mbeki's father, Govan.

The ANCYL's top 10, in order of preference, are Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki, Cyril Ramaphosa, Joe Slovo, Pallo Jordan, Cheryl Carolus, Mac Maharaj, Alfred Nzo (who was the league's preferred choice for the position of secretary-general at the July 1991 congress), deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma and defence secretary Joe Modise.

The ANCYL has also proposed that a leadership core of 20 people, consisting mostly of young people, should be formed to run the organisation. Although these people would be in the national assembly, they would not be eligible for Cabinet appointments.

NP 'stokes fires'

Sowetan 31/12/93

CLAIMS by the National Party that Umkhonto we Sizwe members were joining its ranks should be treated with "contempt and disgust", African National Congress national spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday.

Mamoepa was reacting to earlier claims by the NP's federal council that an unspecified number of MK members were joining the NP because of "deep dissatisfaction with the ANC leadership".

Mamoepa said the NP's claims were "malicious propoganda against the ANC".

"The ANC and the public in general are aware that people joining the NP do so not out of convictions, but for pecuniary gain.

"For the NP to make allegations of

corruption against the ANC is an absurdity considering its own track records of maladministration and mismanagement over the past decades and its direct responsibility for fraud and corruption in the homelands," Mamoepa said.

He said the NP statement was yet another attempt by it to "stoke fires within the ranks of MK".

"Instead of making unfounded allegations, the NP should clean the ranks of the South African Defence Force, which are riddled with CCB (Civil Co-operation Bureau) and hit squad elements, and lend its weight behind efforts to create a new and non-racial defence force. (11A)

"The ANC rejects with contempt the allegations contained in the statement," Mamoepa said. - Sapa.

Venda crippled

GOVERNMENT services in Venda have ground to a halt because of a work-stoppage by about 22 000 civil servants, commission for administration deputy director-general Mr Willy Nemacone said yesterday. Sowetan

The work stoppage, which took the form of sit-ins by civil servants who are members of the National Education, Health and Allied Workers Union, started on Wednesday. 31/12/93

They demand the implementation of agreements entered into during the general strike which ended four weeks ago.

All the departments are almost at a standstill with the Internal Affairs Department being the hardest hit. (12)

The government garage and computer centre have also been affected as official vehicles cannot be refuelled and cheques to companies contracted by the government cannot be issued.

What the new Act means

Sowetan 31/12/93

By Ike Motsapi

THE Basic Conditions of Employment Act of 1983 on domestic workers come into operation tomorrow, the Department of Manpower announced yesterday.

Mr Francois de Villiers, head of public relations for the department, said as from January 1 the basic conditions of employment for domestic workers will be regulated by prescribed legislation.

He said this meant that domestic workers would be paid minimum wages,

allowed to take lunch periods and also be entitled to be off on certain days.

De Villiers said: "The definition of wage in the case of domestic workers includes payment in kind and includes the provision of food, quarters and any other payment in kind.

"Payment in kind in the case of a domestic worker means any payment other than cash. (16) (214)

"The value of the payment is determined as R100 a month or an amount agreed to in writing by the employers and employee, whichever is the larger

amount."

He said an employee who had worked on a Sunday for four hours or less must be paid not less than a day's wage.

If a domestic worker has worked for longer than four hours he or she is entitled the following benefits:

- Be paid wages for two days or at double his/her wage rate for the whole time worked or whichever is greater; or
- Be paid at one-third time his/her wage rate for the time worked and also be granted one day's leave on full pay with seven days of such Sunday.

ANC's dilemma: Raising votes, not hopes

(11A) WM 3-9/12/93

They told Mandela their dreams and he gave them assurances. He'll probably get their votes, but will their wishes be granted? **Jacquie Golding reports**

THE African National Congress election train chugged through three very different communities last weekend, with Nelson Mandela confidently promising to meet all their demands and expectations.

But though he may have won some votes in "people's forums" in Eldorado Park, Lenasia and Ivory Park squatter camp, his failure to dampen Utopian hopes may yet leave a post-election hangover.

The ANC's central election strategy — bringing Mandela into direct contact with ordinary people — revealed only two concerns common to different communities: the desire for a big slice of the pie in the future and a mounting fear of rightwing violence.

About 8 000 Ivory Park squatters crammed into a marquee, formed endless lines behind two microphones, impatiently waiting to ask Mandela for homes and better education for their children. He gave the assurance: you'll have them.

Abel Nxumalo from Alexandra spoke on behalf of all those in squatter camps who had left school in the 1980s to join Umkhonto weSizwe. "We're unskilled and we need to finish our schooling. We've built SDUs in the name of the struggle and forfeited our education. What are you going to do about it?" he asked.

Free education for 10 years was Mandela's response — coupled with a warning that the narrowing of the gap between income, employment and education between white and black would not be easy.

When the homeless called for proper sewerage and houses, the ANC backtracked to the days of apartheid when they were denied these "basic human rights", promising the crowd that their votes for the ANC would guarantee a better future. Shouts of "One president! One Mandela!" filled the air and "Sekunjalo ke nako (now is the time) to vote ANC" thundered through the marquee.

Many of the squatters were adamant that they would move into new homes within a week of elections. Said 18-year-old Joseph: "I chose my new home already ... It's got a swimming pool and big kitchen for my mother to cook in." Joseph lives in the adjacent township of Tembisa but most of his relatives live in Ivory Park. He has given his life to the ANC, boycotting when called to do so and joining MK at the age of 14.

Joseph thinks his sacrifices will be justified when the new government takes power.

In the Indian community of Lenasia, south-west of Johannesburg, concern for the future of the House of Delegates and businessmen topped the agenda.

A packed Mahatma Gandhi hall and a marquee accommodating about 2 000 residents heard Mandela warn: "We have no intention of guaranteeing any party a seat in the new government." But he encouraged businessmen to stay in the country, promising there would be a place for them in government.

Businessman Ali Parker felt his community had always conducted "profitable businesses" and their expertise was needed. But he was concerned as to the "future security of Indian businesses".

Businessmen interviewed after the forum were clearly uneasy. "We know the ANC will be using policies imposed by the World Bank, but what about the levels of taxation they will place on us?" asked Parker.

The people's forum in the coloured township of Eldorado Park drew a smattering of supporters, mostly workers and poorer residents. They wanted a flat rate for electricity and rents "like Soweto". Housing and unemployment were high on the list of priorities.

The ANC explained that Soweto had flat rates because of the "high level of organisation and built-up structures in the townships". The implication was Eldorado Park could also have a flat rate if residents organised in the same way and supported the ANC.

The future of coloureds was also of concern, with one youngster challenging Mandela: "Why do you encourage your supporters to denounce us coloureds? What do we have to look forward to in the new South Africa?" Mandela promised that coloureds would not be treated as second-class citizens and that all would benefit from affirmative action.

Interviews with residents showed that the ANC is seen by most coloureds as a "black organisation", out of touch with what was happening in their area. "I'm here because it's inevitable they're (ANC) going to win the elections," said one. "What have I got to lose after being treated like a Hottentot by the Boers?"

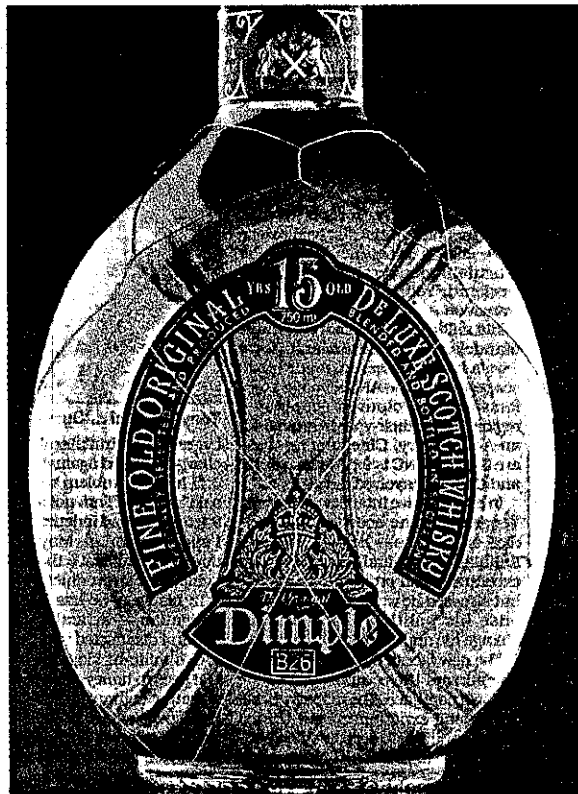
Residents asked about the houses from which they were forcibly removed years ago, about increasing joblessness, the poor education system and the high crime rate. Throughout the three meetings, ANC executives scribbled down the residents' questions.

The movement's dilemma is how to give answers and muster support, without raising false hopes.



Dancing towards the future ... The Mahatma Gandhi hall in Lenasia was packed as residents listened to Nelson Mandela assure business people they had a future in the new South Africa
PHOTOGRAPH: GUY ADAMS

At Christmas, the happiest smiles always have a Dimple.



Dimple 15 year old. From the oldest distillers of Scotch Whisky.



Azanla cell commanders not from SA

Vuyo Mvoko

THE four commanders of the alleged Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla) cell arrested this week in a Northern Transvaal cave do not appear to be South Africans, police say. (111) WM3-9/12/93

Northern Transvaal SAP spokesman Major Arno Vogel said "evidence could change", but that initial indications were that the four men were foreigners. The exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, of which Azanla is the military arm, is based in Harare.

Vogel said the group, arrested after a tip-off, appeared to have used the cave for no more than a week. Located 60km from Pietersburg, the 2km cave had a steel door at its entrance.

In addition to 39 sleeping cadres — aged between 18 and 32 and including a woman — police say they found clothing, documents, several guns and ammunition.

The arrests may indicate an intensification of armed activity by the Black Consciousness Movement, part of a "visibility" programme pledged by the Azanian People's Organisation. They follow sporadic incidents of armed attacks by Azanla throughout the country.

Yengeni: Ousted but not out

(11A)

WM 3-9/12/93

Gaye Davis: Cape Town

TONY YENGENI may have been ousted from the key post of secretary of the ANC in the Western Cape, but it's unlikely he will disappear from the political stage.

Succeeded by former South African Communist Party Western Cape chairman Lerumo Kalako after a bruising leadership tussle last weekend, Yengeni is a casualty of transition.

His militancy, his ties with Winnie Mandela, Peter Mokaba and Harry Gwala have, in a sense, made him a scapegoat for the ANC's image problems among coloured people in a region where their vote is crucial for an ANC victory. Chief among these are that the ANC is for African people and that it is involved in violence.

In an exclusive interview this week, Yengeni said he accepted the "verdict" of congress — he won 186 votes to Kalako's 282 and remains on the executive as an ordinary member — but stressed he would never compromise his political integrity, nor change his approach.

The new face of the regional executive mirrors the complexions of the region's populace. The majority bring organising experience from United Democratic Front days. Dr Allan Boesak is still in the chair. Newcomers include Melanie Verwoerd, wife of the grandson of HF Verwoerd.

Kalako (38), a former Eastern Cape youth leader who joined the ANC underground in the late 1970s and was jailed on Robben Island, wants a shift in leadership style towards a more collective approach that presents would-be voters with a cohesive, united entity rather than disparate, high-profile individuals.

He's been dubbed a dove to Yengeni's hawk, but the distinction is subtler. Kalako's a grassroots worker, not given to fronting rallies or militant rhetoric; certainly not given to making statements that contradict ANC poli-



Tony Yengeni ... Ousted

cy, or taking unilateral decisions — charges levelled against Yengeni.

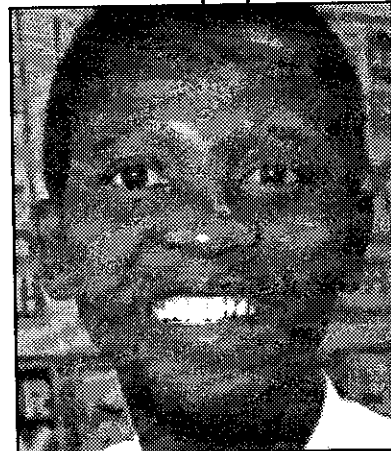
"I have a problem with 'the line'," said Yengeni. "I am not a conformist. I am a strong and independent thinker. I speak my mind. Maybe that's my downfall. But that's the essence of a democratic environment."

In his view, he has fulfilled a vital obligation — articulating the concerns of disaffected youths whom the PAC's militant slogans are drawing like bees to honey, and impoverished squatter communities. It is among these people, the poorest of the poor, that his support lies, and he believes the ANC ignores them at its peril.

"No one can dispute that our aim is to win the Western Cape — or that the coloured people are a very important element. But at all costs we have to avoid doing it at the expense of the African people.

"The negotiation process, despite the victory and the good agreements which came out of it, alienated the masses. They became spectators, to be reported back to. I fear this will continue in parliament

"The ANC's reconstruction and development programme is novel and good, but the key is its implementation. The masses must not only accept it, they must own it and be



Lerumo Kalako ... New leader

empowered to deliver the goods for themselves.

"If the ANC stops being the champion of the aspirations of the masses we will have difficulties. My biggest nightmare is the process not empowering people to change their circumstances and only a few people benefiting."

Yengeni intends becoming more active in the SACP; he's a member of its central committee. His political future will be outside parliament — and not necessarily with the ANC.

"I stand for radical, fundamental change, not cosmetic transformation. I'd never be party to something rejected by the masses. So I would identify with whoever was articulating the will of the masses."

"With the new government, squatters, the youth are going to be marching on parliament. How will the ANC deal with them? Call out the police and put them down or engage? I would rather it was the latter.

"I am worried about the politics of the current period. It's dog-eat-dog stuff. The morality of the liberation movement is going to be set aside. I would like the moral struggle to continue so the government we get is unlike any we have had in the past — good and clean, no corruption."

PAC set to end armed struggle

Star 4/12/93



KAIZER NYATUMBA
Political Correspondent

ONLY a single meeting, between President de Klerk and Pan Africanist Congress leader Clarence Makwetu, now stands between the PAC's formal suspension of the armed struggle and its participation in the multiparty Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

According to well-placed PAC sources, this follows another round of talks between the PAC and the Government in Pretoria yesterday, in which they say a firm foundation was laid for "a mutual cessation of hostilities".

The meeting, in which the respective delegations were led by PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, agreed that the first phase of an accord reached in the two parties' previous meeting in Harare last month should now be implemented.

That agreement was a declaration of a "moratorium on violence".

The latest round of talks paves the way for the PAC's participation in the TEC, which will hold its first meeting in Cape Town on Tuesday.

Unauthorised raid

Although the PAC has so far had problems with the TEC — especially with the body's sub-council on defence — World Trade Centre agreements also stipulate that TEC participants should renounce violence and agree to be bound by the decisions of the council.

In another development, Kriel yesterday apologised to the PAC delegation for an "unauthorised" raid on the home of the organisation's political affairs secretary, Jaki Seroke.

The raid, conducted by about 20 policemen whose leader allegedly said they had been informed there was "something hidden in the house", took place at around 5 am.

Seroke, who did not attend the Government-PAC meeting because of the raid, told Saturday Star he had been informed that Kriel had apologised to the PAC delegation. Not only had the raid not been officially sanctioned, but the affected police officers also did not know that Seroke stayed in the house, Kriel is reported to have explained.

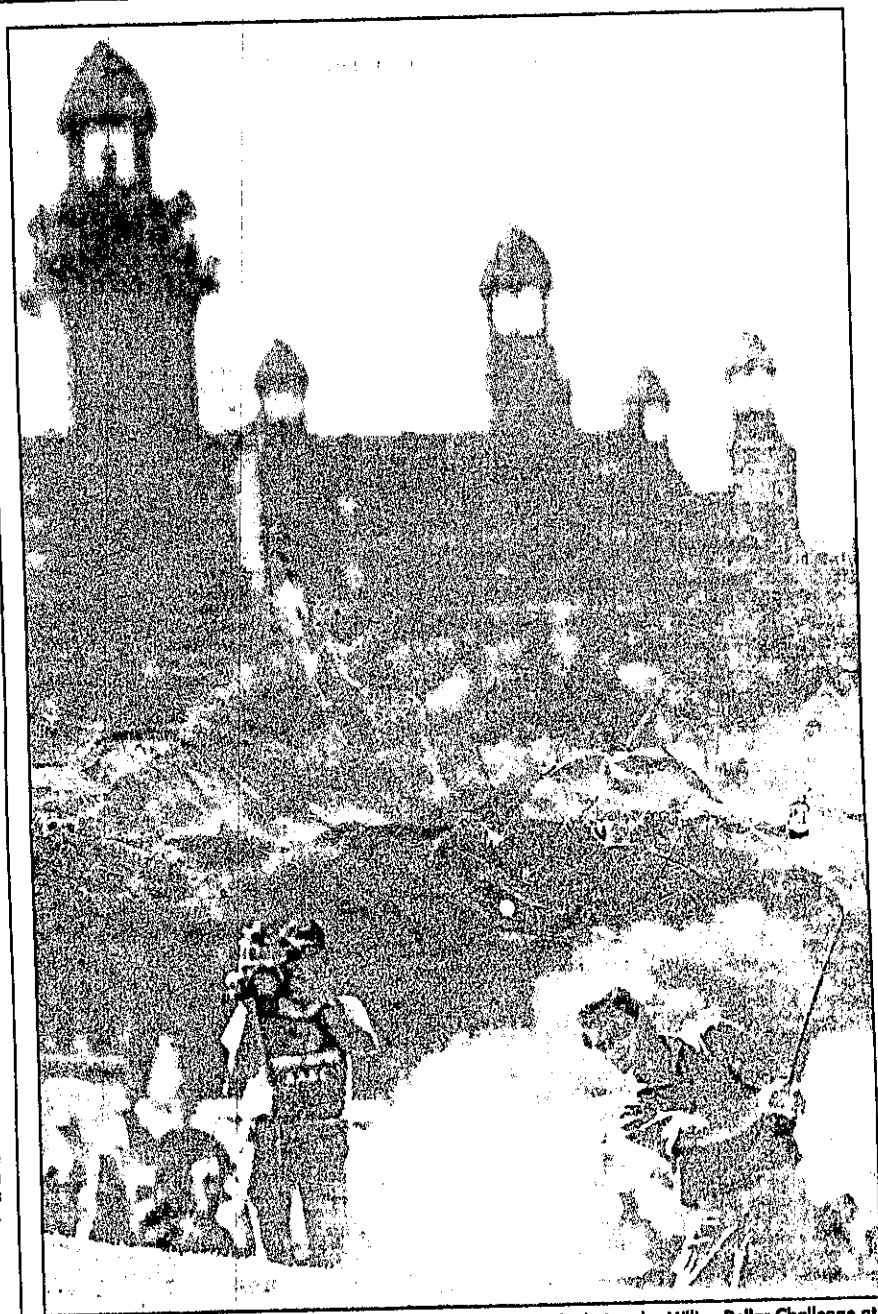
'Mere formality'

Seroke, who was arrested during the May country-wide swoop on PAC leaders and later acquitted on a charge of illegally possessing a firearm, said the police yesterday took new padlocks to his home to replace the ones they had damaged during the raid.

Reliable sources within the PAC said the delegates had agreed yesterday on "a mutual cessation of hostilities" that would lead to the PAC's suspension of its armed struggle in a matter of weeks, and that the planned talks between De Klerk and Makwetu would be a mere formality.

The sources said the Government, which had been hammered by the ANC in successive bilateral talks, had agreed to effective joint control of the security forces and that this addressed the PAC's reservations about the TEC's sub-council on defence. This meant that the PAC would soon take its seat on the TEC.

Saturday Star understands that the only issue not "adequately addressed" at yesterday's meeting was the Defence Act.



CHIPPING OUT: Nick Price plays from the bunker at the 18th hole during the Million Dollar Challenge at Sun City yesterday. See sport pages for details. ● Photograph: GARY BERNARD

SA potential 'just awesome'

WASHINGTON — US Commerce Secretary Ron Brown, on his return to the United States from his fact-finding visit to South Africa, has reiterated his positive view of South Africa's economic future.

Appearing on nationwide television hours after his return to Washington on Thursday, he said South Africa was the key to the future of Africa and its potential was "just awesome".

He went on to tell reporters that several major US companies were planning to invest in South Africa following the first US presidential trade mission in two decades.

"Companies like IBM and IT&T and Apple Computer, to name a few, were very interested in re-opening their operations in South Africa," Brown said.

A number of investment-oriented organisations, such as Leh-

mann Brothers and Equitable, "a indicated strongly that they are going to be moving towards advising investors and making investments themselves in South Africa", Brown added.

Some companies have already made a firm commitment to invest in South Africa, Brown said and "I would expect within the next 30 to 60 days we'd be having some specific announcements".

ANC and SACP should part — Adam Small

TYRONE SEALE
Weekend Argus Reporter

ARG 4/12/93

(11A)

COMMUNISM, like apartheid, has been thoroughly discredited and this should be enough reason for the African National Congress to part company with the SA Communist Party before the April election.

Millions of South Africans regard the ANC-SACP alliance as offensive and do not believe promises that the alliance will disintegrate after the election, says Adam Small, the University of the Western Cape academic and internationally known writer who last week received the State President's Gold Order for Meritorious Service for his contribution to literature.

Also last week Professor Small attacked ANC Western Cape leader Allan Boesak for living extravagantly while canvassing the poor and accused Mr Boesak's comrades, whom he described as pathetic hypocrites, of "jargoning with their hands in their pockets at what should be sad funerals".

Asked this week what the basis for his criticism was, on whose behalf he was speaking and what role he saw himself playing in the rapidly advancing political arena, Professor Small said: "It's a very precise definition to say I'm the odd man out, the awkward guest at the party.

"I come from two places: my base is very personal, it's not organisationally determined. I believe I come from the broad community, because at the grassroots, and in a

■ NOW is the time for the African National Congress and the SA Communist Party to part company, for some English-speaking white South Africans to own up to the role they played in maintaining apartheid and for independent, critical thinkers to keep constitutional negotiators — and their decisions — in check. Hot on the heels of his criticism last week of the ANC leadership in the Western Cape, this advice comes from **ADAM SMALL**, philosopher, writer, poet and head of social work at the University of the Western Cape.

very personal way, I have no doubt that I'm in touch. You could say I come from the bottle store stoep."

Professor Small said he had had "a most positive response" from "very ordinary people" to his initial criticism and this had reinforced his belief that the ANC and its allies were guilty of an ineffective, top-down approach to its supposed or potential constituents.

"There's no respect for the public. The public is very sharp; even though it may not always have an opportunity to speak its mind, this scepticism is what's alive in the communal mind."

Turning to moralism in politics — and in an obvious reference to Dr Boesak's residence in Constantia — Professor Small said: "There's no use talking about little bits of socialism while your lifestyle is that of the worst capitalism.

"I believe in some cases five-star hotels aren't good enough any longer for some of our leaders. I have great respect for some of the younger people in these organisations but there is a section of the leadership who need to have a thorough look at their political style and lifestyle."

Professor Small is also concerned about developments at his own university: "We should not be creating carrots only for the party (ANC). We shouldn't be teaching human rights for the sake of the party, but for the sake of human rights."

Such a non-partisan approach to education would be crucial in teaching future generations, from pre-school to tertiary levels, he said.

Political movements had to pay attention to the thousands of bitter youths who were bitter not only because of the effects of apartheid on their lives but also because of

the sacrifice they had made during a political struggle that has left many without rewards or hope for the future.

About his own future, Professor Small said: "At the moment I see my role as promoting in the broader community — that means all sections of South African society — this kind of independent, critical thinking, and asking awkward questions.

"Sometimes making this kind of indictment means one can be hurt in the process, but then the honest thinker is a very vulnerable person."

While structuring such independent thought into an organisation or movement would negate the very notion of independence, financial support had to be found for "an alternative political grouping".

Professor Small said the worst scenario facing the country was "the fringes of civil war", a possibility that should not be underplayed.

However, he believed, a more significant prospect was a decrease in violence and the transition to democracy.

During this transition many whites had to ask themselves what their role had been to date and what they could do in a post-apartheid society.

"Apartheid was and is but one form of colonialism; it was the one that had a name. But I think there are many, particularly English-speaking whites who have been as guilty of oppression as everyone else and who have gotten away with political murder. They should take responsibility now."

Pen 'n swordsman replaces Yengeni

■ When Lerumo Kalako first made known his intention to stand for election as African National Congress secretary in the Western Cape, many outside the movement wondered about his background as an activist. But his credentials are solid, forged on Robben Island and in Angola, where he fought Unita as a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN

Weekend Political Staff

FROM behind his spectacles he looks like an intellectual, more at home with books than with an AK-47 rifle.

But Lerumo Kalako, 39, is equally at home with both. A soldier turned scholar, he has completed the final year of his BA degree at the University of Cape Town, majoring in industrial psychology and public administration.

The completion of his studies — interrupted by his leaving South Africa in 1987 to join MK — enabled him to challenge incumbent Tony Yengeni for the position of regional ANC secretary.

He won the contest to become the second most powerful ANC leader in the Western Cape.

But becoming a legal member of the ANC was far from his mind in 1978 when he was dragged behind a police vehicle on Port Elizabeth's beachfront.

He had been detained after a police swoop on an ANC cell, which recruited members in his home town before smuggling them out of the country for military training.

"When I was arrested police put me in the boot of their vehicle and drove me to a police station.

"At the police station policemen kicked and hit me from all sides. I was unconscious when I was transferred to Sanlam Building, the security police headquarters in Port Elizabeth notorious for the torture of political prisoners."

He said he was terrified at the police headquarters because his interrogators told him they had killed black-consciousness leader Steve Biko and would kill him too.

They didn't, but made sure he remembered his detention for years.

"Once I was handcuffed to a chair and giv-



ARCT 4/12/93

(11)

□ **OLD AND NEW:** Tony Yengeni, left, and Lerumo Kalako, the man who ousted him as ANC secretary in the Western Cape, examine documents in the movement's Woodstock offices.

Picture: ANDREW INGRAM, Weekend Argus.

en shock treatment. Often they'd take me to the beach in a Land-Rover. There they'd force me into a sack, close it and tow me on the beachfront."

Without bitterness, he recalled that a heater which blew hot air over him was switched on when he was returned to the vehicle.

In March 1978 he was the first accused of a group of five charged with belonging to an unlawful organisation and recruiting people for military training.

Later that year he was jailed for 10 years and sent to Robben Island to begin his sentence. A successful appeal saw his sentence reduced to eight years. He was released in 1986.

His widowed mother died during his imprisonment.

"I didn't know about it. My brother informed me of her death in a telegram which

prison authorities did not pass on to me. After my release my Uncle Christmas Tinto — first Western Cape chairman of the ANC — broke the news to me."

Freed into a state of emergency, it was felt it would be unwise for him to return to Port Elizabeth.

"I linked up with colleagues who were members of the Cape Youth Congress and began revitalising the organisation."

He helped to launch the South African Youth Congress, kept in contact with the ANC underground in the Western Cape, and met Tony Yengeni, the movement's military head in the area.

In 1987 he enrolled as a first-year student at UCT, but was arrested with other students for distributing May Day pamphlets at Nyanga station. He gave police a false name, appeared in court and was fined R300.

"The fine was paid and I decided it was best to leave the country."

He took the route on which he had sent many others and headed for Lusaka and Angola.

After his military training he was deployed on the northern front in Angola.

"MK was fighting Unita at the time."

Later, as peace and independence came to Namibia, he was withdrawn to Tanzania where he opened an MK camp. Then he was recalled to Dar es Salaam and later to the ANC headquarters in Lusaka where he served before going to Moscow.

He returned to South Africa in 1991 and resumed his studies at UCT.

Though he was asked to be a candidate for secretary, he declined so he could concentrate on his studies. The same happened last year, but this year he made himself available and the rest, as they say, is history.

Eugene, waar's jou pas

"If they won't give you a licence for a gun or you cannot afford one, or the kaffirs are giving you trouble then, for heaven's sake, gaan steel hom!"

Those are the pearls of wisdom mouthed by Grootbaas Eugene TerreBlanche to a bunch of farmers (needless to say they were all in safari suits and exuding that kaffir-op-sy-plek look) the other day.

I asked myself what would have happened if a black leader had said something like: "Lapho ubone khona umlungu mshaye" (where you see a white man kill him).

The cops would have been out in full force, and a damning charge-sheet drawn up for incitement to commit an offence, promoting hostility between the races and a host of other crimes.

But no, "ET" can get away with such blatant breaches of the law and still call himself a law-abiding citizen of this sad and sick country ... but then I should not be surprised because the brawny red-faced farmers he was addressing were armed to the teeth, and it is my guess that many of them have more than three or four fire-



MUSIN'
With Obed Musi

arms hidden away "oppie plasas" and couldn't be bothered by such a petty thing as a licence.

But "ET" was in full cry with his puffy face turning a fiery red as he warned them of the dire consequences which would overtake the "boers" as soon as the "Mandela government" took over. In fact a doctor pal of mine who was watching feared that "ET" would burst a blood vessel.

No wonder some ANC high-up promised that when they take over they will have little mercy for those guilty of what he termed apartheid crimes.

(11A)

C. Reed

5/12/93

One hardliner from the junior ranks of the ANC told me he had prepared a memorandum for the debaters at the World Trade Centre suggesting that the pass laws be revised and that whites carry a pass for each day of the week.

"What I suggest is that the mlungus get a taste of what it was like under apartheid and that every black citizen will have the right to stop any mlungu in the street and demand that he produce his pass for that day. Heaven help him if he has a Monday pass on a Tuesday or vice versa," he said dreamily. I went to great pains to dissuade him from such vengeful notions, explaining to him that nobody in his right senses would like to see a return to those bad-old days of pass raids.

rob quite a few shoe stores in Manzini and other Swazi towns because no one seems to link them.

Their latest stunt is for the pal to steal an expensive right foot shoe: no, not quite steal, because he promises the saleslady that he is not sure if the shoe will fit him and could he please try it on.

That's when his pal comes into the shop and orders the same brand of shoe: the saleslady, hoping to make a double sale, then gives his pal the other shoe to try on.

Before she knows what's happening thief number one has walked out of the shop with the left shoe, and while there is a hullabaloo about that his pal uses the back entrance to make his exit.

There is a duo of thieves who operate between Swaziland and the Mozambique border and their speciality is stealing shoes. They operate in a novel manner.

Thief number one steals the left shoe and disappears, then his accomplice comes in to remove the other. That way they have been able to

from his bank the other day.

Now that's an awful lot of maphepha and I wonder what he is going to do with it. Certainly he is too old to be frolicking with sexy young birds in Mauritius or flinging it around the casinos at Sun City.

His days of "naizanaiza" are long past. May I suggest that he send a portion of it to the Musi Benevolent Fund (MBF). We'll know what to do with it!

Another pal of mine reminded me that a certain leader in a northern Transvaal homeland almost burst with righteous indignation when he was found to have diddled the government of R4-million.

"You guys just don't have a sense of fair play. You mean le llela four million feela when others have stolen more than that?" (You guys are bickering over a pally R4-million?)

So don't be surprised when come the next homeland elections I will be standing for election preferably as Minister of Finance, with my wife as Deputy and my passport to Switzerland in my pocket.

ANC vow to keep strict cash control

By SIPHO KHUMALO

INTERNAL auditors from the ANC head office have recommended that urgent steps be taken to ensure that proper financial controls are implemented by the movement's Southern Natal region.

In a report presented to the ANC's Southern Natal regional conference last weekend, the two internal auditors, V Marcus and V Lalla, said the region had failed to keep proper books and records.

"We are therefore not able to report that the accounts reflect the true and correct view of the state of affairs of southern Natal region of the ANC as at 31 October 1993," said the auditors.

They added they had experienced extreme difficulties in obtaining information required to perform their duties to their satisfaction.

"As far as we are concerned the financial situation was never discussed at the conference because the auditors' report was not signed. The special general council in January will look into the financial report. Our treasurer is still to

meet the auditors to prepare the proper report," said an ANC spokesman. He also denied reports that the region had a bank overdraft of R151 000, saying that his region did not have these facilities with any bank. (11A)

However, in his report, regional treasurer Dr Diliza Mji expressed concerns similar to those of the auditors about the need to tighten financial control.

"It is not useful to mobilise funds and resources for the ANC and then squander them. Part of the problem we have had is lack of controls and systems in the region," said Mji.

He said the Administrative Commission was presently working out details of controls over a number of areas of expenditure.

"The regional executive committee members will have to lead by example in this regard. All of us must be subject to discipline and we must delegate with authority to comrades entrusted with the task of conserving our meagre resources," he advised.

Mji stepped down from his position because of work pressure.

CIPress 5/12/93

Mandela gets a royal rap

By CHARMAIN NAIDOO

YESTERDAY when ANC president Nelson Mandela visited the kingdom of the Great Queen Modjadji in Lebowa it rained, which the Bolobedu tribespeople said was a good omen.

But the Rain Queen was not pleased at having her morning disturbed by electroneering.

She kept Mr Mandela waiting 20 minutes before she saw him and scolded him for having brought an ANC entourage, ordered her aides to prevent photographers from taking pictures, and refused to move out of the ceremonial hut.

Mr Mandela is known for his promptness. His schedule specified that he would arrive at Modjadji at 10am and, on the hour, a motorcade curled up the winding road to be met by indunas of the Rain Queen.

From the small town hall, a procession of dancing children and shouting women led Mr Mandela's car to just inside the gates of the queen's palace.

There he talked to the children while an aide of

the queen hurried off to inform her he had arrived.

Like the Pied Piper, Mr Mandela walked down the steep slope to the royal compound and into the ceremonial hut.

The hut has a traditional stamped cowdung floor. It is electrified, has a hi-fi system and an old-fashioned glass cabinet filled with coloured drinking glasses.

A short while later, a scowling middle-aged woman, barefoot with a brown cotton scarf round her head, walked alone into the hut where Mr Mandela and his group were. It was Queen Modjadji.

Anyone wishing to appear in the queen's company usually does so barefoot and on their knees. But an exception was made in Mr Mandela's case.

Speaking through an interpreter, Mr Mandela introduced his entourage and presented the queen with a gift. He also apologised for bringing his colleagues.

"If I had known that she wanted to see me alone, I would have obeyed," he said.

Later he spoke with the queen alone.

Travelling with him on this weekend's election bus are Mr Ronnie Mamoepa,

Mr Sam Shilowa, Sanki Nkondo and Mavivi Manzini.

ANC chairman of the Bolobedu south zone, Mr Matome Mapolya, said it was crucial to have the queen's support because she was able to influence the 30 000 people in the area.

Her subjects gave the ANC president a hero's welcome, cheering him all the way up the hill to the Great Queen's Place, mobbing his car and saying his name in awed whispers.

In the heart of Lebowa, the Bolobedu people are more partial to the ANC than the PAC.

Mandela puts right back on agenda

A DECISION on right-wing demands for self-determination must not be rushed — it had to be discussed thoroughly, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday. 5/12/93

Speaking at Bolobedu near Tzaneen, Mr Mandela said he wanted the Freedom Alliance, including Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, back at the negotiating table. (11A)

He said he had met FA leaders Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and General Constand Viljoen, as well as Dries Bruwer of the Transvaal Agricultural Union on Friday night to discuss their fears about the future.

Although the ANC rejected the idea of a separate homeland for Afrikaners, it sympathised with the FA's fears.

"What I told Dr Hartzenberg, Gen Viljoen and Mr Bruwer is that the question of the demands they put forward are very serious.

"They must be discussed by the national working committee of the ANC, they must be discussed by our region, they must be discussed by the national executive committee of the ANC and they must be discussed by the national conference of the ANC.

"They must not rush this question, because to rush it means they do not understand how important it is for us to remove and address the fears of the minority in this country.

"The ANC is serious when it says it wants peace in this country. It does not want violence," he said.

Mr Mandela said the ANC wanted all parties to participate in the reconstruction of the country.

It was the duty of Afrikaner Volksfront leaders to speak to the ANC in order to alleviate the fears of whites.

He also said the ANC would rather lose votes than make empty promises to the oppressed and poor.

The ANC leader also appealed to the youth to respect tribal chiefs, saying they had played an important role in the fight against apartheid. — Sapa

W Cape SACP in dire straits

DESPITE an upbeat conference this weekend, the SACP's Western Cape region is in dire straits with very little money and only one car which is out of order most of the time.

The parlous state of the party's finances came to light in the report tabled yesterday afternoon of its treasurer, veteran communist Fred Carneson.

On Saturday Professor Adam Small, a UWC academic and poet, was sharply criticised by ANC national executive member Raymond Suttner, for criticising the ANC's alliance with the SACP.

Discredited

Professor Small recently said communism, like apartheid, had been thoroughly discredited — and this should be enough reason for the ANC to break ties with the SACP before election day on April 27.

Mr Suttner, a member of the SACP central committee and political bureau and who also heads the ANC's department of political education, said Professor Small "was the last person to dish out advice".

"Who is Adam Small to advise the ANC about its allies? What has he done to assist the cause of freedom?"

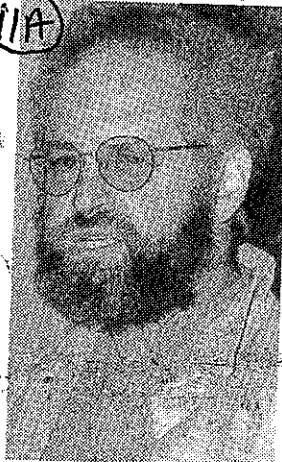
"The ANC-SACP alliance has stood the test of time, has engaged in a common struggle and made those sacrifices which the 'small' people of this world were unwilling to make.

In his report Mr Carneson revealed that the Western Cape region used to receive R3 000 a month from SACP headquarters — but this has dried up since July.

He warned that if no decisive action was taken in the coming year "our small cash resources will soon vanish entirely".

He described the level of subscription payments received from most branches as "nothing short of disgraceful".

By NORMAN WEST
Political Reporter



RAYMOND SUTTNER

Debate on Cyril's future as MP or as party boss

By RAY HARTLEY
Political Reporter

THE future of ANC negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa is likely to dominate an ANC executive committee meeting this week, which will decide which of its senior officials should be kept off its election list in order to run the organisation for the next five years.

With ANC president Nelson Mandela and national chairman Thabo Mbeki certain to top the organisation's national election list and deputy secretary general Jacob Zuma likely to head its Natal list, Mr Ramaphosa is the only member of the current leadership capable of steering the ANC.

Veteran ANC executive members Walter Sisulu and Gertrude Shope are expected to retire, further depleting the organisation's leadership core.

But Mr Ramaphosa's popularity and high profile as chief negotiator make him an attractive option for the election list.

Should he be nominated, the ANC will have to consider keeping competent organisers such as former UDF officials Popo Molefe and Terror Lekota off

the list to fill Mr Ramaphosa's shoes. (11A)

Despite friction between Mr Ramaphosa and ANC Youth League leader Peter Mokaba over the "Kill the Boer" slogan, the youth league placed the ANC negotiator at number three, after Mr Mandela and Mr Mbeki, on its election list.

The youth league's proposals, along with lists from regional conferences all over the country, will be used when drawing up the congress's national list.

Mrs Winnie Mandela took 33rd place on the league's list — 12 places behind her arch-rival, women's league secretary general Baleka Kgositsile.

The league included former ANC security department official Mzwai Piliso on its list. Mr Piliso was linked by an ANC inquiry to human rights abuses in the organisation's camps in Angola.

Other officials who appear certain to stand for the April 27 elections are former general secretary Alfred Nzo and SACP politburo member Ronnie Kasrils.

The final decision on the list will be made by the ANC's national executive committee on

December 19 and 20, following recommendations from a national elections conference on December 18.

The conference will rely on a committee consisting of Mr Ramaphosa, Cosatu general secretary Sam Shilowa, SACP general secretary Charles Nqakula, Mr Sisulu, Mrs Shope and NUM president James Motlatsi.

They will pull together nominations made by regional conferences across the country between December 9 and 14.

Early in January, the ANC will draft an election manifesto and distribute between seven and nine million copies of the document once it is adopted on January 15.

Americans Stan Greenberg and Frank Greer, who played a prominent role in President Bill Clinton's election campaign, will arrive in South Africa later this month to help analyse data gathered in an extensive poll, which, among other things, asks the public to evaluate an election slogan for the organisation.

The ANC campaign will call on a huge army of canvassers, 15 000 of whom have already been trained in the art of winning voters to the organisation.



POPULAR ... Cyril Ramaphosa, whose future is unclear

Govt, ANC, Freedom Alliance meet on eve of TEC's first

FA moves close

Star 6/12/93

BY PAUL BELL

The Government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance are set to meet in Cape Town today for trilateral discussions.

This is the first such meeting of the three major political blocs since the FA's constituent organisations withdrew from constitutional talks just more than five months ago and a significant step by the FA towards taking part in the April 27 election.

Today's meeting will take the form of a presentation to the ANC of the progress made between the Government and the FA — described by an FA source as "a package of virtually consensus decisions" — in talks on Friday.

Among the trade-offs the FA will be seeking is a reversal of the single ballot paper decision, upheld by the Negotiating Council last week despite the opposition of smaller parties including the PAC and DP.

The very fact of the meeting, to be held on the eve of the first sitting of the Transitional Executive Council, holds out a major possibility that the FA might return to the constitutional process as full partners and take part in elections.

At least one of the FA's major constituents, the Inkatha Freedom Party, has been forced to do some serious soul-searching on the continued advisability of staying out of elections.

The FA itself is clearly of the belief that it has made what senior negotiators yesterday described as "considerable progress on most aspects" of its discussions with the Government.

The agreement of the Afrikaner Volksfront, in doubt until late yesterday, was regarded as the major hurdle to the FA's participation today. News of it was greeted by other members with genuine relief.

The FA took 13 points of disagreement to the Government. Of those, the major areas to be discussed today are:

THREE major political blocs meet for the first time since FA withdrew from negotiations

~~(S)~~ (IF) ■ A one-phase approach to ratifying the constitution — considered "problematic" in terms of securing ANC agreement but in terms of which the FA will argue that the next parliament should to all intents and purposes merely ratify the Interim Constitution.

The FA might be forced to rely simply on assurances from the ANC that it will make no radical departures from existing formulations.

■ Exclusive powers for regions, as well as clear demarcation of, and constitutional protection for, regional borders.

■ The right of regional governments to levy their own taxes and raise additional funds autonomously — another area where agreement has largely been reached with the Government, say FA sources.

■ The right of regional governments to write their own constitutions, provided they are consistent with the Bill of Rights and the main provisions of the national constitution.

Here the FA is seeking agreement that the Interim Constitution's guiding principles be the benchmark, to insure itself against any negative consequences if the national constitution is rewritten.

■ A revisiting of the single ballot paper decision. The FA accepts that the Government was forced to trade this off for other concessions in the Negotiating Council.

The Afrikaner Volksfront's General Tienie Groenewald would not be drawn on the likelihood of the FA going forward to elections, saying only that it had always been the AVF's position that if its demands were met, it would.

to pool

sitting

ANC's 'Big Five' secures top spots again

PORT ELIZABETH. — The African National Congress "Big Five" in the Eastern Cape have been re-elected unopposed to their regional executive committee positions. This included regional chairman Mr Linda Mti, regional depu-

⁽¹¹⁹⁾ ty chairman and Cosatu trade unionist Mr Thobile Mhlahlo, caretaker treasurer Mr Gawe Cumgee, regional secretary-general Mr Gugile Nkwinti and secretary-general Mr Bongani Gxilishe.

ET 6/12/93
Negotiations chief Mr Mike Xego was also re-elected unopposed.

They were re-elected at the movement's third regional conference since its unbanning, held here at the weekend.

Azapo call to blacks

Sowetan 6/12/93

THE Azanian People's Organisation has called on black people to engage in military training to defend themselves against what it called President FW de Klerk's killing machines. (11A)

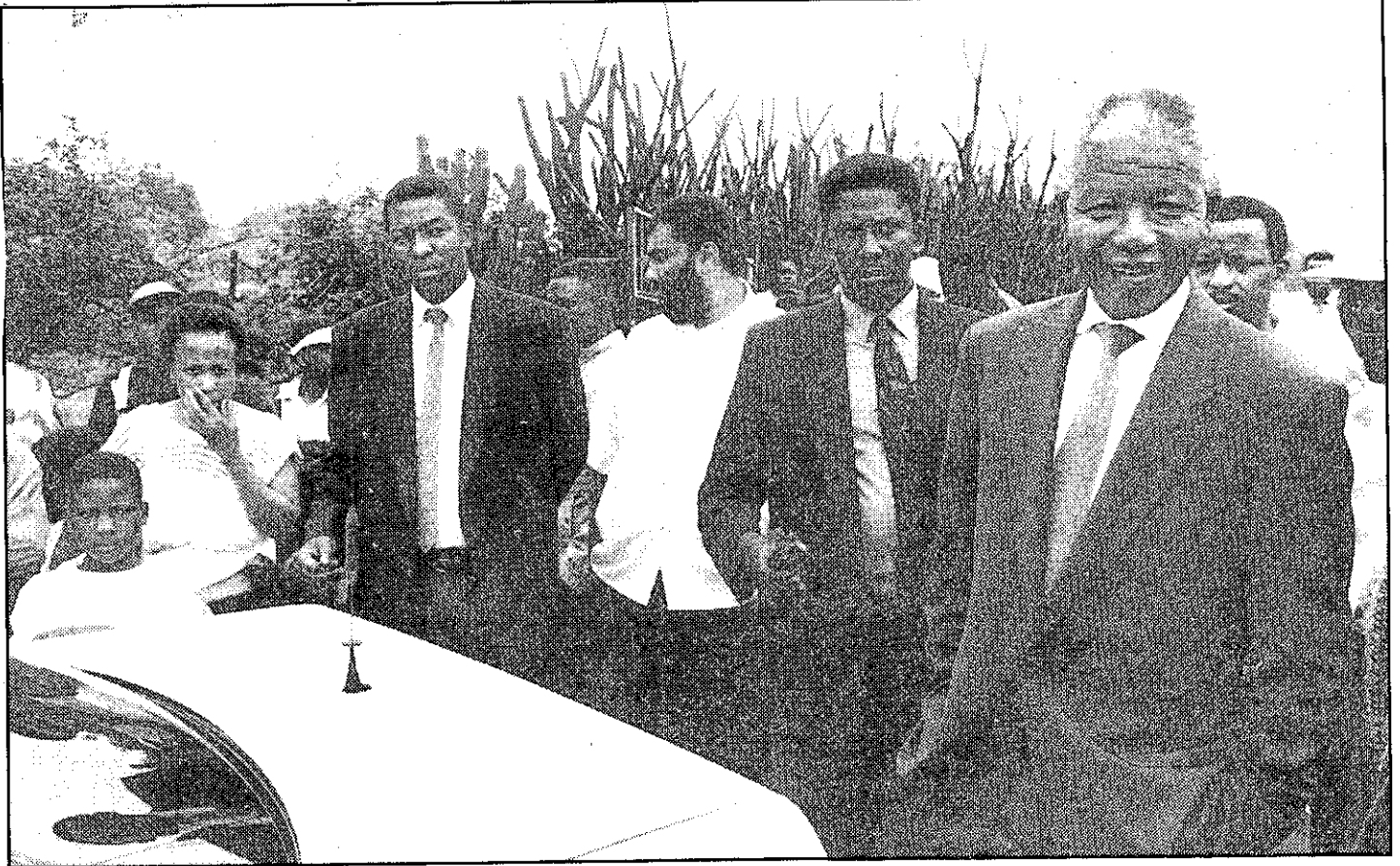
Azapo deputy president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said this in response to the detention of 39 alleged members of the Azanian National Liberation Army, the military wing of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

Last week police swooped on an underground cave 70km southeast of Pietersburg and arrested

38 men and a woman at a cave which stretches for about 2km underground and allegedly seized a large quantity of arms and ammunition. The cave is said to have been used by Chief Sekhukhune as a hideout during the war with the Boers.

Nefolovhodwe has accused De Klerk of turning a blind eye to military activities of white extremist groups like the AWB and the AVF.

Nefolovhodwe dismissed media reports that the alleged Azania cadres had been training to disrupt next year's elections.



Waiting for the Rain Queen . . . ANC president Nelson Mandela chats to reporters as he waits with his entourage at the gates of the Rain Queen Modjadji's compound near Tzaneen.

PICTURE: KEN OOSTERBROEK

Mobilise for peace, says Mandela

Star 6/12/93

KwaMhlangu — ANC president Nelson Mandela appealed yesterday for an end to violence in South Africa, saying this was an obstacle to investment.

"We will not get investments when there is violence and crime," he told 8 000 people at a rally in KwaNdebele.

"One of the issues we have to attend to is the question of the high level of crime.

"It is our duty to mobilise for peace," Mandela told the crowd gathered in the KwaMhlanga

stadium, 60 km outside of Pretoria.

Nearly 13 000 people have died in violence in South Africa since February 1990. Police blame much of the bloodletting on clashes between ANC and IFP supporters.

At the start of the rally, Mandela castigated a group of youths for tearing down the flag of the *Intando ye Sizwe* (Desire of the Nation), a KwaNdebele political party which was formed in 1990.

The ANC leader said he would

not tolerate "hooligans" and "animals" who he said had infiltrated the ANC.

"When you behave like animals, we will not tolerate that," he said.

However, Mandela later said he understood the anger of young people because of the experiences they had undergone under apartheid.

He added that there was corruption in all 10 homelands.

"We are aware there is corruption throughout . . . that corruption is a reflection of the Na-

tional Party Government itself," he said.

"What we must worry about now is to prepare for the elections of April 27 and to bury the National Party for good," Mandela said.

But he warned the people not to have exaggerated expectations of what an ANC-led government could produce.

"Don't think we will be able to solve (your problems) on April the 27th, in 1994 or 1995. It may take years, five years, to solve them." — Sapa-Reuter.

NEWS ANC leader visits rain queen and gets blessing of rain in north

Mandela woos tribal leaders

Sowetan 6/11/93

By Lulama Luti

HEALING the wounds of the past, is the message that African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela took up north this weekend.

From the moment his chartered jet landed at the small Letaba airstrip near Tzaneen on Saturday morning, Mandela began drumming up support from members of the Lebowa Tribal Authority.

He began his one-day stay in the area with a visit to Queen Modjadji of the Bolobedu tribe.

In his entourage, were ANC negotiating team member Mr Mavivi Manzini, ANC chief representative in Germany Mr Sankie Nkondo and Cosatu general secretary Mr Sam Shilowa. They were later joined by ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba.

After a 20-minute meeting Mandela announced Queen Modjadji's support for the organisation, which she predicted would win next year's election.

Judging by the drizzly weather that persisted throughout the morning, the legendary Rain Queen had indeed blessed his crusade.

Mandela proceeded to the Senopelwa Showgrounds, where hundreds of supporters poured out their concerns to the ANC leadership during the People's Forum.

These included the land question, unemployment, pensions, education, health services and the civil service.

Referring to the National Party, Mandela told the cheering crowd that the ANC would bury it.

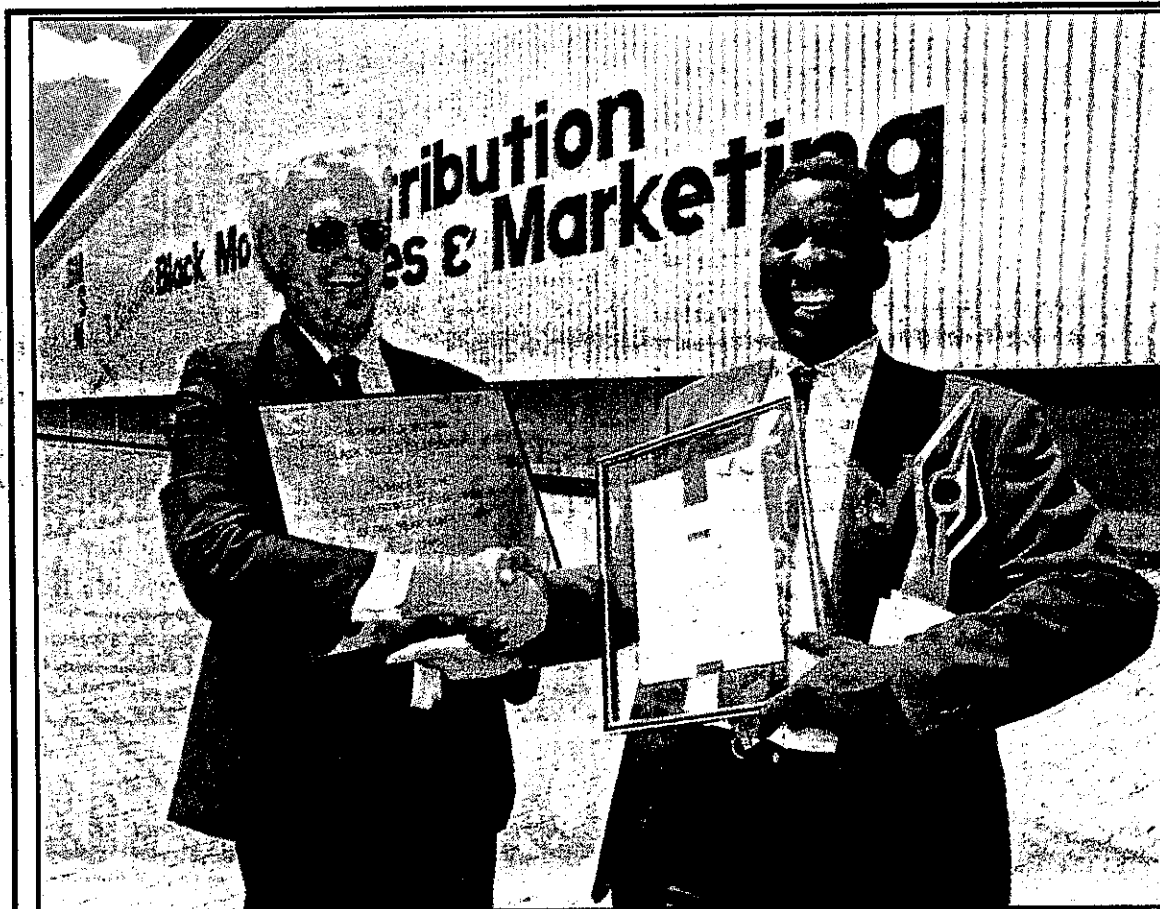
"They thought we did not see their tricks but we slept on our stomachs and watched them. We will bury them with their tricks," he said.

He urged the youth to respect the chiefs and to forget the past.

"Let us heal the old wounds, let us work with everybody. The chieftaincies have played an important role in advancing our struggle for liberation," he said.

Mandela also had a meeting with members of the local Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa before proceeding to nearby Giyani to meet Chief Nxumalo of Gazankulu.

Thongs throngs of people lined the streets as Mandela's motorcade went past.



Sanlam public affairs manager Mr Fanle Terblanche presents Mr Moses Mgcina of Black Moses Distributions with the winner's plaque at his warehouse in Alrode on the East Rand. Mgcina won the Sowetan/Sanlam Entrepreneur of the Year Award for 1993.

PIC: SELLO MOTSEPE

NEWS ANC members refuse IYP to hoist its flag at the "People's Forum" gathering

Mandela lays down the law

Sowetan 6/12/93

By Mckeed Kotlolo

THE simmering tension between supporters of the African National Congress and the Intando Yesizwe Party almost came to a head yesterday when the ANC protested against the hoisting of the IYP's flag at the "people's forum" at KwaMhlanga in KwaNdebele.

The situation became volatile and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela was forced to defuse tensions and called upon all those who would not allow the hoisting of the flag to leave the stadium.

Own organisation

"If you can't abide by the policy of the ANC, then go and form your own organisation," Mandela said.

He told the protesting crowd that he was aware of some traditional leaders who sided with the Government, but since they were now collaborating with the ANC at the World Trade Centre they should be given a chance.

He said: "What right do you have to

behave like this? I am now going to make a ruling and anyone who is not prepared to listen to my orders must leave this place." (IYA)

He later said that by condemning the actions of the ANC supporters opposed to the hoisting of the flag, it did not mean that he had no respect for them.

"I understand your anger. What I hate is the method in which you address problems," Mandela said.

Next year

He promised to return to the homeland in January next year to try to resolve the existing conflict.

Mandela criticised an article which appeared in a Sunday newspaper yesterday headlined "Mandela gets a royal rap" about his meeting on Saturday with the Great Queen Modjadji in Bolobedu, Lebowa, as not a true reflection of what had happened.

He said the journalist who wrote the story had ignored "very important issues where Modjadi had given the ANC her blessings and told me she would like to visit the new democratic Parliament".



Aubrey Motsaana and Ravele Hullsani of Wisani Pre-School in Tshlawelo, Soweto, graduated from Grade 5 on Saturday and both will be starting a new life at a local primary school next year. PIC: LUCKY NXUMALO

FA and ANC meet

Sowetan 01/21/93

Sowetan Correspondent

THE Government, African National Congress and Freedom Alliance meet in Cape Town today for trilateral discussions (SOW) (11A)

This is the first such meeting of the three major political blocs since the FA's constituent organisations withdrew from constitutional talks just over five months ago, and a significant step by the alliance towards taking part in the April 27 election.

Today's meeting will take the form of a presentation to the ANC of the progress made between the Government and the FA — described by an FA source as “a package of virtually consensus decisions” — in talks on Friday, in an effort to gain the ANC's approval.

Among the trade-offs the alliance will be seeking is a reversal of the single ballot paper decision, upheld by the Negotiating Council last

week despite the opposition of smaller parties, including the PAC and the Democratic Party.

The very fact of the meeting, to be held on the eve of the first sitting of the Transitional Executive Council, holds out a major possibility that the FA might return to the constitutional process as full partners and take part in the election.

At least one of the FA's major constituents, the Inkatha Freedom Party, has been forced to do some serious soul-searching on the continued advisability of staying out of elections.

And the FA itself is clearly of the belief that it has made what senior negotiators yesterday described as “considerable progress on most aspects” of its discussions with the Government.

The FA's decision was taken late yesterday afternoon following a flurry of faxes and information-exchange among its members, who had been re-examining the constitution in the wake of their discussions with the Government last week.

opinion on leadership

Sowetan 7/12/93

ALL the strictures over the misbehaviour of black youths inside and outside the Supreme Court during the Amy Biehl trial have done nothing to change the grim political reality that a very considerable number of these radicalised young people exist.

Their actual numbers are probably unknown, but their impact on the broader community was chillingly demonstrated during Operation Barcelona, in the course of which Amy Biehl was so brutally murdered.

And, earlier, it was shown in the national outpouring of anger when the former champion of the radical left, Chris Hani, was assassinated. The destructive uproar that ensued brought the country close to disaster.

But what is even more disturbing than the fact of their existence is the fact that, in the Western Cape at least, they have been disowned by almost all political formations — including, in the past few days, by even the increasingly well behaved PAC.

This has left them beyond the disciplinary reach of virtually the whole body politic.

It would be dangerously naive to believe that the mere political denunciation of these people by the ANC, SACP, PAC, *et al*, is sufficient to bring them into line.

Expectation of revolutionary change

If all the available data on the penetration of the media in black townships is any guide, the probability is very high that these youngsters do not even know what the ANC, PAC, or anyone else has had to say about their behaviour and that the fulminations of politicians and newspaper editorials have been to no avail.

To make matters worse, these youths are imbued by a spirit of rebellion and the expectation of revolutionary change, born of the Children's Revolt of 1976 and the subsequent schools boycott, and the frontline role they and those who have followed in their wake have played in disturbances ever since.

All of which is why there ought to be much regret at the ousting this weekend of Tony Yengeni as the regional secretary of the ANC, apparently because of his public image as a radical or "extremist" at a time when this is substantially inconvenient for the ANC.

Whatever one might have thought of his incautious and sometimes disturbing statements, the fact remains that he served as the spokesman of radicalised black youth who now, very dangerously, appear to have no powerful spokesman and no firm political home.

Those on the inside of politics will know that Yengeni was one of the very few people who could command their respect — and obedience.

After others had failed, it was he who stopped Operation Barcelona in the wake of Amy Biehl's murder — with what is said to have been fewer than a dozen sharp, well-chosen words.

Heaping abuse on the radical young, like heaping abuse over the past 45 years on con-

The misbehaviour of our radicalised young people has the potential to bring the nation to the brink of disaster. **Hugh Robertson** suggests that the recent ousting by the ANC of their leader, Tony Yengeni, was a blunder:



Winnie Mandela



Peter Mokaba

servative whites, is not an effective means of persuading them to change their attitudes or their behaviour.

By far the most effective way of dealing with the political challenge they represent is by engaging them and, however uncomfortable the thought might be, by letting them feel that their concerns at least enjoy some recognition within the political structures of the country — albeit on the radical fringe represented by the Tony Yengeni, Peter Mokaba, Harry Gwala and Winnie Mandela "faction" in the ANC, or by the PAC's Paso or Apla.

What makes the ANC's decision to dump Yengeni all the more unfortunate is the fact that the ANC itself so often has recognised the wisdom of engagement, most recently in its extensive bilateral negotiations with the white far right.

Radicalised township youths

Yet one suspects that in the case of radicalised township youths the ANC's Western Cape formations have decided that it is more politically profitable to ditch them by ousting from a position of prestige and authority the man who most closely echoed their sentiments and commanded their respect.

Perhaps this is an understandable strategy in

the light of the ANC's need to attract coloured and white support in order to stand a chance of winning in the Western Cape on April 27.

After all, white and coloured voters together hugely outnumber blacks in the region, which also has the country's highest ratio of "middle class" voters. The constituency represented by Tony Yengeni probably is doomed to minority status for some time to come.

But none of this makes Yengeni's ousting a cause for celebration. Huge numbers of township youths, many — if not most — of them unemployed, and probably unemployable, milling about in search of political expression but with no leader in a powerful position in the leading liberation movement, is not a reassuring vision of the future.

Sooner or later, the challenge they present is going to have to be addressed at a political level. Their desire for revolutionary change is going to have to be dealt with by any political group which would presume to run the country.

Leaders who echo the sentiments of radical youths are going to emerge, whether the political establishment likes it or not, and it would be wiser to have them within a powerful political vortex like the ANC than to have them as outsiders speaking to the politically homeless through a language of resentment and isolation.

Talks with ANC, govt collapse

Hopes fade for election deal with Alliance

BIDay 7/12/93

CAPE TOWN — Last-ditch attempts to secure an agreement guaranteeing the Freedom Alliance's participation in the elections failed yesterday.

Government had proposed a package of constitutional amendments to satisfy the alliance's demands, but prospects of these changes being included in the constitution faded after the talks collapsed and the alliance scuppered a planned meeting with both the ANC and government. Government and ANC negotiators questioned whether the alliance was serious about reaching an all-inclusive settlement.

Government's chief negotiator Roelf Meyer said the alliance had been asked to agree to validate the interim constitution, participate in transitional structures and take part in next year's election, once outstanding constitutional issues — such as regional powers — had been resolved.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said a commitment from the alliance would infuse confidence into the negotiations process, even though important issues would still have to be thrashed out.

"That commitment would put us all in a stronger position. If the Freedom Alliance is prepared to be part of the process, they must respond by making a commitment to us and to the people of this country."

But alliance spokesman Rowan Cronje said the organisation's commitment to negotiations was illustrated by its formation, as well as by the time and expense it had

ADRIAN HADLAND

put into meeting the other parties.

He said negotiators had a mandate to discuss the few outstanding issues but not to commit the alliance to the interim constitution, transitional arrangements and the elections. That commitment would have to be referred back to the alliance's principals who would meet today.

Almost all the issues were close to being settled. "We have reached finality on all but half an issue." But there was no guarantee that agreements reached with government would be respected by other parties, so the alliance was not prepared to confirm its eventual participation in the transitional process and the elections.

"We are totally committed to negotiations and finding solutions, but not irrespective of the outcome of those negotiations or irrespective of the final product."

Cronje said it was "most unfortunate" that the proposed trilateral meeting had not taken place as "a lot of progress" could have been made.

NP negotiator Dawie de Villiers told a news conference addressed by the three parties that he did not know whether the alliance "really wanted to find solutions".

Ramaphosa said it had become clear that while the alliance claimed to be committed to reaching a settlement, it was "not prepared to live up to that".

To Page 2

Alliance

BIDay 7/12/93

From Page 1

The alliance had only hours to come back with proposals. "Time is running out if indeed it has not already run out."

TIM COHEN reports that President F W de Klerk emphasised the reasonableness of the proposals made to the Freedom Alliance, saying an alliance decision not to accept the package would be "absolutely

unreasonable". Speaking before the talks, he said government had gone a long way to meet the alliance's demands.

It was the alliance's democratic right to decide not to take part in the elections, "but a political party or leader taking that option would be making a very bad choice".

(11A)

Govt-FA talks collapse

Star 7/12/93

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Talks designed to bring the Freedom Alliance (FA) on board a political settlement collapsed yesterday, making it increasingly likely that a new dispensation will get under way without the FA.

Hopes now hinge on a change of mind by a meeting of FA leaders on what was effectively an ultimatum by the Government and the ANC.

Frantic efforts were last night being made to have the five FA leaders gather today. Yesterday a planned three-way meeting of the FA, Government and ANC in Cape Town never came off when the alliance refused to give a commitment to take part in transitional structures — such as the Transitional Executive Council — and the April 27 election.

Last night, Government negotiator Dr Dawie de Villiers said that he did not know "whether they seriously want to find solutions" ~~(3/27/93)~~

But, FA spokesman Rowan Cronje said the alliance was committed to a solution. ~~(1/1/93)~~

A meeting between the FA, the Government and the ANC had been scheduled for 2 pm in the parliamentary complex.

De Villiers said the Government had indicated separately to the FA that "it seems to us there is a preparedness of the ANC to discuss some of the proposals on key elements of the constitution".

But, the Government and ANC indicated they would require the commitment that once there was agreement on constitutional issues there would be participation by the FA in validating the constitution, the transitional structures and the election.

The Government's position was that the door should not be closed on the FA but that "time is running out".

Winnie's suspension in key ANC post lifted

DURBAN. — Winnie Mandela, estranged wife of the ANC president Mr. Nelson Mandela, took a further step out of the political wilderness yesterday when the ANC Women's League ended her suspension from a key post.

Delegates to the Women's League congress here agreed to end her suspension from the regional executive committee of the Johannesburg/Pretoria branch, a spokeswoman said.

The spokeswoman said delegates called for the suspension to be lifted in the interests of unity ahead of next April's elections, the first in which blacks will be allowed to vote.

Mandela, 58, was suspended from

the regional executive committee in May last year after she was accused of arranging a demonstration against the ANC. The suspension was reaffirmed earlier this year.

She resigned from the national executive committee of the league in September last year after the leaking of a love letter she allegedly wrote to a younger man.

The spokeswoman said Mrs. Mandela had been nominated for re-election to the Women's League national executive committee and appeared to have enough support to be voted back onto the body. The vote is expected to be held today. — Sapa-Reuter

TEC hailed as end of white rule

Sowetan 8/11/93

■ VERBAL CLASH De Klerk

replies to Ramaphosa remarks:

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

THE Transitional Executive Council held its first historic meeting yesterday, heralding the end of exclusive white rule in South Africa.

Although 16 parties took part in yesterday's sitting out of the original 26 which participated in constitutional talks, the TEC was hailed by the new councillors as meaning the end of white minority rule.

And as this sank in, a clash of words erupted between African National Congress secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and State President FW de Klerk.

In his opening remarks during the meeting, Ramaphosa said the Government "would like to see the TEC as an advisory body, reducing it to a toy telephone, and we must resist this".

He said: "We call on them to accept that the days of white minority rule are over. We must all execute our functions with the dignity of the office that we occupy, with determination and with a great deal of courage..."

"In executing our task we must fear no foe, and we must favour no friend."

Responding to Ramaphosa at Tuynhuys later, De Klerk accused the ANC leader of playing politics, saying: "The days of white domination are over. We are now in the process of debating a new constitution.

"We do not accept the TEC for what it is not, and it is not a new government.

The Government has not stopped governing. The TEC is not a new government of South Africa. I wish people could go and read the (TEC) Bill," De Klerk said.

De Klerk was addressing a joint Press briefing with British Under-secretary for Foreign Affairs, Baroness Lynda Chalker, at Tuynhuys.

He said he hoped that at its next meeting tomorrow the TEC would appoint the Independent Electoral Commission to set the election process in motion. The TEC was part of the Kempton Park negotiations package and was signed into law by De Klerk and published in the *Government Gazette* on November 26.

Meanwhile TEC members got immediately to work behind closed doors after its first session to set in motion structures to appoint office bearers.

A seven-member management committee was appointed to look at the logistical running of TEC affairs. Each participating party will have a member on the TEC.

An alternate member will attend meetings only when the appointed representative is absent. Primarily, the TEC will oversee the implementation of the IEC, Independent Media Commission and Independent Broadcasting Authority Acts to ensure fair and free elections on April 27.

At its meeting tomorrow the TEC is expected to announce members to serve on sub-councils on defence, finance, law and order, intelligence, foreign affairs and status of women.

'We don't need you in the future'

Mandela warns Buthelezi

Star 8/12/93

■ BY ALAN ROBINSON
STAR FOREIGN SERVICE

Oslo — ANC leader Nelson Mandela has issued a blunt warning to IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi: "We've come this far without you and we don't need you in the future." (1A)

That, in essence, was his message to all who refuse to join in the march to democracy in South Africa.

Looking supremely confident and showing no signs of his overnight flight Mandela told a packed press conference that the democratic forces in South Africa were unstoppable.

He dismissed threats of an impending civil war, saying those threats had been ever-present since the peace process began but they had had no effect.

Mandela was sharply critical of the Government's failure to crack down on those who had rebelled against the new dispensation, accusing it of being "indecisive and very weak".

Military revolt

But it was Buthelezi who bore the brunt of his scorn.

Questioned on the refusal of the IFP to join the democratic forces, he said: "The process will go on without them. We drew up a new constitution without them. We have formed a Transitional Executive Council without them. We will fight the election without them. And we will govern South Africa without them."

Mandela dismissed fears of a military and police revolt. He said "remarkable progress" had been made with integrating the SADF and Umkhonto we Sizwe



Welcome . . . ANC president Nelson Mandela meets Norwegian Nobel Committee chairman Francis Sejersted in Oslo yesterday.

PICTURE: AP

as well as the existing SAP and the ANC's intelligence and security units.

"Despite a certain element within the security forces who are involved in violence, the majority want to keep the name of the SADF and the SAP clean and be a part of the peace process and of the new South Africa."

In response to a report that the NP wanted a total amnesty that would include freedom for the killers of Chris Hani, Mandela said: "We don't want a National Party Government to indulge in double standards here."

"There must be a total disclosure of offences before any full amnesty can be considered. And we must be sure that any cut-off date for such an amnesty does not encourage those who are slaughtering our people to continue slaughtering our people in

expectation of escaping because of an amnesty."

Mandela appealed to Norway to continue its assistance to South Africa: "Norway and the Nordic people have always been in the forefront and we want that to continue, not just until the April 27 election. We will need their help in the massive programme of reconstruction and development. We want the businessmen of Norway to invest in South Africa."

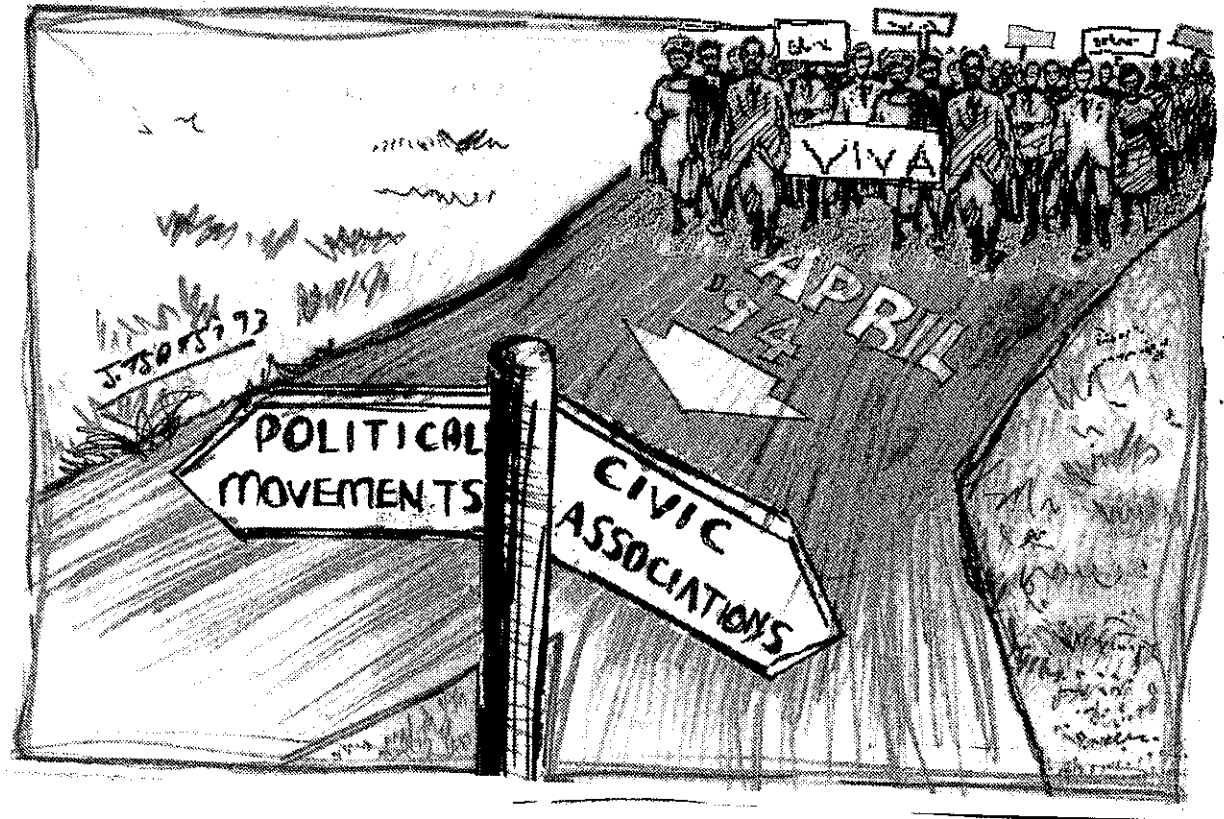
Referring to the ongoing violence in the townships, Mandela said the media in South Africa had painted a false picture of black-on-black fighting. There was clear evidence of violence instigated by elements in the security forces, by the white Right and Inkatha, he said.

► From Soweto and Pretoria to Oslo — Page 17

NEWS FEATURE *Survey shows civics and liberation movements have same goals*

Clash of interests looms in new SA

Sowetan 8/12/93



Continued →

and government under spotlight: **(IIA)****Sowetan Correspondent**

SOUTH AFRICA'S first democratic elections next year could mark the start of the parting of the ways between many civic associations and political liberation movements.

SA Institute of Race Relations research officer Mr Stuart Murphy said a study of 28 housing groups, including hostel dwellers' and civic associations, showed they saw themselves as having the same goals as liberation movements.

Civic associations affiliated to the United Democratic Front and African National Congress had been at the forefront of making the country ungovernable. Many people in the associations said they were aware of the need to break their traditionally close ties with the ANC and its allies.

Watchdog role **(IIA)**

"Many, if not most, leaders spoke of performing a watchdog-type role for residents regardless of political affiliation. Such organisations see the installation of a democratically elected government of prime importance, after which voluntary housing associations would become more non-partisan."

Some, but not all associations representing shack dwellers seemed to be ANC-aligned. This was not necessarily for ideological reasons, but rather in the hope that resources would be given to them if the ANC took power.

"Historically the ANC's policies have been designed to appeal to the poorest of the country's poor.

"Once in power, however, an ANC government will be faced with many pressures and constraints and may fail to adequately meet demands of informally-housed or hostel residents."

Choices about handing out resources would have to be made.

"The potential for the future government to become involved in political patronage is thus very real," Murphy said. Most civic associations were in the political camp pressing for redistribution of resources.

This was the majority camp in South African politics.

It had a tendency to submerge different interests in a collective interest

of "the people". Civic association independence could be threatened by alliances with people in state power.

"Unless voluntary associations close to the majority camp are able to break off their close links, such organisations may suppress demands on the future government, as they try to persuade constituents not to put too much pressure on those in power in the same political camp."

This could lead to the break up of organisations if the government failed to deliver the goods, while leadership failed to respond to their constituency's demands. Murphy said it was important for civil society in post-apartheid South Africa to move beyond "liberation-dominated" politics.

"The liberation movement needs to accept it arose as a result of specific historical circumstances and once these change, the liberation movement style of politics must be allowed to lapse."

Some civic associations argued that all township residents were automatically members.

Others acknowledged township communities were not homogeneous.

In a report in the association journal *Spotlight*, Murphy said most associations had not yet begun discussing the difference between civic and party-political issues.

Issues prohibited

A few organisations said non-civic issues were prohibited from being raised at residents' association meetings, and some prohibited party-political office bearers from holding office in the association. Leadership accountability and participatory decision-making were seen as important.

"Elections for leadership were not always regular, however, and tended to be 'by consensus' or 'a show of hands' at mass meetings."

Some were said to be conscientious in reporting back to their constituencies after meetings with development agencies, while others were accused of favouritism in site allocations.

Organisations studied by Murphy included the Grabouw Community Organisation (Graco), Khayelitsha Civic Association, SA National Civic Organisation in the Western Cape, Guguletu's Tambo Square Housing Committee, Umzamo Development

Project, and the Western Cape United Squatters Association (Wecusa).

Graco chairman Mr Dennis Marinus said most members of the organisation's executive were ANC members, though he was not.

The organisation was "totally committed to the community" and accepted people could have different political ideologies.

If the organisation was affiliated to the ANC, it would not be able to address community issues effectively, Marinus said.

Obstacle to branch

The organisation had been pressured by the ANC to disband because some members of the movement saw Graco as an obstacle to an ANC branch being formed.

Khayelitsha Civic Association chairman Mr Julian Ntsholo said the executive included members of the ANC, Pan Africanist Congress, and SA Communist Party.

Before adopting the Sanco constitution, which required elections every two years, it had held elections annually.

A development consultant quoted in the study said the association was supported by most shack and house dwellers in Khayelitsha.

"Although certain developers believed Wecusa was the only organisation representative of shack residents in the area, an increasing number of shack residents were migrating from Wecusa-controlled settlements to areas with a majority support for the Khayelitsha civic."

Sanco Western Cape chairman Mr Lizo Kape said a principal aim of the organisation was to be a non-partisan watchdog of the community on local government and community development, and to represent residents in dealing with any authority.

Kape said people from other organisations did not want to join civics because they were seen to be ANC-dominated.

"While ANC members dominated positions at regional and sub-regional level, there were members of the PAC and Azanian People's Organisation at local level."

Kape said it was not a problem that Sanco was ANC-dominated because Sanco was able to stay independent of the ANC.

He described Sanco's alliance with the ANC as short-term and necessary until the abolition of apartheid was complete.

Sowetan
8/12/93

ANC asks Norway to continue aid

27/12/93

(117)

Own Correspondent

OSLO. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela pleaded for continued assistance from Norway, one of the ANC's traditional financial supporters, and said "our victory is your victory".

He conceded that there would be large expectations of the new government and South Africa would require a massive programme of reconstruction. Because of this, continued assistance would be needed.

At a special church service in his honour on the eve of receiving the Nobel Peace Prize, Mr Mandela delivered one of his most conciliatory speeches.

"I am a Christian and I am committed to Christianity," he said during the service at the Lutheran Oslo-Domkirk

in the snow-covered city centre.

When asked in the past whether he was a Christian, he had always answered that a person's beliefs were a personal matter.

Mr Mandela said religion played a major part of all major ANC's functions, but the organisation had fought hard against the religious intolerance imbedded in the apartheid constitution.

"Our constitution must embrace all religions," he said.

The ANC had a powerful message of peace and reconciliation and remarkable progress had been made in the constitutional process, he said.

Joint winner of the Nobel Peace Prize President F W de Klerk arrives in Norway today.

Winnie voted president of ANCWL

MRS WINNIE Mandela has been elected president of the African National Congress Women's League.

She polled 392 votes out of a total 560 at the ANCWL's annual conference in Durban yesterday, beating fellow nominee Mrs Albertina Sisulu. *Sowetan*

The 58-year-old estranged wife of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela made her triumphant return to the league's leadership after her suspension from holding a key post was lifted by

this week's conference in the interests of unity before next year's election.

Mandela was also recently elected deputy president of the South African National Civics Organisation.

She suffered political damage due to her criminal conviction for participating in the kidnapping of four youths in Soweto. *(IIP)*

Reacting to Mandela's election, the National Party said yesterday it was proof that the militant factions of the

ANC were taking control of key positions. *9/12/93*

NP spokesman Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk said: "Up to now the ANC has endeavoured to manoeuvre the militant factions to the background in order to create the impression of a moderate party with responsible policies."

Mandela's election was clear evidence that the militant factions were no longer willing to be sidelined for the duration of the election. — *Sapa*.

Poll victory opens door to a sen Star 9/12/93

Winnie's

IBURG has run time to reply to bids by township agents to improve conditions in hostels 'P areas

Mlambo said the m still a distinct possibility

"We will wait until 1 noon to see if we get se answers to our grievance then, in consultation with people, we will decide to proceed with the march," he said.

People angry

Star 2) maintenance and for the

■ POLITICAL STAFF

Durban — Winnie Mandela completed a stunning political comeback yesterday when she was elected president of the ANC Women's League.

She is now virtually certain of a senior position in an ANC-dominated government.

The estranged wife of African National Congress president Nelson Mandela polled 392 of a total 560 votes at the league's annual conference in Durban.

She beat veteran candidate and pre-election favourite Albertina Sisulu into second place.

Unity

The 58-year-old Mandela's triumphant return to the league's leadership was made possible earlier yesterday when the league decided to lift a ban on her holding a key post.

Her suspension was lifted "in the interests of unity" ahead of the April 27 election.

Yesterday's election completed the "rehabilitation" of Mandela after her resignation, under pressure, from several positions in the ANC early last year.

She resigned shortly after her separation from Nelson Mandela and when a cloud was hanging over her during the Stompie Seipei trial.

One position she did not surrender was that of Women's League PWV chairperson.

Suspended

But she and four others were forced out of the league after allegations were made that they had organised protests outside the ANC head office by some women demanding her reinstatement as head of the

TOTAL of 392 votes in 560 against favourite Albertina Sisulu puts her in the president's seat of the ANC Women's League



organisation's social welfare department.

Majorie Nkomo, Sally Peterson, Gwen Mahlangu and Nompumelelo Madlala were suspended together with Mandela.

Mandela, who a top-secret internal ANC survey found to be among the most popular leaders in the organisation, has been on a gradual political comeback since her election as South African National Civic Organisation (Sanco) southern Transvaal chairman late last year.

She has since been elected on to the ANC's powerful PWV regional executive committee and elevated to Sanco's national deputy presidency.

Militant

Both the ANC Youth League and the ANCWL have nominated her for inclusion in the ANC's national election list for the National Assembly.

In a statement last night the National Party said Mandela's election as head of the ANCWL "is proof of the militant factions taking control of key positions in the ANC.

"Up to now the ANC has endeavoured to manoeuvre the militant factions to the background in order to create the impression of a moderate party with responsible policies.

"Mrs Mandela's election is clear evidence that the militant factions are no longer willing to be sidelined for the duration of the election."

Star 9/12/93

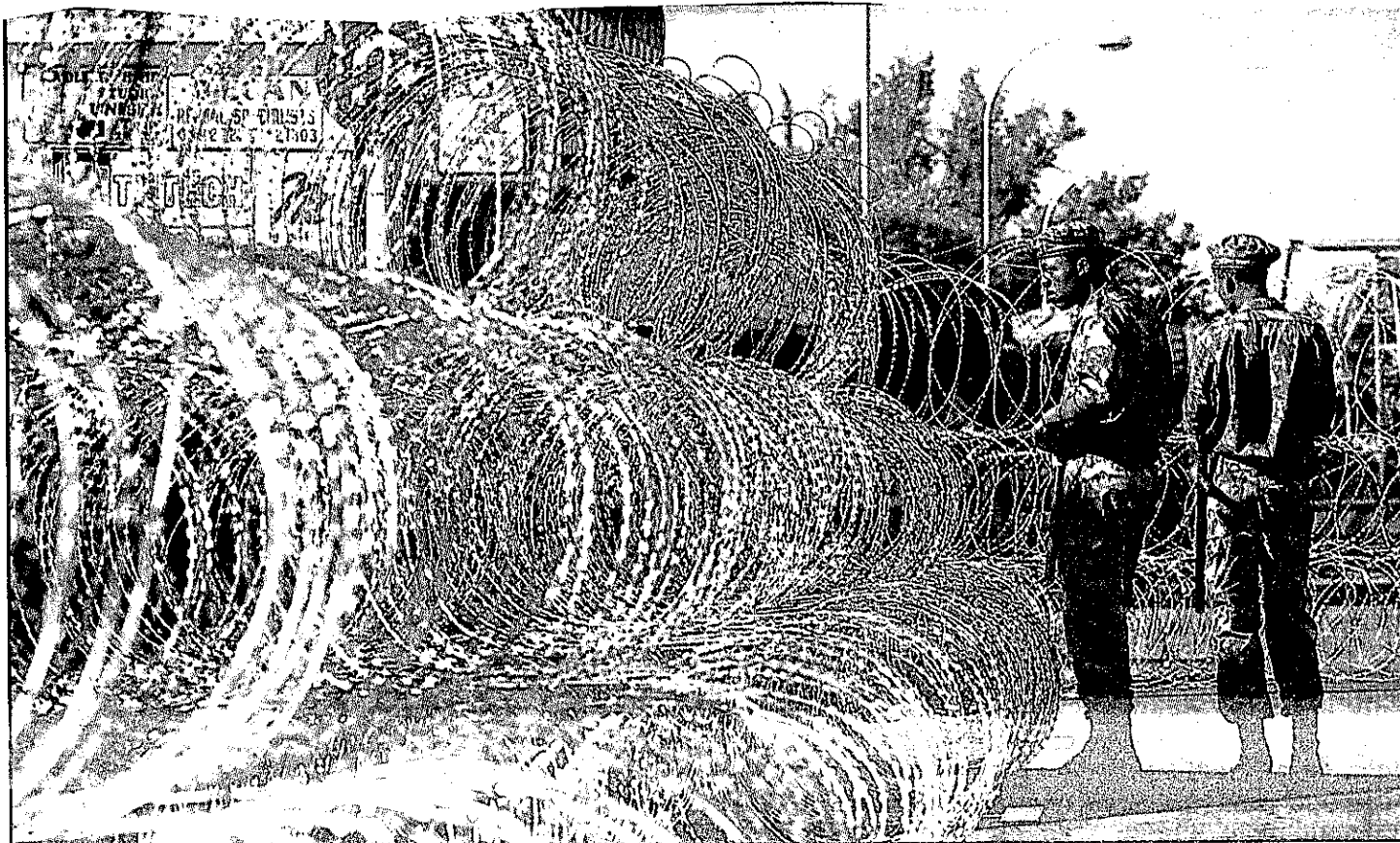
Mandela's popularity higher — poll

Nelson Mandela's personal popularity has been a major reason for the ANC's increased support among metropolitan blacks, according to Mar-kinor's latest Gallup poll of political opinion.

President de Klerk also has an improved rating — up 6 percent among both whites and blacks since May (1993).

According to the poll, based on a survey of 1 000 blacks in the major metropolitan areas, support for the ANC has increased to "a whopping" 82 percent — a level it last held in May 1992, and a 6 percent increase since this May. Mandela's personal rating among blacks, on a level from 0 to 10, rose from 8,4 in May to 8,7 in November.

— Political Staff.



Trouble shooters . . . security forces took no chances at the ANC's first meeting in the Middelburg Town Hall yesterday, when they cordoned off the surrounding area with barbed wire.

PICTURE: KEN OOSTERBROEK

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The ANC had the last laugh in the conservative town of Middelburg in the eastern Transvaal yesterday when two of its leaders, Tito Mboweni and Derek Hanekom, addressed an ANC gathering in the town hall.

The meeting took place a month after a similar ANC gathering was violently disrupted by rightwingers.

The packed meeting, heavily guarded by the police and SADF, went off peacefully.

This led to the local ANC branch immediately calling off a

ANC finally holds Middelburg meeting

Star 9/12/93
consumer boycott which began after the disruption of the November 6 meeting.

Middelburg was declared an unrest area in anticipation of trouble at yesterday's meeting. All routes to the town were manned by security forces, who searched vehicles for firearms.

Barbed wire was thrown around the town hall.

Attempts by the right wing to

have the meeting abandoned — by telephonically warning the local police station about a bomb supposedly placed in the hall — did not pay off. (11A)

People were merely asked to check under their seats and the meeting continued without the hall being evacuated.

Earlier, police arrested a khaki-clad right-wing couple outside the hall when they refused

to leave the area.

Mboweni thanked the police for "all the good work" they had done to ensure that the meeting proceeded smoothly.

The ANC economics planning department deputy head described the right wing's disruption of his November 6 meeting as "the greatest shame in the history of Middelburg" and said the ANC was making history by finally holding its first meeting in the town.

About 1 000 people — at least 20 of them white — heard Mboweni talking about the need for foreign and domestic investment.

Mandela far ahead in poll

BLACK support for ANC leader Nelson Mandela has increased to a record high, while the public's opinion of President F W de Klerk's performance rallied in November from its May low, the latest Markinor survey has found.

(11A)
A Gallup poll on sociopolitical and economic trends among 800 whites and 1 000 blacks in metropolitan areas found that 76% of whites and 41% of blacks believed De Klerk was leading the country very or fairly well. But blacks were still largely disillusioned with him, with 57% saying he was not leading SA very well or not well at all. Only 21% of whites felt this way.

Mandela remained a clear favourite among blacks, with his popularity rating (out of 10) jumping from 8,4 in May to 8,7 in November, the highest score for any leader. De Klerk was second choice for blacks, scoring 4,3.

Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Gen Constand Viljoen trailed with scores of 1,8

B/Say 9/12/93
LLOYD COUTTS

(down from 2,1) and 1,2 respectively.

Markinor director Christine Woessner said 43% of whites supported the NP, 11% supported the DP and 14% supported the Afrikaner Volksfront/CP. White support for the Inkatha Freedom Party as first choice rose to 9% from 6% in May.

Among metropolitan blacks, the ANC received the most votes — 76%. The PAC came in second with 4%, while the NP, Inkatha and SACP tied with 2% each.

"Votes for Mandela as a leader of all South Africans' reached a record high of 75% among blacks."

No one else featured as first choice.

"However, taking first and second choice together, Joe Slovo becomes a favourite candidate with 30% support, followed by Clarence Makwetu with 17% and F W de Klerk with 12%," Woessner said.

Women's League win for Winnie

11A

AR49/12/93

□ Triumph over Sisulu

DURBAN. — Winnie Mandela, estranged wife of African National Congress president Nelson Mandela, bounced back into national politics yesterday when she was elected president of the ANC Women's League.

Mrs Mandela, 58, polled 392 of a total 560 votes at the league's annual conference, beating into second place the woman who was favoured for the post, ANC veteran Albertina Sisulu.

Her election was made possible after the league on Tuesday ended her suspension from the regional executive of their Johannesburg-Pretoria branch "in the interests of unity."

Mrs Mandela was suspended from the league's regional executive in May last year, along with the entire regional committee, over a leadership row. In July this year her suspension, for "defiance, insubordination and total disloyalty to the ANC" was extended for another year.

Her return to senior leadership within the ANC ranks comes just 15 months after she resigned all her ANC posts amid allegations of misconduct and after newspapers published a love letter she allegedly wrote to a young lawyer.

Controversy has dogged the woman once hailed as the "Mother of the Nation" since she was charged and found guilty in 1991 of kidnapping in connection with the 1989 murder of 14-year-old Stompie Seipei.

She and her husband separated in April 1992 and shortly afterwards she resigned as head of the ANC's social welfare department.

Late in 1992 she began capitalising on her popularity among militant township youths by appearing at rallies in combat fatigues and by launching stinging attacks on the police and the government.

Earlier this year she was elected deputy-president of the South African National Civics Organisation.

On November 7 she was elected to the ANC's Johannesburg regional executive.

As president of the Women's League she is virtually certain of a senior position in government when the ANC, as is widely expected, wins the April 27 election.

Reacting, the National Party said in a statement that her election was proof that militant factions were taking control of key positions in the ANC.

"If the ANC wants to restore its credibility and its commitment to democracy it cannot allow somebody with Mrs Mandela's record to occupy such a senior position," the statement said. — Sapa-AFP.



Winnie Mandela

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NEWS Step closer to joint peace-keeping force • Union appalled by criticism

Sowetan 9/12/93 Cosatu approves of SABC appointments

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions yesterday welcomed the appointments of Mr Zwelakhe Sisulu, Mr Govan Reddy and Mr Solly Mokoetle to senior positions at the SABC.

Cosatu said it was appalled by media criticisms that the appointees were too close to the African National Congress.

"They (the appointees) know more about the need to fight censorship and party political propaganda than the entire SABC management put together."

In another reaction, the Media Workers' Association of South Africa said yesterday that broadcast experience and

a track record of impartiality in the handling of news were not considered in the appointments.

"The SABC is a public broadcaster which recently underwent public scrutiny in an effort to depoliticise its role and transform it from a State to public broadcaster," Mwasu acting president Mr Mathatha Tsedu said in a statement.

Tsedu said the appointments seemed to negate this entire effort and Mwasu was concerned about the effects and implications of this trend on the long-term viability of the SABC. — Sapa.

MK ready to tell all

Sowetan 9/12/93

UMKHONTO We Sizwe yesterday said it was near agreement with the South African Defence Force on joint monitoring of each other's forces, a crucial aspect of the transition to black rule.

"We have no objection to being monitored... we don't want to be thought of as people running amok with guns," MK's chief of staff Mr Sphiwe Nyanda said.

He said the first ex-guerillas were likely to be in assembly areas, to be established throughout South Africa, early in January.

The sensitive question of monitoring and full disclosure of both troops and

weapons by the former enemies is vital to help level the political playing field ahead of the April 27 all-race election.

Former guerillas, policemen, members of homeland armies and the defence force are to be melded into a peacekeeping force to help restore order in black townships where the Government says normal policing has become impossible.

At least 13 000 people have been killed in political violence, mainly in townships east of Johannesburg and in Natal province, since President FW de Klerk unbanned black opposition groups and began dismantling apartheid

in February 1990.

Nyanda said he would be holding bilateral talks with the defence force within the next week.

Under the terms of the agreement setting up the multi-party Transitional Executive Council which came into being on Tuesday, all armed forces are obliged to submit lists of weapons and forces to the TEC within three weeks.

Nyanda said the ANC's armed wing was ready to provide the TEC, charged with ensuring a free and fair election, with full lists of its forces and arms caches as soon as it was asked. — Sapa-Reuter.

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Many many years



Bomb scare disrupts ANC meeting in CP town

Sowetan 9/12/95

By Mokgadi Pela

POLICE yesterday set up roadblocks outside the Eastern Transvaal town of Middelburg ahead of an ANC meeting at the local town hall.

This was hours after the town had been declared an unrest area. Last month, the Afrikanerweerstandsbeweging disrupted an ANC meeting at the local town hall. (WA)

Sapa reports that the meeting was briefly disrupted when organisers announced there might be a bomb in the building.

ANC Middelburg representative Mr Ben Mokoena said police had reported there had been a phone call from a man claiming there was a bomb in the hall. Mokoena told everyone to keep calm

and check under their chairs.

Nothing was found, the capacity audience broke into roars of laughter and the meeting continued. Outside, police erected a cordon around the hall while a police helicopter hovered overhead.

Addressing about 1 000 people in the hall, the ANC's Mr Tito Mboweni said the Transitional Executive Council would ensure that the Government did not enter into any international agreements without its approval.

"The TEC will ensure that TV and radio are not used as a National Party propaganda machine," he said.

Mboweni said "we want an economy which will be part of the international market. We want to ensure economic growth by producing goods and services".

Winnie may get cabinet post

CT 10/12/92
(11A)

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela could be poised for a cabinet post in post-apartheid South Africa to cap a career that has included roles as liberation heroine and common criminal.

Mrs Mandela, estranged wife of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, was elected president of the ANC Women's League on Wednesday by a resounding 70% majority of delegates to its annual congress. Her suspension from the ANC and the women's league was lifted this week.

"The women's league is a strong component of the ANC structure," said policy analyst Mr Wim Boooyse.

"Her election to the presidency will put her high on the ANC list for the April election and strengthens her position for a cabinet post."

Mr Boooyse said Mandela appeared in recent months to have moderated her strident radical positions.

Other observers felt that the ANC was likely to chose members who would promote a co-operative spirit

Leaders 'buried' by media

DURBAN. — Mrs Winnie Mandela yesterday criticised what she said was a media that was trying to make up some leaders and bury others.

In her first address as president of the ANC Women's League, she told the league's annual congress here: "We have today sent a message to these people that our struggle was not made by the media and that they should not tell our people who must lead them."

"Our leaders are the product of the struggle in our country reflecting the aspirations of our people. Such leaders are subject to

recall when they no longer serve the interests of the people."

Mrs Mandela reminded delegates that the women's league was not a parliamentary party.

"We are a liberation movement that must pull out our people from the ghettos of apartheid. Parliament is not a place of honour but one of the terrains of our struggle."

Earlier, Mrs Mandela failed to turn up to lead a planned march through Durban.

Repeated attempts to obtain comment from the women's league yesterday were unsuccessful.

and Mrs Mandela's combative style would not aid this process, writes **Barry Streek.**

It is reliably understood that the ANC's National Working Committee has approved its nominees for the new cabinet and Mrs Mandela is not among them.

The ANC is committed to the promotion of women and apart from its welfare spokeswoman Ms Cheryl Carolus, few women are in line for cabinet positions.

Delegates said Mrs Mandela's comeback would widen the split in the league between her supporters and

those who felt she should be held to account for lapses in the past.

"The name 'Stompie' was not even mentioned in the debate," said a delegate, referring to the 14-year-old black youth who was kidnapped by Mrs Mandela four years ago and murdered by one of her bodyguards.

In May 1991 Mrs Mandela was convicted of the kidnap of Stompie and sentenced to six years' jail. An appeal court this year substituted a fine.

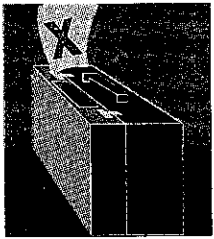
Delegates opposed to Mrs Mandela asked why the report by an internal ANC inquiry into her had not been published.

THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Time to give credit

FW 10/12/93

For its people, policies and performance, the DP deserves campaign support



Between 1948 and 1989, elections were relatively free of dilemmas. White voters never had to think very hard about where to put their crosses. Differences were based on sentiment rather than principle.

The National Party (NP) was the party of Afrikaners, government, apartheid and anti-communism — but the opposition United Party (UP) was also conservative, hard on communism and an upholder of white supremacy. If you voted UP, you were more likely to be English-speaking, affectionate towards the royal family and the memory of Smuts, and emotional about fighting up north in World War 2 — but you were not a liberal on race. Such liberal views only survived in party form thanks to Helen Suzman.

When the UP, after 25 years of failing to offer an alternative to the Nats, finally disintegrated as a fighting force in the late Seventies, the main opposition was offered by the Progressive Party, later the Progressive Federal Party and its successor, the present Democratic Party. Again, the choice was easy: vote for the pragmatic racism of P W Botha's Nats (or the purer form espoused by the Conservative Party), or for the abolition of apartheid as preached by the PFP and then the DP. It was never a contest electorally. The Nats' hold on power was unbroken from 1948.

For enlightened businessmen who wished discreetly to help a party by giving money, the choice was also easy: encourage the gradualist reform policies of P W Botha in the early Eighties or help keep alive the non-racial liberal voice of the PFP and DP.

Now, thanks to the courage and vision of President F W de Klerk, the old certainties have been swept away. The NP is no longer the party of apartheid, the DP is (in theory) no longer the sole custodian of liberal values. White power is gone forever and no party without substantial black support will have much influence for long.

The African National Congress, for many years the messianic alternative to the white regime, is hugely popular among blacks but remains untested by the demands of representative government; some of its leaders are

respected but there is deep suspicion about its economic policies. The Inkatha Freedom Party, under a possibly ill-advised Mangosuthu Buthelezi, appears to have squandered much electoral capital by appearing petty and tactically inept. Waiting in the wings and hoping to undermine the entire process are the Falangist *volkstasters* of the white Right and the feral terrorists of the far Left.

So, with the April 27 election less than five months away, who deserves to be supported by the liberal businessman who wants justice and democracy, along with an economic system that will best enable him to produce profits, wealth and jobs? It is possible to make out a plausible case for each of four major parties: the Nats, ANC, DP and Inkatha. Each has to be judged on its record, the individuals it can offer and its policies.

On the face of it, the NP is the natural candidate to take the role of second-biggest party to the ANC, with senior Nats expecting to play an important part for years to come. As the only one of the four which has actually governed, the practical experience

causing great misery, bitterness and economic destruction. Apart from Derek Keys, all the Ministers mentioned can be said to have been accomplices in apartheid; subsequent contrition does not remove the original guilt.

As for the NP's experience of government, this has its unattractive side. Even if we leave aside State terrorism and hit squads, Nat Cabinet Ministers have presided over a catalogue of corruption and mismanagement, the evidence of which is still emerging. For their collective sins of commissions and omission, do they deserve the electorate's trust?

The ANC, of course, has no track record in office — but its enduring status as the overwhelming election favourite has a powerful effect. Many businessmen would have denied this a year or two ago, but they are now tempted to support the ANC, on the grounds that it makes sense to back a winner — particularly if that winner is then in a position to reward his backers. There appears to be a growing tide of orthodoxy which makes prominent businessmen increasingly reluctant to be seen as criticising



De Klerk



Wessels



Botha



De Villiers



Meyer

of its individual Cabinet Ministers could be valuable. Being in office does not automatically mean that one has power and the new boys will need help working the levers of government.

Having the NP in force in a new government would also ensure continuity while reassuring wary investors and nervous whites (including, crucially, those in the civil service and the security forces). Individual Nats such as De Klerk, Pik Botha, Derek Keys, Roelf Meyer, Leon Wessels and Dawie de Villiers have already established valuable rapport and even trust with top ANC men. This can only ease the transition and period of reconstruction.

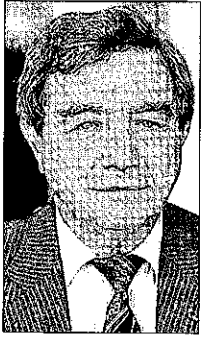
Working against the NP, of course, is its history as the party of oppression and apartheid — a factor that should not be underestimated in its effect among blacks. Sometimes the Nats behave as if someone else invented apartheid and implemented it so ruthlessly,

the ANC or opposing it in any way.

Money is often not donated to groups or causes unless they're approved by the ANC; officials who criticise the ANC are unwilling to have their names mentioned; companies are rushing to appease with affirmative action programmes. Few companies — Anglo American is one — are willing to draw the line and not be bullied.

Just as so many business leaders were prepared to attend P W Botha's summit meetings, so many companies apparently believe it would be suicide to offend the party that will be dishing out all the government favours — the tax breaks, the higher or lower tariffs, the government contracts, the exemptions from affirmative action, wealth taxes, nationalisation, and so on. We can expect many companies to cosy up to the ANC as much as possible, just as they did with the Nats.

Perhaps that is only to be expected; it may



De Beer



Eglin



Leon

well be perceived as good business sense in specific cases. But such a tactic will not necessarily be good for SA, economically or politically. It is also worth pointing out the danger that, under the ANC, the new SA could be even more authoritarian than the old.

Neither the DP nor Inkatha has a record of holding national office. The DP has a mixed public image at municipal level, with debilitating bickering recently in the Cape Town City Council but some sensible achievements in Durban and Johannesburg. Overall, DP members who have held office have tended to be people of integrity and energy. Some Inkatha members have obviously held office in KwaZulu, which is one of the better-run homelands despite being underfunded — but the line between Inkatha party member and State official has become uncomfortably blurred.

So it is difficult to choose a clear winner based on record. The Nats have great experience but they brought SA to the edge of ruin with their evil and ignorant policies; the ANC has not yet demonstrated that it can run anything; and Inkatha has limited local administrative experience. To the extent that the DP has been able to hold office, it has probably proved most competent.

That brings us to personalities — the most prominent as well as the most treacherous factor in elections. Here the ANC has a clear advantage in populist appeal. Leader Nelson Mandela has enormous charisma, is known all over the world, enjoys the status of martyr and messiah, and is already regarded even by his opponents as State President-elect. His stature enables the ANC, a broad church, to maintain unity — no faction will dare to break away while Mandela is still leader.

An investment in the ANC for Mandela alone is obviously risky, but there are other prominent men who might attract support — talented individuals such as Cyril Ramaphosa, Thabo Mbeki, Kader Asmal, Jacob Zuma, Terror Lekota, Valli Moosa and Steve Tshwete. But will businessmen be as enthusiastic about economic specialists Trevor Manuel and Tito Mboweni?

The NP is not as well off, partly because it is saddled with serving in a lame-duck government and partly because of its sheer lack of quality in depth. President F W de Klerk, of course, draws enormous admiration for having seen the light and being prepared to

negotiate himself out of power (even though he may have lost more than he'd bargained for). His courage has been recognised by world leaders, and in the award of the Nobel Peace Prize (with Nelson Mandela). But should acknowledgment of De Klerk's place in history be translated into electoral endorsement of

his party? In any case, apart from the few Ministers mentioned above and one or two others (like Health Minister Rina Venter), the NP contains too many mediocrities.

Many businessmen must have flirted with supporting Inkatha, in particular because of leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's clear support for a free market system. The trouble is that Buthelezi is increasingly perceived as a spoiler: in persistently holding out for a bigger national role than he looked like getting, and in making a stand on the principle of federalism, he has ended up with diminished stature. The recent poll organised by *The Weekly Mail*, Sacob and the SABC appears to bear out the view that he is now seen by businessmen as "difficult" and tactically inept — even though there is considerable sympathy for some of the stands he has made on principle. Being right is not always enough.

In terms of personalities, if you are looking for strength in depth, the DP must lead the field. There have been allegations that leader Zach de Beer lacks the charisma of De Klerk and Mandela, but then he does not get the same opportunities for publicity as they do. Unlike them, he has considerable experience in business, and does command respect as an elder statesman of SA politics, having first served in parliament in the Fifties. Though the star parliamentarian Helen Suzman has retired, many other DP members impress with their energy and knowledge of specific subjects: names that come to mind are Colin Eglin, Tony Leon, Errol Moorcroft, Roger Burrows, Carole Charlewood and Ken Andrew. There are many more.

That brings us to policy — which in the end is the decisive criterion. Here the DP must score the highest marks. It is the one party that has consistently supported liberal democratic principles while coming the closest to unqualified support of free market economic policy.

The NP is a late convert to democracy and the value of the market and its conversion is precisely what fuels suspicion. As with the ANC's gradual move away from pure social-

ism, one suspects that the conversion is not from the heart but for tactical reasons. There are grounds for fearing that the ANC (by its statements) and the NP (by its record) are really in their hearts much happier with the idea of a command economy; they believe that government knows best.

There is an argument that Inkatha should be supported because it is probably the only hope for providing a two-party state; that only a black-led party could draw enough support to offer any kind of counterweight to the ANC. This argument, though, is undermined by the image that has grown up around Buthelezi and the fact that Inkatha's power base is essentially limited to Natal. It is hard to see how it can become a national party without dramatic transformation.

Neither the NP nor the DP has attracted much black support, with the Nats still seen as the party of apartheid and the DP as the home of rich liberals. While the Nats will not easily shake off their history, the DP does have growth potential.

Once it is realised that, under the party list system of proportional representation, a vote for the DP is not wasted as it might have been under the old constituency system, its support could rise dramatically — especially if black democrats become disillusioned with the ANC.

There are no wasted votes under PR. And a vote for the DP would not weaken De Klerk's position, because strategic alliances between the NP and the DP after the election will always be possible.

The DP has done some calculations for April 27: if it retains its 20% proportion of white votes cast at the 1989 general election and gets 30% of the coloured and Indian vote and only 4% of the black vote, it believes it will win about 60 seats in the new 400-member parliament. That will be a position on which to build in all communities.

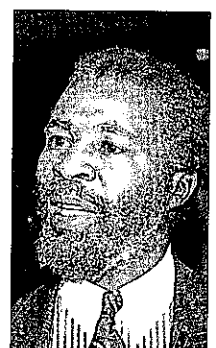
The Nats have had their chance. The ANC must prove in its policy statements that it really has left socialism behind and that it believes in the market. Inkatha, if it



Mandela



Ramaphosa



Mbeki

decides to stand, must demonstrate that it has more to offer than a cry for federalism and an embittered leader. Until such evidence is forthcoming, we believe that the DP deserves maximum support in the approach to the election — for its people, its policies and its past performance. ■

MINORITY FEARS

Not a question of race

Reassurance will depend on policy rather than fine words



It is yet another irony of SA that the one thing we were not plagued by was the problem of dissident minorities. It was always elsewhere that the rights of minority groups were taken up as celebrated causes.

One thinks of the Kurds or the Palestinians, the complications of Ireland, and the national and even regional instability wrought by a failure to accommodate fears and aspirations.

In SA, of course, the moral crusade has centred on the dispossessed black majority, held down by a white minority, but now on the verge of empowerment and effectively set to take over the country. And majority rule comes at a time when, across the globe, moves towards ethnic separation are gaining force and, in some cases, credibility.

In SA's radically changed political landscape, the question that arises, paradoxically, is: what can the ANC do to overcome the undoubted fears and apprehensions among whites in particular, and minorities in general?

Aside from whites, other minorities include the coloureds, Indians and certain groups purportedly aligned to homeland leaders like Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Lucas Mangope. It's a problematic category, since the allegiances of these groups — which have also been denied the vote and treated as second-class citizens, have to an extent been thrown in with the cause of the liberation movements and their ideals of a "united, democratic, nonracial society."

Thus the president of the Transvaal Indian Congress, Cassim Saloojee, for example, says his organisation, which has close ANC links, does not want any special rights for minorities. The Bill of Rights, he argues, adequately ensures equality of fundamental rights such as language, culture and religion for all. Further, if there is to be genuine nation-building, to which the congress subscribes, people's first loyalty should be to SA, instead of emphasising minority rights. "We cannot have divided loyalties. Cultural diversity will be protected as part of people's justiciable rights and these will be upheld by a constitutional court," he says.

But what about events such as the recent occupations by squatters of houses in Durban and Cape Town built for Indians and coloureds under the old regime? "This obviously causes resentment and we understand the fears of those on housing waiting lists. However, it must be seen in the context of the exclusion of blacks from State housing

programmes, which we hope a new government will dramatically reverse." Minorities must look at the problems of the deprived majority in a more sympathetic way, advises Saloojee, who points to Mandela's call, courageous in the circumstances though unheeded, for the squatters to leave those houses. Perhaps the minorities will be more interested in what Nelson Mandela will do if the squatters are not evicted.

The coloured-based Labour Party has effectively thrown in its lot with the ANC, though it has had a reputation for opportunism ever since joining the tricameral parliament and its support is untested. Many coloureds appear to have joined the ruling NP.

Which party these minorities will vote for, and whether they will end up voting in anything like a bloc in the first place, remains to be seen.

Whether the demands of political minorities like the rightwing Afrikaner Volksfront and Inkatha are legitimate or realistic depends entirely on your political vantage point. Until there is an election we have no way of knowing the degree of support for these leaders and their demands; opinion polls must be regarded as highly suspect.

As for the NP, its leaders' statements following the adoption of the interim constitution strongly suggest satisfaction with the primary agreement reached with the ANC



Mandela



De Klerk

as a basis for peace and prosperity. President F W de Klerk insists that the party achieved its mandate and the constitutional guarantees, including devolution of power, it sought. Provided the spirit in which the constitution was drafted is carried through in practice, government and the NP — and presumably a good many of their supporters — believe they got about the best deal they could have.

Yet the issue of minority fears ought not to be written off as misconceived or indulgent. Experience shows that any group which perceives itself to be excluded, let alone deliberately sidelined, is easily mobilised and can

undermine social stability — particularly if the group or groups in question are large and have skills and resources at their disposal.

The central dilemma in SA, says a spokesman for John Kane-Berman's Institute of Race Relations, is and always has been how to reconcile the legitimate rights and claims of the majority, with the fears of minorities.

"Other than the fears of NP supporters, the fears of other minorities have not been dealt with," claims the institute. It says surveys keep throwing up the existence of fears in the Indian and coloured communities. Another set of fears, it adds, are those of members of the Freedom Alliance, the Bophuthatswana and KwaZulu governments and the white Right.

This view — in line with the charge that the Nats and ANC are in effective alliance — holds that "the fears of the NP's traditional support base — civil servants, military and police — have indeed been catered for by the ANC, which has been as good as its word on that score. But the fears of other minorities, political and other, have received far less attention."

The credibility of the ANC among whites is understandably low, says UCT's Prof Robert Schrire. This is partly because the ANC has obviously not been tested in government (on the contrary, it was for years demonised as a terrorist organisation, which accounts for some of suspicion and distrust). Partly it is because Mandela's time at the helm is, because of his age, assumed to be limited. Therefore, his assurances to minorities, of which there have been many, cannot really be taken as guarantees.

There seems little doubt that after the election all sorts of new leaders will emerge in the ANC just as current stars might decline — just look at Winnie Mandela's comeback. For this reason, no leadership group can give cast-iron assurances.

A landslide victory for the ANC could increase the chances of its ignoring whatever "guarantees" there may be on power sharing, property rights and so on, and going instead for a full-blown populist programme that includes massive redistribution and full-scale Africanisation. Seen against such a backdrop, there would be little the ANC could do to assure whites. In the end, security will have to be earned on both sides, says Schrire, pointing to the interest any government will have in ensuring a secure environment.

Similarly with education and the maintenance of standards, which are among the major fears of whites, Indians and coloureds. The question is less about white education than about educational standards as such, argues Schrire, adding that it is only if the

new government is convinced that excellence in education is vital to the national interest, and that the core of excellence needs to be expanded, that those standards will be fostered and nourished. "The sooner the focus is on quality education rather than white education, the better for everyone," he says.

According to Schrire, the only way the ANC can address white and/or minority fears is by succeeding in developing important support within those constituencies; in other words, if more whites and other minorities join the ANC.

At present our politics tends to be polarised into ethnic groups, so that the NP is seen as the party of whites, the ANC the party of blacks (despite the former having recently become formally multiracial, and the ANC's "proud tradition" of nonracialism.) Says Schrire: "The cold reality is that the best way to address minority fears is if they support the ANC. Or, looked at in reverse, the more polarised the electorate is ethnically, the more dependent smaller groups will be on the dominant group."

In spite of the ANC's anti-racialism and its rejection of ethnicity as an organising principle, the basic reality is that its existing leadership — specifically, Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, is transitional because of their age. Further, the leadership of the ANC tends to be more multiracial than its grass-roots membership is.

If the electorate votes on ethnic lines on April 27, there is a danger of the ANC's multiracialism disappearing. The best guarantee for whites and minorities in general, says Schrire, will be if parties break out of the ethnic straitjacket. Ultimately, if any group wants its place guaranteed, it has to have electoral clout, or be seen to be making a voluntary contribution to national goals.

"The sooner the focus is on generalised rights rather than sub-rights and the sooner the question of minorities is de-politicised, the better it will be for everyone." Minority rights should disappear and the emphasis should instead be placed on universal rights.

Wilhelm Verwoerd, grandson of the archi-

fect of grand apartheid, Hendrik Verwoerd, is a member of the ANC. Not surprisingly, he addresses ANC public meetings in (formerly) Indian, coloured and white areas, where he finds the main fears relate to: cultural identity (language and religion); communism, violence; the economy; and fears of the loss of privileges.

Verwoerd points out that the ANC is very sensitive to cultural identity and is not anti-Christian; not even the SA Communist Party is hostile to religion. (In Oslo recently Mandela formally proclaimed his Christianity, which is doubtless reassuring in a country that is 85% Christian.)

The younger Verwoerd also argues that the Bill of Rights imposes limits on State action and protects language and worship rights (indeed there will be 11 official languages). He says that what has to change is domination and discrimination associated with Afrikaans. "A lot of the fears in my own life have disappeared as a result of a more existential involvement with the ANC," says Verwoerd, a lecturer in philosophy at Stellenbosch University.

Looking at more tangible fears, such as loss of privilege, the effects of affirmative action and so on, he says people simply have to be honest and face up to the fact that ways have to be found to address inequalities. It is in everyone's interest that this be done, otherwise the country will become more unstable. If the ANC does not meet the aspirations of its constituency, he warns, it could well come under threat of being eclipsed by more radical parties, such as the PAC.

On this basis, one may then examine ANC policies — for example on reconstruction — which, he says, are principled and well thought out. He maintains that the ANC is very aware that a crude process of simple



Salojee

confiscation, for instance, could not work.

He also questions the "whiteness" of the fears, pointing out that many of them — for example, of violence — are shared by other minorities and also blacks living in the townships. "Minority complexes," he says, are a sign of the success of apartheid which largely bred them. "Therefore, we should get apartheid out of our heads and really rethink our identity." The ANC's longstanding vision, says Verwoerd, is a nonracial, nonsexist democracy, a vision of building SA as a home for all its inhabitants.

The basic point of departure, he advises, is to get away from your whiteness. In this quest, the ANC provides a good learning experience (*leerskool*). Becoming an ANC member has been a "very healthy experience of being freed from a minority complex." Remaining part of the NP or even the DP, he argues, means that "you basically remain part of the white camp."

Apartheid was a system which justified ethnicity and succeeded in separating people. But there are other differences and similarities between people — such as age, background, regional origin — which should break down purely ethnic ones. "We share many things, there are many cross-cutting values, with people in the townships. The legacy of race consciousness needs to be overcome. The way to overcome minority fears is to become part of the mainstream, the wider society, and for me that's the ANC," according to Verwoerd.

From the Bill of Rights, to Cyril Ramaphosa's plea to whites not to emigrate, and from Mandela's constant message of reconciliation to the fact of a negotiated and managed transition to majority rule, which encompasses a five-year power sharing "sunset clause," it seems the ANC has indeed been aware of the need to accommodate minority, especially white minority, fears.

But whether those fears will be quieted depends very much on what policies are implemented, and not on the messages of reconciliation — though these are most welcome. ■

DERIVATIVES MARKETS

How safe are they?

Despite the risks, derivatives probably enhance markets

How safe are derivatives? Very, say people who spend their time dealing in them, and to whom they present no mysteries.

Not very safe, say people who find derivatives too technical, characterised by arcane language, enigmatic, based on paper (and therefore of little underlying value) and potentially destabilising.

The term "derivatives markets" is generic and encompassing. Derivatives transactions are any contracts based on underlying assets.

They are intimidating instruments which repackage assets like shares, currencies, bonds and commodities in complicated ways.

But, essentially, they are designed to make it possible for investors to hedge their bets.

And since they owe their evolution to the real need to limit risk, they all have an insurance aspect about them. The concept has been around for at least 250 years. Manufacturers have long recognised the need to lock in prices for their product, whether it is

wheat or gold. Similarly, buyers need to assure their supplies at prices that are not subject to wild fluctuation.

The result is a "forward" deal where the producer agrees to sell, at a price and at a time, a predetermined quantity of his commodity. That deal, appropriately recorded, becomes a negotiable document: it can be bought and sold by middlemen in markets organised for this purpose. FirstCorp senior manager Graham Smale says one of the

THE TRANSITION

Deals without honour

Fm 10/12/93

The ANC and NP are not in opposition. In fact, they may just be the cosiest alliance SA has ever seen. There is hardly an issue on which they cannot agree, from job security for civil servants to pensions for tricameral MPs and MK veterans.

They have also developed a happy conspiratorial knack of slipping contentious clauses into draft agreements at the last moment, catching other parties unprepared and leaving anyone who objects looking like a wrecker or spoilsport.

It happened with the clause in the draft interim constitution that provided for the appointment of judges to the immensely powerful Constitutional Court; with the undemocratic proposal to use a single ballot paper in the general election on April 27; and with a special clause that effectively undermines the autonomy of universities, making them even more vulnerable to State interference than they were under the Nats.

Objections are waved aside in the general glow of reconciliation, never mind the long-term dangers.

Now we have perhaps the most bizarre of these unsettling agreements, inserted late on Monday night at the last scheduled meeting of the 21-party negotiating council: the provision for a new political amnesty.

The previous amnesty cut-off date was October 8 1990. Crimes with a political motive committed before that date would be considered unpunishable in order that the new SA should not be drowned in a swamp of mutual recrimination. There was a good argument for drawing a veil over the past but the measure could be defended only because there was a cut-off date. Now that date could be as late as December 6

1993; a newly elected parliament will decide after April 27.

What crimes have been committed since October 8 1990 to prompt this new amnesty proposal? What does the ANC's Kader Asmal mean when he says "this is a collective act of reassurance to each other," or the NP's Roelf Meyer when he murmurs that "this will settle the differences of the past"? President F W de Klerk was reported as saying that the cut-off date was made movable to accommodate those who were not part of negotiations in 1990.

Does this mean that the terrorists who carried out the St James Church massacre in Cape Town might qualify for amnesty? And the callous murderers of American student Amy Biehl? If not, why not? What about Janusz Waluz and Clive Derby-Lewis, sentenced to death for the assassination of Chris Hani? If ever there was a politically motivated crime, that was it.

What the hell, why not let them all go?

The law is always weakened by an amnesty, for what it implies is that you can't punish someone who thoroughly deserves it.

If an amnesty is then extended, the punishment becomes even more arbitrary and the law is brought even further into disrepute. If you can offer one extension, why not another? Rather like adultery: once you've done it the first time, repetition is hard to resist.

In this week's cover story we argue that the DP should be supported in the election campaign. Our view is further confirmed by the unprincipled behaviour of the ANC and the Nats over the proposed new amnesty date. ■

Makwetu to *Sowetan* 10/12/93 meet AVF boss

PAN Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu and Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen are to meet next week to discuss armed attacks on white farmers, the land question and rightwing war threats.

The meeting, in Pretoria on Monday, will involve high-powered delegations from both parties, including South African Agricultural Union president Mr Koos Bruwer.

It is believed Makwetu initiated the move following his public statements that the PAC was willing to talk to the ultra-right if this would lead to ending hostilities and violence in the country. (IA) (SAP)

This will be the first face-to-face encounter between the PAC and AVF.

While formal statements were not forthcoming from either side yesterday, *Sowetan* was reliably told the PAC intended to strongly address the rightwing war threats, especially in the wake of the Schanskop siege on Wednesday by a small group of rightwingers.

Meanwhile, the PAC has said it was not aware of a meeting involving its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, and the South African Defence Force planned for Harare, Zimbabwe, tomorrow.

PAC, Volksfront to meet next week

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

For the first time, the Pan Africanist Congress and the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) are to meet face to face.

The meeting, scheduled for Monday in Pretoria, is expected to discuss a wide range of issues, including the AVF's demands for a "volkstaat".

The meeting, to be attended by the two organisations' respective leaders, Clarence Makwetu and General Constand Viljoen, will also discuss white farmers' security.

The PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), has in the past regarded white farmers as legiti-

mate targets because of their association with the security forces.

According to a secret document in The Star's possession, PAC defence secretary and Apla commander Sabelo Phama told Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel during their November 1 meeting in Zimbabwe that the commando units — "composed mostly of white farmers" — would have to be dissolved so that white farmers could become "genuine civilians of our society".

In his response delivered to the PAC about two weeks ago, also in The Star's possession, Kriel said the commando units were part of the South African Defence Force and would there-

fore fall under the jurisdiction of the TEC.

Apla and the SADF are scheduled to hold their first face-to-face talks in Harare, Zimbabwe, some time next week.

PAC sources said the PAC/AVF meeting, facilitated by Viljoen's brother Bram Viljoen, will also discuss constitutional issues and the rightwing's demand for a "volkstaat" (IAC).

"We see this as a very important meeting to see if we as extremists from both sides cannot come together among ourselves. (Joseph) Stalin entered into an agreement with the Nazis, and there is no reason why we should not talk to the rightwing," said one source.

The PAC is understood to be very concerned about rightwing threats of a civil war, and the meeting is believed to have been arranged to try to prevent that possibility.

PAC sources said the AVF delegation to the five-aside meeting would include representatives of the farming community.

Makwetu, who will return from China on Sunday, will head the PAC delegation, which will include political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke and three others, while Viljoen will lead the AVF delegation.

The sources did not think Conservative Party leader and AVF co-chairman Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg would attend the talks.

SACP to work for ANC win

South 10/12 - 14/12/93

By Quentin Wilson

ALTHOUGH battered financially, the South African Communist Party in the Western Cape will "do all it can" to cement an ANC victory at the polls in April next year. (11A)

Emerging from their two-day regional congress last weekend, the SACP's re-elected regional secretary, Mr Lizo Nkonki, said his party's "top priority" would be to bolster its alliance partner's election drive.

"As communists, our main thrust will be to work with the ANC at all levels of their election campaign," Nkonki said.

"We will work within the ANC to ensure

their campaign is mass driven; that their candidates remain accountable to a programme of reconstruction and development and that they follow a strict code of conduct."

Nkonki admitted, however, that the Party faced financial ruin and would be forced to embark on speedy fundraising programmes to ensure survival.

"We really are working on a shoestring budget — but that is part of



CAPE COMMUNISTS: Outgoing western Cape chairperson, Isaac Sigqumo addresses the SACP congress Photo Yunus Mohamed.

being the party for the poor. Our members do not have the resources that other parties have, but even so, we are urging all our members to take fundraising seriously. We must become self-reliant," Nkonki said.

When asked whether the SACP was concerned at the manner in which the ANC was conducting their election campaign, Nkonki acknowledged a fear that the ANC was moving away from its black working class base.

"But this is precisely why it is important for us to work hard within the ANC and to ensure the organisation does not alienate and ignore the poorest of the poor.

"Our task, as communists, is to ensure that the ANC's election campaign involves the masses of our people. We cannot allow our people to get left behind. The election campaign must therefore, integrate campaigns for housing and proper health care

facilities, for example," Nkonki said.

Nkonki was elected unopposed as regional secretary for a third successive term. He heads the new 15-person regional executive which features only one woman, ANC elections co-ordinator Ms Zou Kota.

Trade unionist Mr Leonard Ramatlakane was elected chairperson while party stalwart Mr Fred Carneson was elected treasurer.

Mr Mzukisi Gaba was elected deputy secretary and Cosatu shop steward Mr Isaac Sigqumo was retained as deputy chairperson.

Apart from Ms Zou Kota, other additional executive members include: Mr Farced Abdullah, Mr Enver Daniels, Professor Rob Davies, Mr Mandla Gxanyane, Mr Lawrence Maduma, Mr Russell McGregor, Mr Lucky Montana, Mr Max Ozinsky and Mr Tony Ruiters.

Win with the SOUTH Readers' Club

See page 9

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Carolus returns to her roots

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

11A

APR 11/12/93
"Cape Town has the dubious distinction of having the highest tuberculosis rate in the world. It's sad... TB is a socio-economic disease that thrives on poverty."

After three years in Egoli she's well-qualified to compare the two cities.

"Johannesburg is much more of an African city, physically and culturally."

One of the very subtle and vicious things about Cape Town was the marginalisation of African people.

"The Cape with all its liberal tradition was a coloured preferential labour area. This National Party policy has bedevilled race relations and created oppression among the poorest."

Unity between blacks and coloureds strengthened by support from whites would begin the process of healing race relations.

Although the preferential policy had been meant to favour coloureds it wreaked havoc among them.

"Nationally the infant mortality rate among coloureds is on par with that of Africans. Those who claim coloureds are better off than Africans in the Western Cape should go to Manenberg and Tafelsig."

Fears about the illegal occupation of houses by squatters was

exploited by political parties.

"What amazes me is that the NP and Democratic Party, which claimed to be nice and liberal, exploited those fears."

Cheryl accused the DP-controlled city council and its liberal predecessors of creating a housing backlog in the region.

"It's disgusting. Coloureds were insecure and Africans were desperate for housing. We'll inherit this mess after April 27."

It's with South Africa's first all-race elections in mind that she has visited townships with a different message than the one she and other UDF activists had in 1989.

"Then our message was don't vote in apartheid elections. Now we want people to vote to get rid of apartheid."

Revisiting townships has brought back painful memories of young Cape Flats people who paid the "supreme price for freedom".

She mentioned Ashley Kriel, an angry young man she taught at Bonteheuwel High School, Coline Williams and Robbie Waterwitch.

"They wanted to change this country... the only way in which they could do it was to take up arms against apartheid."

With sadness, she recalled that she had counselled Coline after her release from nine months' detention.

AFRICAN National Congress national executive member Cheryl Carolus returned to her old hunting grounds this week for a visit filled with nostalgia and sadness.

But the real purpose of her blitz — a buzzword in extra-parliamentary politics in the heyday of the United Democratic Front — was not to visit old friends and take in the Cape's beauty and squalor.

She was here as part of the ANC's election machine, testing its capabilities in a series of "people's forums" in the Peninsula.

Bubbling as ever and teased by a colleague about not having started a family with husband Graeme Bloch, she said: "It's wonderful to be back".

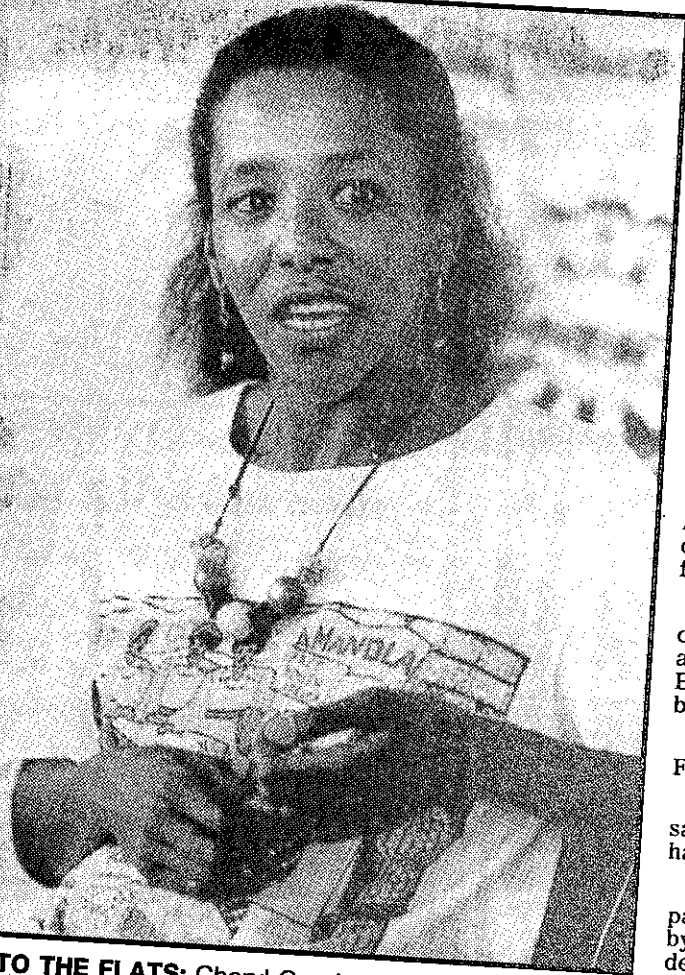
Cheryl was raised on the Cape Flats, but is based in Johannesburg.

"Cape people are special," she said. "They know how to laugh and have fun."

It was also a blessing to be in a part of South Africa not devastated by violence, and "not to live with death for 24 hours".

Uplifting and inspiring as her visit was, the contrast between the Peninsula's physical beauty and poverty did not escape her.

BACK TO THE FLATS: Cheryl Carolus, a member of the ANC's shadow cabinet, hit the campaign trail in the Western Cape this week, urging "a vote for freedom" on April 27.



Conviction won't bar Winnie from standing

(11A) CT 11/12/93
MRS Winnie Mandela will not be barred from standing for Parliament because of her criminal conviction for kidnapping — because she was only fined.

Had she gone to jail for six years without the option of a fine — the original sentence — she would not have been eligible in terms of the Electoral Bill tabled in Parliament yesterday.

People will not be entitled to be registered as voters if they have been declared mentally unsound, detained as mentally ill, detained under the drug laws or have been sentenced without the option of fine for specified offences.

21/11/1993
ANC has
to register
for election

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE ANC will have to register as a political party to contest next year's election, in terms of legislation tabled in Parliament yesterday, officially ending its 80-year-old status as a "liberation movement".

The PAC will also have to register as a political party if it wants to fight the election.

The Electoral Bill, the product of all-party agreement at the World Trade Centre negotiations, also lays down the criteria for registered political parties to qualify for financial assistance from the government.

Political parties will have to pay a R25 000 deposit if they want to fight national elections and a R5 000 deposit for any regional elections they want to contest.

It was also announced yesterday that the House of Representatives' chief director of welfare Mr Ebrahim Jarodien has been suspended.

The House Committee on Public Accounts said disciplinary steps against Dr Jarodien together with other senior officials were being considered following the discovery of irregularities in the administration of literacy programmes.

Alliance remains undecided

PRETORIA. — A Freedom Alliance response to current negotiations will only be released after the "cardinal facts" have been fully evaluated, a the Alliance said in a statement yesterday. CT/11/2/93

Following a meeting between the Alliance's leadership and executive committee, the statement said the response would be forwarded to government negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer and to Mr Cyril Ramaphosa of the ANC.

"After several hours of discussions, draft documentation was prepared, which will be finalised over the weekend. The Alliance considers the issues to be of such magnitude that it does not believe any purpose will be served by making a premature statement."

— Sapa

ANC's secret bid to boost FW's hand

Star 11/12/93

KAIZER NYATSUMBA, Political Correspondent

THE ANC has worked feverishly to strengthen the hands of Government and National Party negotiators so that they can take conservatives within the Cabinet and the NP parliamentary caucus along with them in the transitional process. This is according to a top-secret document, drawn up by the organisation's department of intelligence and security

(DIS), variously known as NAT or Mbokodo, which Saturday Star has in its possession.

The document catalogues the ANC's extreme concern about threats to the transitional process and details DIS's strategy to deal with the threats.

The startling strategy, mapped out at a secret DIS meeting held in Broederstroom from August 23 to 25 following ANC president Nelson Mandela's concerns about the security of the process, encompasses efforts to strengthen the moderate faction within the NP and state security forces.

Dissidents

It also includes winning over rightwingers to the process, including Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party, making overtures to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and infiltrating all hostels in the country. (11A)

According to reliable DIS sources, the Broederstroom meeting, attended by Mandela and other top ANC leaders, concluded that President De Klerk and his negotiators had to be strengthened so that they could "contain the dissidents among them

ANC

● FROM PAGE 1.

and prevail over them on matters regarding the democratisation process" Star 11/12/93

The meeting agreed that the "democratic centre" — comprising the ANC and the Government — should be strengthened during the transitional process. "It must be strong and we must not allow it to break because, if it does, the process collapses," the DIS source revealed.

Some statements by various ANC leaders, including stinging personal attacks on De Klerk, were felt by the meeting to be "incompatible with the process of democra-

tisation". It was decided that the ANC had to realise that there were "real and actual fears among whites and blacks about the dominance of the ANC in government". (11A)

While De Klerk should not "be spared" in the run-up to the April 27 elections, he should also not "be bashed irresponsibly".

The right wing was not seen as monolithic and could be won over democratisation. It had to be engaged in dialogue and "be convinced about the correctness of the process".

The meeting ruled that unfounded criticisms levelled at the security forces only served to alienate them and turn some among them into opponents.

● TO PAGE 2.

'Scud missile' Winnie

Star 11/2/93

NOW recognised by the ANC Women's League as 'a victim of apartheid who had endured detention and banishment', Winnie Mandela is virtually assured a seat in Parliament, writes KAIZER NYATSUMBA, Political Correspondent.

(11A)

ALTHOUGH the surprise election of former ANC Women's League outcast Winnie Mandela is believed to have left many noses out of joint in some powerful ANC circles, the league has now moved swiftly to close ranks.

Mandela, whose political comeback began late last year when she was elected chairman of the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) in the southern Transvaal, will now become ex officio member of the ANC's national executive committee (NEC) — much to the dismay of her many detractors within the ANC.

Some ANC sources have privately expressed reservations about Mandela's return to the powerful NEC, from which she resigned early last year amid a raging controversy about her personal and legal problems.

However, others within the organisation have quietly welcomed her return to the top echelons of the ANC, saying it would be better to have her bound by party discipline inside the movement

rather than outside, "where she would sometimes function like a Scud missile".

Elected directly to the NEC at the organisation's July 1991 congress in Durban, Mandela resigned as ANC welfare department head and NEC member shortly after she and Nelson Mandela separated.

Her rise to the presidency of the league which suspended her from the chairmanship of the organisation in the PWV region has been criticised by the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party, but welcomed by her legion of supporters in the ANC.

Both she and her fiercest public critic in the league, outgoing secretary-general and ANC negotiator Baleka Kgositsile, have undertaken to bury the hatchet and work towards delivering women's votes to the ANC in next year's election.

Kgositsile said she had accepted a position as ANCWL NEC member "for the sake of the women of South Africa.

"The fact that I have accepted the election shows that I am willing to work in the executive committee, not for Winnie's sake but for the sake of the executive committee," she said.

One of Mandela's staunch supporters on the ANCWL, Nosiviwe Maphisa, replaced Kgositsile as secretary-general.

A well-known lawyer, who was a member of the technical committee which authored South Africa's Interim Constitution, said yesterday that Mandela was eligible for election to Parliament

According to agreements reached at the World Trade Centre, only people who were serving criminal sentences at the time of the poll would not be eligible to stand for election, he said.

Mandela, who features in the election nomination lists of both the ANC Youth League and the ANCWL, is now virtually assured of a seat in Parliament next year, and some sources say she would be a strong contender for a Cabinet post.

She is also SANCO national deputy president and ANC PWV regional executive committee member.

Although the youth is the mainstay of her enormous support, she is also very popular among the rank and file, especially among people living in informal settlements such as squatter camps.

ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki, also the ANCYL's darling, has publicly congratulated the elected ANCWL leadership, saying he had "every confidence they will rise to meet the challenges" ahead.

In her reaction, former parliamentarian Helen Suzman called on Mandela to "use her important position to restrain the more militant elements among the youth and make them understand that their astronomical expectations cannot be met overnight".

Mandela's election, she said, showed that ANCWL delegates recognised that she was "a victim of apartheid who had endured detention without trial and banishment to Brandfort", and was now being "reinstated to the ANC".

Mandela's surprise election came two days before her estranged husband jointly received the Nobel Peace Prize with President de Klerk in Oslo yesterday.

back in fold

Cracks show between peace prize winners

SI Times 12/12/93

By PETER MALHERBE
Stockholm

THE political gulf between President F W de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela was showing yesterday within 24 hours of their investiture as the joint 1993 Nobel Peace Prize winners.

The friction between the two South African leaders became apparent as they flew into Stockholm on the second leg of their peace prize visit to Scandinavia.

Although Mr de Klerk refused to be drawn into a public slanging match, it was made clear that he had been angered by the ANC leader's reported reference to him as a "political criminal" during a Norwegian TV interview.

Officials in Mr de Klerk's delegation said he was also disappointed by what he felt was bias shown towards Mr Mandela and the ANC in Oslo.

When he arrived in Stockholm yesterday Mr de Klerk made it clear he considered Mr Mandela's

reported reference to him as a "political criminal" as an insult, but that he did not feel it was worth responding.

Mr de Klerk said: "I didn't come here for a political argument with Mr Mandela in the media. We will fight those back home." ~~(S)~~

South African officials said Mr de Klerk felt bias had been shown when nominations committee chairman Professor Francis Sejerstad had given a speech focusing on Mr Mandela. (11A)

Mr de Klerk was also disturbed by the attitude of a group of Norwegians in the official torchlight procession through Oslo.

A section of the 1000-strong contingent sang ANC freedom songs and carried banners in support of Mr Mandela.

In Stockholm yesterday Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela were honoured by Swedish political leaders and the royal family.

Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk also received the prestigious International Democracy Award.

The prize was presented to Foreign Minister Pik Botha and ANC representative Barbara Masekela, on the two leaders' behalf.

● Nadine Gordimer pays tribute to Mandela: Page 27

Yengeni among confirmed ANC poll nominees

By NAZEEM HOWA

OUSTED ANC Western Cape general secretary Tony Yengeni heads a list of people who have accepted nomination as candidates for April 27.

His name appears on a list of 600 people presently being asked by the ANC to give a firm acceptance of their candidacy. *SI Times LC (meta)*

The confirmed list will be discussed at an elections conference next Saturday to be attended by 55 ANC, 10 Cosatu, 10 SACP and 15 SACP representatives, who will decide on the final election list of 280 candidates. *12/12/93 (11A)*

Other well-known people who have confirmed their availability include Melanie Vervoerd, former city councillor Gulzar Khan Saguro, former DP leader Bill Sewell and former Franschoek mayor Frank Arendse.

Surprise names include former SA Council on Sport stalwarts Mervyn Johnson and Colin Clarke. Other sporting personalities who have accepted nomination include Duncan Crowie and Gabriel Noble.

Educationists who have accepted include Mr Khalied Desai, principal of Alexander Sinton High; Moosa Kaprey, former chairperson of the National Education Co-ordinating Committee and Franklin Sonn, Peninsula Technikon rector, CTPA officials Archie Vergotine and David Piedt and UCT's Prof Mervyn Shear.

Lawyers who have also accepted include Joel Krige, Bulelani Ngucka, Dullah Omar, Essa Moosa and Huxley Joshua.

● THE ANC's regional executive committee is investigating an incident in which its youth league secretary Mr Neville Naidoo was allegedly punched in the face by Western Cape publications officer Mr Michael Overmeyer.

Well-placed sources said Mr Naidoo, whose spectacles were broken, punched back before colleagues intervened.

Attempts to obtain comment from the ANC failed.

MK at the end of a long journey

By SEKOLA SELLO

ON December 16, 32 years to the day since Umkhonto weSizwe was formed, the ANC's military wing will to all practical purposes cease to exist.

Instead, MK as it is affectionately known, will, with other military formations in the country, be in the final stages of being integrated into a new national defence force.

The coming down of the curtain on MK closes another chapter on the controversial question of the armed struggle in South Africa.

Many MK critics, chief among them Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and predictably the government, believe the armed struggle was nothing more than a myth. Or, as someone put it, armed propaganda.

Those to the left of the ANC, particularly the BCMA and the PAC, accused MK cadres of "filling up jails with people who had undertaken ineffective operations like blowing up electric pylons and not engaging the enemy seriously".

While MK is about to close shop, the PAC's armed wing, Apla, is reluctantly about to conclude an agreement with the SADF on a mutual cessation of hostilities. On the other hand, Azanla, the military wing of the BCMA, is increasing its armed activities.

Both Apla and Azanla strongly criticised MK when it suspended armed action three years ago following the signing of the Groote Schuur and Pretoria Minutes between the ANC and the government.

Differences over the right time to cease hostilities is just one of the many disagreements in the liberation movement - made up of the ANC, PAC and the exiled BCMA.

Whatever criticism might be levelled at MK on how they conducted the armed struggle, there is no denying that they showed greater zeal in engaging the SADF than Apla and Azanla.

One blot they are unlikely to remove are claims that they abused and even killed some of their own members on flimsy suspicions of being spies for Pretoria.

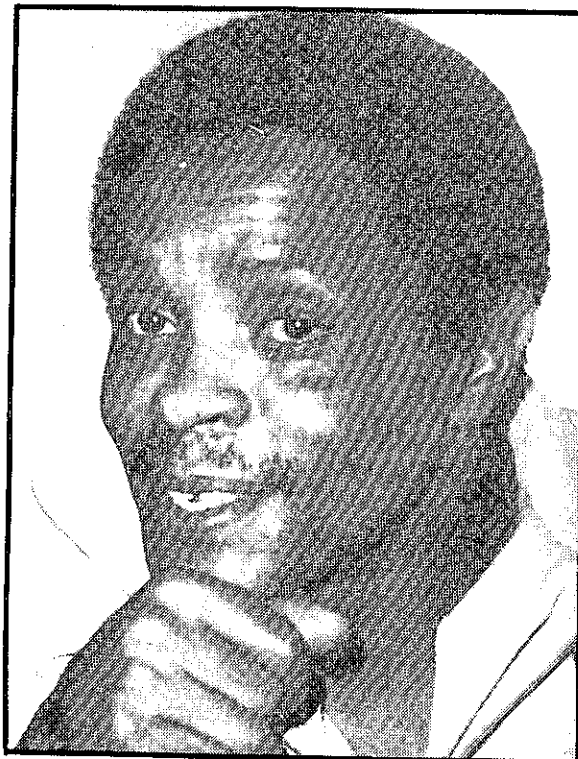
The ANC's military wing, like that of the PAC, were largely inactive during the first decade of their formation. According to MK chief of staff Sphiwe Nyanda, two factors hampered their operations.

Firstly, the arrest of the ANC leadership at Rivonia dealt the organisation a major blow.

Secondly, with the ANC banned, Pretoria further stifled its activities by establishing a "solid cordon sanitaire" on its northern borders.

Nyanda says infiltrating trained soldiers from Tanzania and Uganda was almost impossible. The situation changed for the better following the independence of Mozambique and later Zimbabwe.

CIPRESS 12/12/93



NYANDA ... We achieved our goals.

The infusion of new cadres following the mass exodus into exile of the June 16 1976 students swelled the ranks of MK. From then onwards MK cadres regularly engaged the state's security forces until Apla appeared on the scene in the mid '80s.

Attacks against government property, police stations and township informers started in earnest soon after the establishment of the June 1976 detachment.

A large number of these cadres were arrested and during their trials it was apparent that some of them had not undergone any intensive training. It was clear that the ANC was taking advantage of the turmoil inside the country to make their presence felt.

While attacks against police and police stations, particularly those in the townships increased and MK's popularity also grew, there was always disquiet that white civilians - regarded as oppressors - were not being attacked.

This criticism grew stronger following the SADF's raids in Matola, Mozambique and Maseru, Lesotho. Several ANC members, Mozambique and Lesotho nationals were killed in these cross-border attacks.

Although the organisation was coming under strong pressure to go for "soft targets" and there was temptation to yield, the leadership strongly resisted this.

Given the strict censorship laws in the country during the years of John Vorster and PW Botha not much was known about the activities of MK, except in cases where it would have been impossible to suppress the news like the attacks on Sasol, the Koeberg nuclear power plant, Voortrekkerhoogte military base and the South African Air Force headquarters in Pretoria.

These attacks, according to Nyanda, "shattered the myth about the invincibility of the SADF".

Nyanda maintains that, from its inception, it was never the intention of MK to "militarily annihilate the SADF monster" in the same way Zipra and the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (Zanla) did in Rhodesia.

"Ours was to demoralise the SADF monster. To hobble it. To weaken it. To psychologically undermine it and show it was not invincible. In this regard we achieved our goals".

Apart from cross-border raids, Botha went on the offensive on the political front by signing a secret deal with Swaziland. This led to ANC and MK personnel being hounded out of the country.

Nyanda, who operated in Swaziland and survived several assassination attempts, claims Swazi police also colluded with their SA counterparts.

The Swazi deal was followed by Mozambique signing the Nkomati Accord, whose provisions restricted MK activities. The Accord, says Nyanda, was a bitter blow to MK. But they understood why the late Samora Machel was forced to sign.

"We were saddened. But Mozambique's plight, food shortages and Renamo's murderous activities, made us understand why Comrade Machel had to sign it."

Serious as these setbacks were, MK also launched its own political offensive by helping establish internal structures like the UDF and particularly Cosas, where its influence was very strong.

Pretoria was still militarily strong, but internal resistance coupled with growing armed activity, made it appear inevitable that protracted struggle was the inevitable lot of SA - just as MK had predicted.

Against growing militarisation of the country, the ruling National Party ousted Botha and replaced him with FW de Klerk who set in motion the chain of events which led to MK suspending armed action three years ago.

Now, as MK prepares to disband and make way for the establishment of a new, national army, the irony will not be lost on many political/military observers that it did not shoot its way to power like Frelimo, Zipra and Zanla.

(11A)

We're all sisters

12/12/93 all sisters now

Winnie's women hold out the olive branch after her shock return to power

City Press

11A

By ZANELE VUTELA and PEARL RANTSEKENG

THERE was a hasty softening of attitude among Winnie Mandela's fiercely loyal and often sharp-tongued supporters towards their former foes in the ANC Women's League this week.

This followed Mandela's dramatic election to the league's top position of president this week.

Winnie's women, who had begun referring to themselves in their statements slamming the league as "concerned women of the ANC" were suddenly "no longer concerned".

Damarice Myaluzza, one of the formerly concerned women, told City Press: "What we were fighting for has been accomplished. All that is left is for us to build a strong and united women's league that will be the envy of everyone."

The group fought a relentless war with the league following the suspension of Mandela and four others from the league's PWV executive committee.

The battles were sometimes so vicious that at one stage Mandela threatened to sue former secretary general Baleka Kgositsile in an attempt to restrain her from publishing a fiery press release entitled, "Transition Blues".

Nompulelo Madlala, former spokeswoman for the pro-Winnie faction, had reacted to the Kgositsile release with unprintable language but, according to Myaluzza, "we are friends now".

Huge win

League spokeswoman Lindiwe Zulu told City Press that the fact that Mandela "received a whopping 392 votes out of 560 shows that people want her back".

She said: "What is important now is that there should be reconciliation within the league."

Until Mandela is formally appointed Thandi Modise, an ex-Umkhonto weSizwe combatant who served a prison sentence for MK activities, will deputise.

Veteran Albertina Sisulu lost the presidency to Mandela - a blow considering that during the League's 1991 conference Sisulu had allegedly staged a "coup" against Mandela when she suddenly stepped down just before the elections, asking that all those who intended to vote for her, vote for Getrude Shope, thus effectively minimising Mandela's chances of winning.

The league's secretary general is Nosiviwe Maphisa and her deputy is Bathabile Dlamini from Natal. Adelaide Tambo is the new treasurer, while Kgositsile came in as an additional member.

Mavivi Manzini, tipped to head the sub-council on women, also came aboard as an additional member.

Responding to Mandela's return to power, the Inkatha Women's Brigade said it was "delighted at the election of Mrs Mandela as president of the ANCWL as it will prove a disastrous setback for the organisation's election campaign".



BLIND FURY . . . Members of the Soweto Workshop For The Blind councillor Allan van Winsen as part of their protest against a plan mandated the return of the Soweto Workshop's property, which they Society For The Blind, and asked that the present management would not ill-treat the black blind people. Van Winsen said that he adding that the two workshops would not be merged.

We committed mas

THE ANC has demanded the immediate arrest of a group of former exiles who on Thursday claimed responsibility for the murder of nine Natal ANC members.

In a statement issued in Johannesburg, the ANC demanded the immediate arrest of Returned Exiles Committee leader Pat

Hlongwane and "his ilk" who call themselves the SA Republican Army.

"That a minion like Pat Hlongwane and his imaginary army can admit to the killing of innocent civilians on International Human Rights' Day without being arrested is indicative of the high level of protection he en-

joys from the state security apparatus," the statement read.

"Pat Hlongwane was found to have been a State security agent by a reputable commission of inquiry and it will be unfortunate if a perception was to develop that his statements are a continuation of his previous ac-

ANC's secret power ploy

S/Times 12/12/93

By MARLENE BURGER and DAWN BARKHUIZEN

THE ANC intelligence wing has drawn up a secret five-year plan for a Broederbond-style bid to take control of key organs of the state after the April elections.

The police, the public service, intelligence and security forces are all targeted for infiltration by intelligence operatives. The media and rival political groups are also to be infiltrated.

The plan by the department of national intelligence and security — headed by SACP member Joe Nhlanehla — also entails screening of all ANC members, including its very top officials, and the "handling" of disloyal ones.

The purpose of the plan, said the ANC this week, is to protect the organisation and its allies from sabotage by anti-reform groups after the ANC's expected electoral victory.

But documents in the possession of the Sunday Times, confirmed by the ANC as being authentic, show that the intelligence and security wing of the ANC, referred to as NAT in the documents, wants to put its own people on at least two of the sub-councils of the Transitional Executive Council and seize control of state security agencies after the elections.

Documents from a meeting of high-level ANC executives in Broederstroom in late August reveal the ANC to be deeply concerned about violence, right-wing resistance and sabotage by servants of the outgoing government of President FW de Klerk before and after the elections.

Internal disciplinary problems such as infiltration by hostile groups, disobedience, fraud and dissidence also weighed heavily on the organisation's mind.

The proposals include the suggestion that the ANC should strengthen its intelligence wing and reopen its missions outside South Africa. This is despite plans to integrate with existing government security and intelligence agencies.

The plan contains three phases.

The first, just three weeks from completion, involves the infiltration of all opposition groups, placing NAT agents in the TEC sub-councils and wooing dissidents within their own organisation.

The second phase, running from the end of this year until after the elections in April, involves shaping NAT to "meet the demands of an ANC government".

From the end of April, NAT would begin structural changes in state institutions, implement its intelligence and security doctrine, and evaluate state security and intelligence agencies.

The final phase of the plan, from May 1995 to 1999, would be carried out while the government of national unity was in power.

During this period NAT would "effect fundamental structural changes" in the state institutions and organs.

The Broederstroom workshop from August 23 to 25 this year was opened by ANC president Nelson Mandela and attended by senior ANC officials, including Thabo Mbeki, Alfred Nzo, Mo Shaik, Mohammed Valli Moosa, Jacob Zuma and Terror Lekota.

Terror Lekota.

Documents presented at the workshop indicate that NAT will continue to exist in its present role even after integration of the ANC's intelligence agencies and existing govern-

American bride for Harry O's grandson



ENGAGED... lawyer Jennifer Ward and heir to the empire Jonathan Oppenheimer, who met when he was visiting America after finishing his national service just over a year ago

WEDDING BELLS WILL RING LATE NEXT YEAR

By CAS ST LEGER

THE heir to the Oppenheimer empire is to marry an American lawyer.

School, has visited South Africa several times.

She is an associate with the New York law firm of

Estate agents sue R1,3m Tambo estate

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

THE R1,3-million estate of the late ANC chairman Oliver Tambo has become embroiled in a legal wrangle.

The estate is being sued for R250 000 damages for breach of contract after Mr Tambo allegedly reneged on buying a house in Wattville, Benoni.

This is the second legal action taken against the estate with regard to the offer on the Wattville home.

On their return from 30 years in exile in December 1990, the Tambos stated that they intended living in Wattville, near Benoni. They made an offer on a house in February 1991. However, they subsequently decided to move to Sandhurst, where Mr Tambo lived until his death in April this year.

According to documents with the Randburg magistrate's court, Benoni estate agents McKindy, Schlemmer and

McGill sued the Tambo estate for R30 000 for loss of commission when the Tambos withdrew the R760 000 purchase offer. The matter was settled in May last year and less than R10 000 was paid to the agents.

The second matter related to the loss the owner incurred in the subsequent sale of the house. When the Tambo's offer was withdrawn, the house was sold for R510 000. The owner, Flurap Pty Ltd, is suing the estate for R250 000 and the matter will be contested in court next year.

Documents of Mr Tambo's estate show he owned a home in London worth R800 000 and a piece of property in Pinetown, Natal, worth R10 000. The Sandhurst property is not listed as one of Mr Tambo's assets.

The furniture in the home is listed as being worth R300 000, and includes Persian and Chinese carpets worth R82 000. Mr Tambo's assets also include a Nedbank investment account of R114 000 and a Sanlam pension fund of R75 000.

Rockers might invade SA

Sunday Times Reporter

SOME of the biggest names in rock music are expected in Cape Town this week where they will appear live on Dali Tambo's *Night Moves* talkshow.

A reliable source said this week that Tambo would be interviewing top Scottish group Texas who had a huge hit with *I Don't Want a Lover (I Just Need a Friend)* and regga star Apache Indian.

But negotiations were continuing with Sting, Kate Bush, Peter Gabriel and controversial Irish singer Sinead O'Connor. A live link-up from Dublin with U2's Bono is

also on the cards. The attendance of these superstars will be confirmed tomorrow, but it is not known whether they will also perform while they are in South Africa.

The show is to be filmed live at the V & A Waterfront later this week.

Tambo has already scooped a number of international stars for his show including Simply Red's Mick Hucknall.

M-Net confirmed *Night Moves* would be filmed in Cape Town this week, but declined to say who Tambo's guests would be.

JOHN ROLFIE
RESCUE

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EXCLUSIVE



ANDRIES and Christa Stander

Stander quins to make SA history

FARMER'S wife Christa Stander, 27, is about to go down in the medical history books after conceiving quintuplets without the use of fertility drugs.

Christa, of the tiny farming hamlet of Misgund, is 26 weeks pregnant and expecting five babies — gender unknown — any time now.

SA Multiple Birth Association research co-ordinator Gill Bosman said the chances of a white South African woman conceiving quins through natural methods were one in 100 million.

Full story on Page 19

Cracks show between peace

Winnie's comeback headache for ANC

SITimes 12/12/93

By RAY HARTLEY
Political Reporter

THE shock election of Winnie Mandela as ANC Women's League president on Wednesday is set to pose a serious dilemma for the ANC's leadership over whether to include her on their election list.

The ANC's official guidelines for nominations to its list specifically require that nominees have no "non-political criminal history for crimes such as fraud, assault etc".

Mrs Mandela's conviction on four counts of kidnapping was upheld by the Appellate Division in June this year, making her technically ineligible to stand for the ANC on April 27.

Should Mrs Mandela wish to stand for election, the ANC will have to weigh up her rapidly swelling popularity against the integrity of the criteria it has set for candidates.

For the moment, ANC officials are insisting Mrs Mandela will have to meet their requirements.

"Every person nominated should obviously conform to the guidelines laid down by the NEC. Those names will then be subject to the democratic process," ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said this week.

A senior ANC elections official said Mrs Mandela did not meet the nomination requirements and only a

decision of the ANC's NEC would be able to alter the criteria.

But the ANC Youth League has already proposed Mrs Mandela for the list in defiance of the criteria. And some ANC regions are expected to follow suit.

Among those who will have to decide whether to include Mrs Mandela, will be former UDF leaders who initiated her fall from grace in the late 80s by placing her involvement in the Stompie Seipei murder on the ANC's agenda.

Mrs Mandela is eligible to stand for election in terms of the new constitution, which only bars those convicted of serious crimes after it comes into effect on April 27.

ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki, who was recently appointed to head a 10-man probe into a demonstration by Mrs Mandela's supporters at Shell House, welcomed her election to the Women's League on Thursday.

In a page-long statement, which did not mention Mrs Mandela's name, Mr Mbeki said: "We congratulate all the newly elected members, and have every confidence they will rise to the challenges before us."

Mrs Mandela's election as Women's League president represents one of the most dramatic political comebacks by a South African politician. She emerged victorious after months of in-fighting between her supporters and those calling for fresh investigations into her alleged misconduct.

Former league general secretary Baleka Kgositsile, who led those demanding fresh inquiries, did not stand for re-election. Nosizwe Maphisa, wife of SACP secretary general Charles Nqakula, was voted in as her replacement. (11A)

Just hours after the league agreed to lift her suspension from office in the PWV region, Mrs Mandela mustered 392 of the league's 560 votes to defeat favourite Albertina Sisulu.

Meanwhile, the ANC has postponed regional nomination conferences scheduled for this weekend by a week and shifted its national congress to January 22 next year.

A final decision on the future of ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa was postponed until next Monday after an inconclusive meeting of the ANC's national working committee this week on who will run the organisation for the next five years while leaders sit in parliament.

Mokaba's deputy is a quiet revolutionary

SITimes 12/12/93

By BRIAN SOKUTU

THOSE who do not know Lulu Johnson might label him a moderate because he is not the shouting type.

But the ANC Youth League deputy president — the man tipped to take over as president of the league when Peter Mokaba becomes a parliamentary candidate next year — is a soft-spoken revolutionary who believes in the practical implementation of theory.

Mr Johnson disagrees with those who describe black youths as "a lost generation or marginalised youths".

"Marginalised from what? Are we lost?" he protests.

"We're not lost to apartheid. The socio-economic imbalance has marginalised not only youths but other sections of the community."

The private sector, he says, "has failed to address these socio-economic imbalances adequately to give confidence to the youth".

Mr Johnson sees the youth as "the future of this country".

He sees the league as being faced with the challenge of playing a role "far



LULU JOHNSON
"We're not lost to apartheid"

beyond that of the 1980s".

Mr Johnson's main desire is to see the private sector and the new government of national unity empowering youths through employment and education. (11A)

Coming from a militant background in the eastern Cape, where he led education campaigns while at secondary school, Mr Johnson — who spent time in detention in 1981 for having sprayed a wall with the words "Freedom Charter" — understands the anger of youths.

"The youth is known to

be militant and impatient," he says. "To them, quick-fix solutions are the order of the day. That is scientifically understood."

Mr Johnson says it took some convincing by the ANC's central leadership for youths to understand the route the ANC has chosen.

"Like the PAC and Azapo, we were talking of seizing power before, thinking it would be easy for the ANC to do so. At some point we publicly differed with the ANC."

He predicted good relations between the ANC-led government and the league.

"We want the establishment of a youth council and a youth act to address youth problems adequately. Young people should have representation in parliament."

On political tolerance, he says: "The IFP, DP and NP talk about political intolerance when they have stopped other organisations from organising in their areas."

He sees Mr Mokaba's graduation from youth leader to parliamentary candidate as being "in line with a dynamic process of leadership".

ANC squares up to the poor

By RAY HARTLEY

HAVING vanquished apartheid and ushered in democracy, South Africa's hyperactive politicians will focus their energies on the economy after April 27.

For the first time, the fortunes of the governing party and its opponents will depend almost exclusively on their ability to satisfy the basic needs of all South Africans.

Elections will no longer hinge on the fears and hopes of an economically empowered minority. Instead, the decisive votes will be cast by street sweepers, miners, metalworkers and the unemployed.

The ANC is keenly aware of this, for it will be voted into power by this constituency. Come election day in 1999, its performance will be measured by the extent to which these voters' quality of life has improved.

The ANC is already formulating a "reconstruction and development programme" for the new government. This weekend

it is meeting with its labour, civic and youth allies to discuss its sixth draft.

In the language of economists, the ANC's approach boils down to an "investment-led recovery".

The theory goes like this: Government invests heavily in upgraded services and a public works programme, to absorb a portion of the unemployed. This, in turn, creates more consumer demand as the government investment finds its way to supermarket tills via the pay checks of those employed under the programme.

Greater consumer demand stimulates manufacturers and

retailers, leading to a further rise in employment levels and yet more consumer demand.

Investment in housing, electricity and water creates greater demand for building materials, steel, wood and so on, stimulating those industries to expand their capacity and create more jobs.

But the difficult question facing the ANC is exactly where the government will get the money to finance such a programme. The ANC's latest economic policy document pledges "no new taxes", and adds that the overall budget should not be expanded. Cosatu's Mr Jay Naidoo says a substantial portion of

the revenue will be raised by eliminating inefficiencies in government spending. In other words, taking the same budget and spending it in a more productive way. (11A)

And then there's the "peace dividend" that will accrue from the elimination of apartheid, he adds. This could include a decrease in military and police budgets that have ballooned because of political violence.

The theory: Once violence is reduced by a political settlement, this money can be spent on improving infrastructure and a new kind of national service centred on community development.

But there are obstacles to this approach. The ANC has already recognised that it would be unwise to retrench large numbers of bureaucrats and risk a revolt from within government. And the military is unlikely to change much for similar reasons.

In fact, there are those who argue that the civil service and military are likely to grow. Existing civil servants plus affirmative action equals a larger civil service, say the detractors.

This translates into more government spending on unproductive bureaucrats, and less money for capital expenditure on infrastructure.

Then there's the question of the underlying structural defects in the economy. Econometrix's Dr Azar Jammine cautions against the new government being lulled into a false sense of achievement by a mini-boom as the international economy picks up over the next three or four years.

For it is precisely when the economy improves that a new government will have to start addressing structural problems

that make South African manufacturers internationally uncompetitive.

Such a programme poses a number of difficult questions for Cosatu. For it is in industries like automobile manufacturing, the garment trade and electronics that protection against international competition will have to be eliminated.

This could lead to job losses and an effective lowering of wages in sectors where Cosatu is well organised.

But, says Mr Naidoo, Cosatu is aware of the need for restructuring. In fact, he says, the union federation has already drafted its own 500-page document on the reorganisation of the manufacturing sector.

Whether or not the ANC will go through with such economic restructuring, or fall into what Unisa's Professor Philip Mohr calls "the populist trap" and go for short-term growth at the expense of long-term competitiveness, remains to be seen.

One thing is certain: after April 27, debate around economic policy will be the new game in town.

SI Times

12/12/93

Decorum goes out as politicians advertise

Sowetan 13/12/93

FIVE MONTHS BEFORE the elections, political party advertising has moved into South Africa's print media.

Sunday newspapers at the weekend carried full page adverts by South Africa's three main political parties.

The National Party's advert is underscored by a rhetorical question: "Who would have thought five years ago that a South African National Party State President would receive a Nobel Peace Prize?" (IPA) (SAPA) (HE)

Stating "we have made the change", the advert attempts to establish the NP as the driving force behind change. The NP also placed their advert in the ANC-aligned *Sunday Nation*.

The ANC advertised itself as "a political party with a difference"; as the only political party that has gone to ordinary people and asked them about

■ **IGNORING RULES** The Nats are just a little too robust, claims the ANC:

their concerns, in its "Peoples' Forums".

The ad emphasises the consultative process that led to the drafting of the Freedom Charter.

In its ad, the Inkatha Freedom Party, challenges the Goldstone Commission's report, which found "credible evidence" that some members of the KwaZulu police had been involved in the killing of political opponents.

Presented as an "open letter to the Goldstone Commission", the advert quotes President FW de Klerk as saying: "(The ANC's) major role in creating a climate for violence and politically

motivated murders is undisputed..."

The advert concludes with a "challenge" to Goldstone to tell the public what recommendations his commission would make to "prevent MK's murderous activities".

The adverts are already challenging South Africa's advertising rules.

The Press Council is to adjudicate on an NP advert the ANC has labelled "malicious" and "libelous". The ANC claims the ad depicted it as a party that intimidated people and stopped them going to work. — *Sapa*.

Wealth tax proposed by ANC alliance

BIDAY 13/12/93

WILSON ZWANE

THE ANC alliance wants to fund its reconstruction and development programme through a temporary wealth tax and a reconstruction bond which will be marketed locally and internationally.

This emerged from the latest draft document on the proposed reconstruction programme, which was discussed at a Johannesburg conference at the weekend. The conference was convened by Cosatu, the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) and the National Education Co-ordinating Committee. Cosatu strategist Alec Erwin told more than 200 delegates the programme's objectives would be incorporated into the ANC's election manifesto, which is to be drafted at a two-day conference this week.

The document, a synthesis of the reconstruction and development programmes of, among others, Cosatu and Sanco, states that the programme should be financed in a manner that does not fuel inflation and precipitate an exchange rate crisis. It says that besides government funds, a reconstruction bond and a "reconstruction levy" will be used to finance the programme.

The levy will be a form of temporary wealth tax, which will affect only "the higher income group". This proposal is still to be considered by the alliance's regions. It has been suggested that the levy be in place for five years — the duration of the government of national unity.

Delegates to the summit said insurance and pension funds should be required to put 10% of their new assets into the reconstruction bond "without reducing their holdings and purchases of other govern-

ment stock". It was decided to include this suggestion in the draft document.

Another proposal was the establishment of a housing bank by 1996. The bank, 50% of whose funds would come from the state, would ensure "affordable bond costs".

The document emphasises the need to restructure institutions such as the Independent Development Trust and Small Business Development Corporation. "The existing regulatory system is rigid and in many cases inappropriate to the development of a financial system able to serve the reconstruction and development programme." Delegates said the role of these institutions in small business should be clearly defined. They added that these organisations, to which non-governmental agencies would have access, had to be accountable to a ministry of reconstruction. The proposed ministry would ensure the reconstruction and development programme supported small business as far as possible. (S) (IA)

The delegates stressed, however, that the "restructured" development agencies should maintain their independence from the state.

The draft document also spells out what needs to be done in areas such as electrification, education and health.

It proposes 500 000 new electricity connections a year. This, it says, means that about 75% of homes will have electricity by the turn of the century.

It says the electrification programme will cost about R12bn in capital invest-

□ To Page 2

Wealth tax

BIDAY 13/12/93

□ From Page 1

ment. Cross-subsidies from other electricity consumers, especially those who have enjoyed electricity for many years, could meet a large part of the costs. (IA)

However, the state should provide "concessionary finance", particularly for the electrification of poor households in rural areas. An electrification fund, underwritten by government, would raise funds.

The document stresses that all households should pay for their consumption. "Communities should end boycotts of elec-

tricity payments."

Erwin said the draft would be reworked and a further draft would be ready for discussion by January 10. Mass democratic movement organisations would then hold meetings to discuss the plan and begin consulting a wide range of role players, including big business. (S)

The ANC will convene a three-day conference from January 21 to ratify the programme. However, Erwin said contributions to the programme could still be made after the ANC conference.

NOT FOR PUBLICATION
YRABOL UTOJAA

Ads for election hitting newspaper readers

JOHANNESBURG. — Five months before the elections, political party advertising has moved into South Africa's print media with parties buying advertising space to win the hearts and minds of the public.
Sunday newspapers yesterday carried full-page advertisements by South Africa's three main political parties.

The National Party has chosen the political theme of change to win voters to its side.
The message of change is underscored by a rhetorical question: "Who would have thought five years ago that a South African National Party State President would receive a Nobel Peace Prize?"
"The coming election will not be

about apartheid or armed struggle, it will be about future peace and stability, about progress and prosperity, about national building."
The ANC also tries to position itself as "a political party with a difference", as the only political party that has gone to ordinary people and asked them about their concerns, in its "Peoples' Forums".
Their advert emphasises popular

participation and focuses on the organisation's 1950s campaigns, like the consultative process that led to the drafting of the Freedom Charter.
In its ad, the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), challenges the Goldstone Commission's fourth interim report, which found "credible evidence" that some members of the KwaZulu police had been involved

in the killing of political opponents.
The adverts are already challenging South Africa's advertising rules.
The Press Council has reluctantly been called on to adjudicate on an NP advert, which appeared in the Sunday Times last month, after the ANC labelled it "malicious" and "libellous". — Sapa

Pylon sabotage kills two

JOHANNESBURG. — Eskom yesterday confirmed that a powerline near Vosloorus on the East Rand was sabotaged on Saturday evening, resulting in two freak accidents which claimed the lives of at least two people.

Eskom communications manager Mr Kevin Morgan said in a statement: "Explosives were used to blow up three legs of the tower which caused the tower to collapse and the conductor to fall across the road."

This caused two serious accidents when two vehicles collided with the conductor.

According to Mr Morgan, three people were killed and eight injured in the accidents. East Rand police could confirm only two deaths and 14 injuries.

Mr Morgan said all substations and power-lines in the area had been checked and no other explosive devices had been found.

Police said they were investigating the sabotage. — Sapa

IFP against voting in polls

Political Staff
DURBAN. — The IFP central committee will advise its special general conference and its allies not to participate in the forthcoming general election next year, if Parliament adopts the constitution as it stands.

This was announced after the party's central committee meeting in Ulundi at the weekend.

The committee will "present a full and comprehensive political and constitutional report to the conference detailing the various options faced by the party".

"The IFP reiterates its conviction that the final decision on participation in transitional institutions and the proposed general elections will be taken as a special general conference of the IFP to be held early in 1994.

"In the event that Parliament

Change to constitution demanded by party

adopts the constitution as it stands, the central committee will recommend to the special general conference and to its allies that the peoples of South Africa should not participate in the elections," the IFP said in a statement.

The organisation said if its minimum demands were met and conditions were favourable for

holding free and fair elections, the central committee would recommend to conference and to the Freedom Alliance that there should be participation in the general elections.

The meeting also expressed its indignation at the recent decision taken by the Transitional Executive Council with reference to KwaZulu.

"The pre-emptory demand directed at the KwaZulu Commissioner of Police to which a time limit was attached, was politically motivated and contrary to the principles of justice," the IFP said.

The development comes just days before Parliament is set to consider the interim constitution. Political observers had expected the IFP to announce that it was now ready to participate in the elections.

ANC denies it aimed to 'infiltrate'

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC has denied allegations made in a Sunday newspaper that its national intelligence and security wing, known as NAT, aimed to infiltrate political groups and seize control of key state organs.

The question of seizure was out of the question and the issue was rather that state organs needed to be transformed in order to become accountable to a democratic government and SA's people, ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday.

According to the report, which likened NAT to the Broederbond, the ANC aimed to take control of state security agencies after elections next year, infiltrate the right-wing and TEC subcouncils, influence the Goldstone Commission, "handle" disloyal members and use Popcrn to recruit black police officers, among other things.

This was to be achieved over five years.
Mr Mamoepa said there was no need for the ANC to infiltrate the TEC as "we have an opportunity to be part of it". He rejected the suggestion that likened NAT to the Broederbond.

The ANC was not talking of infiltration but rather a multi-pronged approach to strengthening the democratic process by finding political solutions, he said.

Meanwhile, Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman Ms Suzanne Vos said it was "well known" that NAT had been trying to break Inkatha and win the support of King Goodwill Zwelithini, as was claimed in the report.

ANC denies it aimed to 'infiltrate' (11A)

CT13/12/93

Own Correspondent

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ANC 'to protect transition'

Star 13/12/93

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The ANC has planned massive infiltration of its opponents' organisations and a nationwide surveillance of its own members — including people sitting on its national executive committee (NEC) — in an effort to contain any possible threat to the transitional process, according to documents in The Star's possession.

The documents, drawn up by the organisation's depart-

ment of intelligence and security (DIS) — commonly known as NAT or Mbokodo — at a secret meeting in Broederstroom from August 23 to 25, also reveal the ANC's grave concern about violence and the threat posed by the right wing to the democratisation process, and detail DIS's strategy to deal with them.

Among groups targeted for infiltration are the SAP, the public service, the present SADF and all hostels throughout the country. (IA)

But both ANC and DIS sour-

ces yesterday vigorously denied they were planning "a Broederbond-style bid to take control of key organs of the State after the April elections", as reported in the Sunday Times.

The ANC, said the sources, was concerned more about protecting the transitional process than about power for itself.

Part of the strategy involves strengthening the hands of Government and National

► To Page 3

ANC 'to protect transition'

◀ From Page 1

Party negotiators so that they could take conservatives within the Cabinet and the NP caucus along with them in the transitional process.

The startling strategy, mapped out following ANC president Nelson Mandela's concerns about threats to the process and the ANC itself, also includes winning over rightwingers — including Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party — to the process, making overtures to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and infiltrating all hostels.

"Our commitment to defend the peace process must be total and unequivocal," says a DIS

document The Star possesses.

According to reliable DIS sources, the Broederstroom meeting, attended by Mandela and other top ANC leaders, concluded, among other things, that:

■ President De Klerk and his negotiators had to be strengthened so that they could "contain the dissidents among them and prevail over them on matters regarding the democratisation process".

■ The "democratic centre" — comprising the ANC and the Government — should be strengthened during the transition. "If it breaks, the process collapses," said a DIS source.

■ Some statements by various ANC leaders, including stinging

personal attacks on De Klerk, were "incompatible with the process of democratisation". It was decided that the ANC, according to the DIS source, had to realise that there were "real and actual fears among whites and blacks about the dominance of the ANC in government".

"We said these fears cannot be separated from the anxieties and fears of our own people about the (possible) failure of the process. The process must not fail because if that should happen, then the country goes into an abyss," said the source.

■ DIS should infiltrate every hostel, and be present in every room in every hostel, to prevent any destabilising attacks.

382,66	382,30	1283,49	1336	3,3673	0,2968	4,4100	0,2261	1,6960	6,0208	10,20	3264,6
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Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Siphwe Nyanda, centre, told a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday that the ANC's armed wing would honour some of its cadres with the Albert Luthuli medal for valour at rallies to commemorate Umkhonto's 32nd anniversary on Thursday. Picture: ABDUL SHARIF

Umkhonto woos Apla

LLOYD COUTTS

THE PAC's armed wing, Apla, was beginning to heed Umkhonto we Sizwe advice to take part in talks on the creation of a new unified defence force for SA, Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Siphwe Nyanda said yesterday.

Addressing a news conference in Johannesburg to announce plans for the 32nd anniversary of the founding of Umkhonto, the ANC's armed wing, on Thursday, Nyanda said the process of unifying the country's armed formations was unstoppable.

Umkhonto had had several discussions with Apla to brief it on the negotiations with other armed formations like the SADF and homeland armies, and had attempted to persuade it to join the talks.

"Our interests in the long run are the same. Of course Apla's political principals took a decision not to participate in the TEC, but that decision may be revisited.

"This process is unstoppable. I think they are listening to our advice to take part. They themselves realise that we must meet to draw up joint strategies," Nyanda said.

Nyanda said Thursday's com-

memoration rallies would probably be the last anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

All armed formations — including the SADF — would disband after the election next year to form a new defence force. Nyanda said an essential spirit of reconciliation had developed between Umkhonto and the SADF during integration talks.

"Negotiations around the integration of all armed forces, the formation of the new defence force and the national peacekeeping force are at an advanced stage," Nyanda said.

"For the first time our people will be an integral part of a defence force whose central task shall be the defence of the integrity and sovereignty of a future democratic SA, and not destabilisation and aggression against the majority of our people."

Apla is to attend the main commemoration rally at Orlando Stadium in Soweto on Thursday, and military officers from Botswana, Tanzania and the TBVC armies are also expected.

Single ballot 'part of deal'

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte admitted yesterday that the NP had given way on its demand for a two-ballot system as part of a "deal" with the ANC.

Replying to the debate on the Electoral Bill, Schutte said the NP considered two ballots — one at national and one at regional level — to be the "ideal option".

Negotiations, however, were a question of "give and take" and giving in on the issue of two ballots, had been part of an agreement aimed at long-term stability. "I believe the deal was a very good deal," he said.

Schutte said that having two ballots could lead to an enormous amount of confusion among voters.

Referring to parties not at the World Trade Centre, Schutte said the only proposals which had not been agreed to, which were demands of the Freedom Alliance, involved the two-ballot system.

That had been the position 10 days ago but since then the alliance had also stated its demand that people standing for provincial legislatures should be "ordinarily resident" in the province.

Earlier, Inkatha Freedom Party MP Hennie Bekker tabled proposals from Inkatha for constitutional amendments, stating that they were "Inkatha's bottom line".

The proposals would have to be met "if its general conference was to decide to lend legitimacy to the constitutional process".

Mandela slams government over Randfontein killings

By GAVIN DU VENAGE and LLOYD COUTTS

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday hit out at government over Monday's racist killing of three black people near Randfontein, saying the regime was a "lame duck" that had shown it was unable to arrest people responsible for such crimes for the past few years.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from Oslo yesterday, Mandela said such atrocities would end only when SA had a democratic government.

Commenting on the killings yesterday, AWB general secretary Nico Prinsloo distanced the organisation from the incident, adding that the fact the gunmen wore uniforms did not necessarily mean they belonged to the AWB.

One of the killers allegedly wore a black uniform similar to that worn by the AWB's elite paramilitaries.

The Afrikaner Volksfront condemned the killing of the three blacks and the wounding of four others by a group of white men who forced them from their vehicles and shot them on the Randfontein road.

Volksfront spokesman Steve Maninger said the organisation was "shocked and horrified at what seems to have been a racially motivated attack on innocent motorists".

The Volksfront found the level of bar-

barism in the incident disgusting, and reminiscent of ANC "people's courts".

Maninger said the incident showed that the time to find solutions was limited, making the need to find an all-inclusive political settlement urgent.

Political analyst Wim Boooyse said yesterday the incident did not herald a major right-wing offensive against blacks. Although particularly savage, it was probably an isolated incident.

A police spokesman said no arrests had yet been made. Another spokesman denied that arrests were imminent, as reported yesterday.

Sapa reports that Inkatha Freedom Party member for Jeppe Hennie Bekker told Parliament yesterday the Randfontein murders could bring the country closer to the threshold of an ethnic bloodbath.

Speaking in debate on the Electoral Bill, he said Inkatha condemned the cold-blooded massacre in the harshest terms.

"Inkatha is opposed to any violence, especially if it has an ethnic or racial base," Bekker said.

Inkatha hoped and trusted the barbarous murderers would soon be arrested and brought to trial.

Volkstaat poll possible, says ANC

GAVIN DU VENAGE

A REFERENDUM to determine the support for a volkstaat was conceivable, provided it was conducted on a nonracial basis, ANC constitutional committee member Penuel Maduna said yesterday.

Maduna was speaking at Jan Smuts Airport on his return with an ANC-Afrikaner Volksfront fact-finding mission from Europe.

The delegation, made up of senior members of both organisations, investigated

constitutional models for regional and local government in Europe.

Maduna said although he doubted the concept of a volkstaat would be accepted by the majority of South Africans, it was possible such a referendum could be held. If a volkstaat received majority backing, then the ANC would have no option but to accept the decision, he said.

Volkstaat representa-

tive Corne Mulder said the delegation was significant because it was the first time the two parties had worked together in such a way. "It may be the last time we have such an opportunity," Mulder added.

He remained hopeful that Volksfront demands for a volkstaat would be accommodated. The Swiss and Belgian experience showed that different cultures could exist within the same country but within autonomous boundaries.

Sub-council members named

MEMBERS of the Patriotic Front, which includes the ANC, Labour Party and various homeland groups, dominate the seven sub-councils of the Transitional Executive Council, which were announced yesterday.

Many of the issues to be dealt with by the TEC in the run-up to the elections will be referred first to the sub-councils, which are mostly staffed by specialists.

Defence sub-council members include

former SADF chief General Kat Liebenberg, Mr Ronnie Kasrils (SACP) and MK commander Mr Joe Modise.

The intelligence sub-council staffers include Mr Llewellyn Landers (DP), Lieutenant-General Bob Rogers (DP), Deputy Minister of Defence Mr Wynand Breytenbach (NP), Mr Alfred Nzo (ANC) and Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Fanie Schoeman.

The law and order sub-council includes Mr Peter Gastrow (DP), Mr Sydney Mufa-

madi (ANC) and Deputy Minister of Law and Order Mr Gert Myburgh.

Solidarity leader Dr J N Reddy makes a political comeback as a member of the finance sub-council. He serves with Deputy Minister of Finance Mr Theo Alant and ANC finance spokesman Mr Tito Mboweni.

The foreign affairs sub-council is dominated by independents and the status of women sub-council by the Patriotic Front. — Sapa

(IA) C/15/12/93

MK returnees protect trucks

Staff Reporter

RETURNED MK exiles are being employed by a security company to combat truck hijackers and other criminal elements who have targeted the transport industry as a ready source of cash.

The company, Trans-Sizwe, which operates near Soweto, has recruited members from the ranks

of uMkhonto weSizwe to offer the transport industry a service of protecting cargoes and vehicles — initially in the PWV area and particularly in the townships and later across the entire country.

Their long-term plans are in place to develop Trans-Sizwe into a fully-fledged transport company offering third party distribution across the entire country on both short and long hauls.

(11A) CT 15/12/93
“We know we can offer a professional service that meets the needs of the market,” said Mr Steve Manjaro, managing director of the company, formed last month.

“Our members are all military trained and sport their old Cuban and Eastern Bloc uniforms. We are selecting and training the very best for our transport protection units,” said the former MK commander.

Winnie's ^(11A) 15/12/93 chance for Parliament

JOHANNESBURG. — Mrs Winnie Mandela's eligibility to stand for Parliament depends on whether the assault charge on which she was convicted last year was "politically motivated", ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Speaking at Jan Smuts Airport on his return from Europe, Mr Mandela was asked if his estranged wife would be eligible for Parliament now that she had been elected as head of the ANC Women's League.

"In this country, anyone who has been convicted of a political offence is eligible for election.

"We have to analyse each case and decide whether it is political or not," he said.

Mrs Mandela's election last week as women's league president automatically gives her a seat on the ANC's national executive committee.

Condemning Monday's apparently racially-motivated killing of two blacks by whites on the West Rand, Mr Mandela said violence would end only with democratic government.

He said the ANC would continue talking to the Freedom Alliance, but the elections would go ahead with or without the Alliance. — Sapa

● FW tells of shame in Oslo — Page 7

Mandela woos Indian and Muslim voters in W Cape

By NORMAN WEST, Political Reporter

THE ANC is successfully wooing an increasing number of prominent Indian and Muslim personalities into its fold, including well-known Cape Town businessmen, who have pledged support for the organisation. *SITimes CC Metro*

ANC president Nelson Mandela was accorded a royal welcome at a reception in the Hindu Samaj Centre in Rylands Estate, Cape Town, this week, to mark the launch of the ANC Thornhill branch's election campaign. (11)

Meanwhile conflicting claims are emanating from the three main political forces in the Western Cape, the NP, the DP, and the ANC, about their abilities to attract the coloured vote. 5 112 193

According to the latest Department of Home Affairs statistics, there are 1 288 500 coloured voters, 662 300 white, 404 000 blacks and 19 400 Indian voters registered in the newly-demarcated Western Cape region.

The ANC is pinning its hope of capturing the major slice of the coloured vote on the loyalty of coloured workers to its election ally Co-satu.

Among the Indian business fraternity, several top businessmen have pledged their support for the ANC.

At a gathering arranged by the Indian community in Cape Town last week Mr Mandela paid tribute to the many high-profile Indian leaders who have been involved in the liberation struggle.

Advocate Dullah Omar, a member of the ANC NEC and its Constitutional Committee, said the community needed to mobilise all people of all faiths — Muslim, Hindu, Christian — "in one unbeatable team to ensure a massive election victory for the ANC".



ACTION PLAN ... ANC officials Cheryl Carolus, Kadar Asmal, Lerumo Kalako and Steve Tshwete preparing to visit local communities as part of the People's Forums programme. Picture: TERRY SHEAN

People's Forum hits Cape to find out what citizens want

By DIANA STREAK

"TELL us what you want" was the message from the ANC, which yesterday launched its People's Forum programme in the Western Cape.

The programme has already been set up in other regions so that the ANC can consult at grass-roots level with communities.

"The ANC is committed to a government that will serve the people — that will reflect the views, opinions and hopes of all who live in our country," said Mr Steve Tshwete, head of the ANC's national organisation desk.

"We want to know how people feel, what they want, what they

fear," he said before ANC officials set off to visit farm workers in Robertson. 5 112 193

Mr Tshwete stressed that the programme did not mean the ANC did not know what its supporters wanted, it was a matter of "fine tuning" for future policy-making. (11A)

Ms Cheryl Carolus, policy department head, said she had been involved in People's Forums in other areas and it had struck her "how shockingly modest people's expectations are".

"We need to seriously consider retaining these forums in a new government to keep in touch and to maintain accountability."

Regional executive member Professor Kadar Asmal said the ANC was trying to change "the awful tradition of prescription" by politicians.

"Leaders must learn a new tradition of listening and accountability."

The ANC's newly elected regional secretary, Lerumo Kalako, said the forums were interlinked with reconstruction and development policies which would culminate in a national conference later this month.

"The ANC is the only organisation which has the capacity to draw people into the process of developing policy," Mr Kalako said.

Call for special 'nature' courts

By GUY ROGERS
CONSERVATIONISTS are calling for environmental courts to be established in South Africa to deal with conservation cases they say often do not receive the consideration they deserve.

Dolphin Action and Protection Group chairwoman Nan Rice said many cases were presented by conservation law enforcement officers, but were thrown out because the courts were full with other criminal and political matters.

Furthermore, "public prosecutors often don't realise the importance of the cases they are dealing with."

ANC voices fears over rural evictions

Star 16/12/93

■ STAFF REPORTER

The ANC says it is deeply concerned that the growing number of evictions of labour tenants in the eastern Transvaal threatens stability in the region.

"The ANC condemns every attack and killing of farmers," read a statement released by the organisation's head office. "We are, however, deeply concerned that farmers are creating a context of distrust and violence by systematically evicting tenant communities resident on their farms." (IA)

The ANC's statement follows a meeting between a delegation representing labour tenants and members of the Transitional Executive Council in Cape Town

this week. The tenants' delegation demanded a moratorium on evictions.

The ANC pointed out that when white farmers were killed, the Government responded rapidly with special farm security. But it showed "no concern for the dangers faced by tenant communities".

Labour tenants have frequently cultivated the same land for generations and might well succeed in gaining ownership under the land claims procedure in the new constitution.

Labour tenants, land rights groups and other national and international organisations point out that evictions could undermine the capacity of tenants to lodge land claims.

ITP

BUSINESS DAY, Friday, December 17 1993

3

Popcru steals the show at Umkhonto parade

JOHANNES NGCOBO

MEMBERS of the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru) stole the show yesterday when they marched through Soweto's Orlando Stadium to a standing ovation.

The union members, dressed in their SAP uniforms, were taking part in celebrations to mark Umkhonto we Sizwe's 32nd anniversary and its last drill as an army.

Hundreds of Umkhonto members spent the day doing their Soviet-style drill, the Gastov march, while others sang.

No weapons were openly displayed during the marching. However, when the cadres began military manoeuvres they fired into the air, whipping the crowd into a frenzy.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, a guest with his estranged wife Winnie, told

the soldiers: "During your drill and march you have demonstrated a skilful way of fighting."

He paid tribute to people who had fought in the struggle while he was in prison.

Jabu Masina and Mthethleli Ncube were among Umkhonto members awarded the Albert Luthuli medal. They were sentenced to hang for planting landmines on eastern Transvaal farms but were later pardoned.

LLOYD COUTTS reports that Umkhonto commander Joe Modise told the crowd that the ANC was setting up a museum at Fort Hare University to record the history of its anti-apartheid struggle. The museum would include a section on Umkhonto and a monument and roll to honour its dead.



ANC president Nelson Mandela hugs his estranged wife Winnie during yesterday's MK rally at Orlando Stadium in Soweto. She accepted a medal on behalf of an MK soldier. Looking on is MK commander Joe Modise. Picture: ABDUL SHARIF

(11A) 17/12/93

WHEN Nelson Mandela emerged from 27 years in prison in 1990, his support for nationalisation and state monopolies sent chills down the spines of potential SA and foreign investors.

These days, however, the radical-turned-pragmatist spends much of his time wooing investors to support SA in its transition from white minority to black majority rule.

The ANC's reconstruction and development programme, drafted in co-operation with Cosatu and the SACP, emphasises free enterprise, welcomes foreign investment and stresses labour-intensive industries.

"Our people must have employment, they should have decent housing and free and compulsory education. These are our top priorities," says Mandela in a recent interview with the Wall Street Journal Europe.

Insisting that a "healthy, strong and flourishing economy" is the key to political stability in SA, Mandela argues that "that is why right from the beginning we engaged business to allay fears and get them involved in the transition from an apartheid state to a nonracial society".

Widely expected to win April's first nonracial elections, Mandela is likely to take over a country in which nearly 50% of its black population of 28-million is unemployed.

"I am going out of my way to tell people that social economic solutions will not be achieved with a stroke of the pen. It's not a question of months and not even of one or two years. We need years to organise the resources and provide the services needed. I am continuously warning against exaggerated expectations," he says.

Mandela hopes to improve the life of SA's blacks through a combination of stimulating private enterprise, attracting domestic and foreign investment, mulling SA business that has profited in the past, and streamlining the country's bureaucracy.

Not hesitant to flex its muscle, the ANC recently pressed the SA Life Offices' Association, representing insurance institutions with about R200bn in assets, into purchasing a bond issue of R450m to finance electrification of black housing. The bond issue is expected to grow to R4bn. "Business has a responsibility to

Pragmatic Mandela to co-operate with the private sector

JAMES DORSEY

create projects and innovative financial instruments that generate market returns but have positive external benefits," says senior ANC economist Neil Morrison.

Similarly, Mandela hopes to distribute lands owned by the military, that occupies up to 20% of the country's total territory, to poor blacks willing to engage in agriculture. "We are a peaceful country. We don't need a big defence force. We're not organising to fend off a major onslaught," he says.

Mandela's embracement of free enterprise has won him the support of much of SA's business community. A recent survey of the country's top 100 business executives showed business had solidly shifted its support from Kwazulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to Mandela and the ANC.

Says Anglo American economist Jim Buys: "Initially they said things that frightened foreign investors and us. They've matured. Had I come out of prison, I would have also expressed all kinds of out-of-date ideas."

Buys works closely with the ANC as a member of the National Economic Forum, in which government, business and political groups cooperate to devise ways of reducing black unemployment, among other things.

Ironically, business leaders and analysts credit some leaders in Asia, who moved away from communism, with persuading Mandela to shift economic gears. ANC officials add



Nelson Mandela

that a hard look at SA's economic problems and the complex negotiation process that led to the abolition of apartheid also played its part.

Visiting Singapore late last year, Mandela was taken to task by a senior government official, according to businessmen and ANC officials. "I was a communist. I was treated in the struggle. But when I came to power I realised the necessity to throw everything out of the window and to tell the people that it's all blood,

sweat and tears. The day for a U-turn in SA is now," they quote the official as telling Mandela.

Later at the World Economic Congress in Davos, the Vietnamese deputy prime minister extolled the virtues of private enterprise. Mandela, stressing that he was never a communist and that the ANC never formally adopted socialism as its creed, acknowledges the influence both men had on his thinking. "Vietnam's deputy prime minister told me that as a result of encouraging private enterprise his country had been able to double its foreign exchange reserves."

Mandela is nonetheless unwilling to totally surrender the notion of nationalisation and state intervention. Noting that governments in the US, Europe and Japan played a strong role in post-Second World War economic recovery, Mandela says: "Apartheid is like war. We went through a war against the people of SA. The economy of SA has been destroyed."

Harking back to the Davos congress, Mandela recalls being "hamed like hell" by business on the issue of nationalisation. But Mandela insists that the ANC no longer views the issues in ideological terms. He says that his government will seek "to address the needs of the people" through co-operation with the private sector and resort to nationalisation only if left with no choice. Yet, pointing to the ANC investment code, Mandela insists it pro-

vides guarantees against confiscations and allows for free repatriation of profits and dividends. "If any business wants to sell its activities in SA it is free to take out the proceeds." Economic pragmatism has become the ANC's motto, say Mandela's aides.

The ANC has moved from being socialist to being social democratic, says senior Anglo-American Corporation executive Michael Spicer. "That's the good news. The bad news is it is still reluctant. Its instincts are still interventionist," he cautions.

Executives like Buys and Spicer worry that these instincts may swing the ANC, once in government, towards increased government spending in a quick bid to satisfy widespread expectations among blacks.

"These concerns are understandable until the ANC has a track record regarding fiscal and procurement policy," says Morrison. "Expenditures are central to our economic programme, but the parameters need to be set by a funding strategy. We're talking about a total funding strategy. We're extremely serious about following this approach."

International Monetary Fund credits valued at \$850m will boost SA's foreign reserves and stabilise its balance of payments. The World Bank has indicated a willingness to pour up to \$3bn into SA in two to three years. The ANC, moreover, is studying the possibility of SA re-entering international capital markets with a reconstruction bond.

Fears of continued violence as a result of right-wing opposition to the transition process, and the ANC's belief that abolishing currency restrictions should be timed to prevent capital flight, are likely to make foreign investors cautious. Nevertheless, US and other fund managers are already taking a close look at SA. Within weeks of the lifting of sanctions in September, an unidentified US fund manager is reported to have already invested \$100m.

Says Mandela: "If SA in the next five years is to be seen as having a government with a broad popular base, it must represent all communities. We are talking about a government of national unity in which all parties with more than 5% of the vote will be represented. A government like this will ensure there will be no radical policies." — AP-DJ

ANC Fw 17/12/93

Winnie comes back

(11A)

The back-passing by ANC officials when asked whether Winnie Mandela, in the light of her political comeback, will now appear as a candidate on the ANC's general election list, is revealing. Clearly the organisation's leadership has been thrown a hot potato with her election last Wednesday as president of the ANC Women's League.

Her new post puts Mandela in a fairly strong position from which to carry out a grudge. It entitles her to take up an office in the ANC's Shell House headquarters, where she will be close to general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa and his colleague Mohammed Valli Moosa. Neither is thought to be a favourite of hers: the rancour dates back to the late Eighties when, as part of the UDF, they distanced that organisation from her because of her alleged involvement in the murder of child activist Stompie Seipei.

She was later convicted on four counts of kidnapping arising from the Seipei case, and was forced to give up her post as head of the ANC's welfare department. A letter to her alleged lover, Dali Mphofu, had obviously been leaked from within the organisation to cause her maximum embarrassment. Nelson Mandela then announced his separation from his wife.



Mandela

Her fall from grace seemed sealed when her appeal against the kidnapping conviction failed earlier this year. In terms of the guidelines of the ANC's election list committee, this means that, as someone with a "nonpolitical criminal record," she is ineligible as a prospective MP.

The list committee is still receiving nomi-

Fw 17/12/93

nations and the ANC's national executive committee will make the final selection. This is going to involve some hard choices, since Mrs Mandela evidently has a strong constituency both among ANC women and in the squatter camps. Furthermore, she has been nominated by the ANC Youth League as a candidate for the national list, and last month was elected to the ANC's important PWV regional executive committee (though she hardly attends its meetings), which would suggest a place on the regional general election list as well. Among the positions she holds is southern Transvaal chairman of Moses Mayekiso's civics organisation, Sanco, to which she was elected late last year. Her comeback has not been sudden, though her Women's League victory was dramatic.

In the ANC Women's League poll, Mandela beat the veteran Albertina Sisulu (wife of ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu) to the post by bagging 392 of the 560 delegate votes. They were determined to have her, and had her flown down specially on the second day of the Durban conference to state her case.

It is hard to see how the president of the ANC Women's League can be left out of any Cabinet formed by the ANC. As one ANC official puts it: "You've simply got to live with the fact that Winnie is going to exert a powerful influence."

It is also hard to ignore the prospect of Winnie Mandela contesting the ANC presidency some time in the future after Nelson Mandela departs from the scene, in which case the ANC would surely split. The role of a South African Evita would doubtless appeal to her — and she has the magic name. ■

TRANSITION

FM 17/12/93

A date with reality

The ANC faced its first real test as a government-in-waiting this week when KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi continued his defiant stand against the Transitional Executive Council (TEC)'s demands for information on alleged hit squads in the KwaZulu Police.

As the FM went to press the TEC was due to meet in Cape Town to consider its options. The line taken by the ANC was expected to be decisive.

At its first working session last week the council called for a full report within three days from senior officers investigating "credible evidence" of an alleged KwaZulu Police hit squad revealed in a report by the Goldstone Commission.

It was also proposed that the SAP's Internal Stability Unit should be withdrawn

from East Rand townships and the Bham-bayi region of Natal. The government's Roelf Meyer and the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa were mandated by the TEC to meet Law & Order Minister Hernus Kriel urgently to discuss the issues, both of which were due to be debated further at this week's session.

After the TEC meeting, SA Communist Party representative Joe Slovo commented that the council's action was an indication that it was determined to assert its powers to ensure a free and fair general election and would not simply be "a toy telephone."

But within hours of the decision, KwaZulu Police commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy Doring was instructed by the homeland's government to ignore the TEC's request for information. In a brief statement to the TEC he said: "I am directed to respond to your council's resolution as follows:

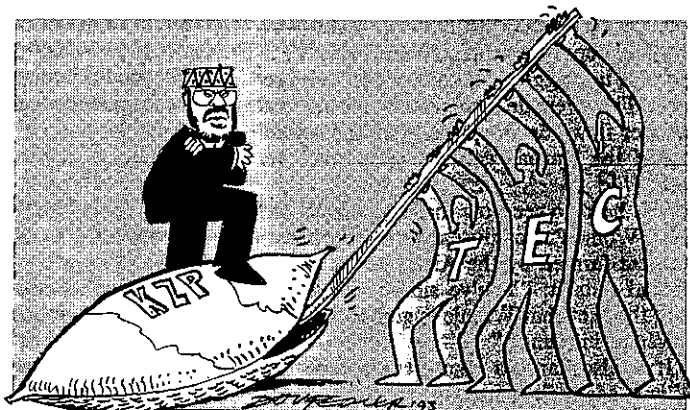
"The KwaZulu government did not participate in the decision nor was it consulted regarding the establishment of the TEC and hence recognises no obligation to provide it with any information.

"The fourth interim report of the Goldstone Commission was based on information submitted to it by the SA Police for action by the commission. Any further information required by the TEC should accordingly be sought from either the Goldstone Commission or the SAP."

Ironically, the investigations that uncovered the alleged hit squad were initiated by Doring himself. The Goldstone Commission

reported that the squad had probably murdered at least nine people, including ANC leaders. It seems, therefore, that the decision not to co-operate with the TEC was purely political.

Members of the TEC were cautious in their response to KwaZulu's defiance, but insisted that the council was a statutory body and could not be ignored without consequences. It was not immediately clear what



action the TEC was likely to take, though negotiation rather than confrontation was expected to be the first choice.

A showdown between Buthelezi and the TEC will complicate efforts to reopen negotiations with the Freedom Alliance. Though Ciskei Foreign Minister Mickey Webb was reported this week to have said the alliance was keen to continue talking, there were indications that neither Buthelezi nor the Afrikaner Volksfront partners was serious about rejoining the process.

Alliance leaders were due to meet this week to draft a new set of proposals to government but, after a meeting at the weekend, the Inkatha central committee said if the Interim Constitution Bill were approved by parliament without changes during the current session, it would recommend to a special party congress next year that Inkatha should boycott the election.

"If, however, the now well-defined minimum demands of the IFP are met and conditions are favourable for the holding of a free and fair election, the central committee will recommend to conference and to its allies in the Freedom Alliance that there should be participation in the general elections and in the preparations leading thereto."

But there is little chance of that happening. The establishment of the TEC was a massive step forward in the transition process and leaves the alliance far behind. The multiparty negotiators are now not prepared to stop the process, which means the alliance will have to consider significant compro-

mises if it hopes to catch up.

Meanwhile, a new Markinor opinion poll (based on a rating of one to 10) finds that Buthelezi's popularity among blacks substantially trails that of ANC leader Nelson Mandela who rated 8,7 points in November (0,3 points up from May) and President F W de Klerk with 4,3 (also up from 4,1).

Buthelezi's — and Afrikaner Volksfront leader Constand Viljoen's — ratings trail far behind with an identical tally of 1,8 (down from 2,1 and 1,2 respectively).

□ The TEC's budget for the nine months until June will be R18,5m and include R5m on salaries for administrative support staff, R3,2m for office rental, R2,7m for office furniture, R1,5m for airfares and R1,2m for transport.

The council and its seven subcouncils will work from Cape Town and the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park until their newly renovated offices in Pretoria are ready at the beginning of next year.

Deon Rudman of the Justice Department and National Peace Committee has been appointed as the TEC's executive director. His deputies are the ANC's Janet Love and Theuns Eloff, who headed administration at the multiparty talks.

The TEC has appointed Renosi Mokate of the Development Bank of Southern Africa to head the Independent Electoral Commission and Piet Colyn, director-general of Home Affairs, as director. They will be assisted by Yunis Mohamed and J T Madiba. ■

DEMOCRATIC PARTY FM 17/12/93 Justifying a role

The Democratic Party hopes to follow up gains it made during party negotiations in shaping the interim constitution. It wants a strong enough showing in next year's election to enable it to influence the drafting of the final constitution. (S. A.)

The party's "Write it Right" campaign launched by leader Zach de Beer in Cape Town last week will be a key element in efforts to win support. De Beer says that while the DP will vote for the interim constitution in parliament during the current session, it believes certain aspects of the document are "seriously flawed".

The "Write it Right" campaign is aimed at rewriting the flaws which came about "thanks to National Party/ANC agreements." The campaign will focus on:

- Stronger provincial powers for real federalism;
- Two ballots to give voters the right to choose; and

'Hijack' of Oslo by ANC denied

JOHANNESBURG. — The Norwegian Council for Southern Africa took strong exception yesterday to statements made by President FW de Klerk on his return from receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo.

Addressing supporters at D F Malan airport on Tuesday, Mr De Klerk accused the African National Congress of "hi-

jacking" the proceedings when a group of about 40 or 50 ANC supporters shouted ANC slogans during a torch parade.

Mr De Klerk also said the ANC displayed bad manners when members of the organisation put up posters at the hall where the prize was awarded and had to be told to take them down.

A facsimile copy of a letter

sent to Mr De Klerk by the council denied that ANC supporters had hung posters in the hall.

The statement also said: "The traditional torch march has always been a political march arranged by non-governmental organisations in support of freedom and human rights."

It said eight Norwegian or-

(11A) CT 17/12/93
ganisations representing churches, the trade union movement and solidarity organisations arranged the march in the name of their campaign Democracy for South Africa.

In the letter to Mr De Klerk the council said "nobody was prevented from carrying pictures of you (Mr De Klerk) in the march, but naturally most

of the people attending the torch march had their sympathies with Mr Mandela".

It concluded that "democracy and freedom of expression also means that any participant or group of participants in the march were free to express their views by singing and chanting slogans".

"Nobody 'hijacked' the march by doing so." — Sapa

PAC: Don't be bitter about past

(117) CT 17/12/73

UMTATA. — PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu has urged delegates at the organisation's annual national conference here not to be bitter about the past but to focus on the future.

Addressing several hundred delegates at the University of Transkei's hall yesterday, Mr Makwetu said: "In this conference we cannot afford to act irresponsibly."

He said the whole country and the world were awaiting the outcome of the conference with keen interest and high hopes.

"This is not the time for creating enemies and divisions. It is time for unity," Mr Makwetu said.

He said the conference had to pronounce itself "clearly and unambiguously" on the coming elections and on the question of violence which, he said, was being perpetrated by the ANC and the South African government.

"This conference must come up with solutions and lead our country to liberation," he said.

NEWS MK celebrates 32nd birthday ● Wife's despe

Mission accomplished

Sowetan 17/12/93

By Musa Zondi

UMKHONTO we Sizwe, the military wing of the African National Congress, celebrated its 32nd anniversary in style yesterday.

Standing before a sea of green camouflage uniforms, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela spoke of a feeling of "glory and pride" which permeated the stadium.

"Those of us who stand at the helm of your organisation, the ANC and our popular army, MK, are moved to the

highest possible level of satisfaction in the near conclusion of a mission we set ourselves to accomplish, this day, 32 years ago," he said. (IIP)

In a day filled with drama and excitement, MK cadres filed past Mandela in style, in front of an audience of more than 15 000 people.

One of the best cheers was perhaps reserved for Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union members who marched alongside MK — using a rather different step at times.

MK chief Mr Joe Modise told the

Press earlier that the ANC would not harbour secrets in terms of arms caches.

Dialectical relationship

Paying tribute to the army, Modise said it was MK ability to internalise the dialectical relationship between armed and political struggle which made sure it rooted itself firmly among the people.

The occasion was graced by representatives from Uganda, Botswana, China, Taiwan, Transkei and also an Apla delegation.

● See page 4

PAC meeting to decide on all-race poll

ARC 17/12/93

11A

The Argus Correspondent

DURBAN. — The Pan-Africanist Congress's fourth national conference being held in Transkei is expected to make clear decisions on the April 27 election and solutions to the country's problems.

Speaking at the University of the Transkei in Umtata, PAC president Clarence Makwetu said "a critical juncture" had arisen in the history of "Azania".

"This conference has to pronounce itself clearly and unambiguously on the coming April elections."

Mr Makwetu urged delegates to "mince no words and spell your course clearly".

He also told the delegates they had a "heavy responsibility" on their shoulders. He urged them to be guided by hope and not fear in determining the way forward.

Mr Makwetu said the conference would deliver "the final blow to racism and colonialism" — meaning economic, intellectual and physical control of the country by a small "alien community".

Earlier, the PAC's deputy president, Johnson Mlambo, also spoke at the conference of the "historic" point reached in South Africa.

PAC urged to outline its position on election

UMTATA — The PAC had to outline its position clearly on next year's election, PAC president Clarence Makwetu said yesterday. BIDOM 17112193

Opening the PAC's two-day annual conference in Umtata, he said the conference was being followed with interest by the country and the international community.

Makwetu urged about 3 000 delegates

not to be bitter about the past.

Observers believed Makwetu's conciliatory speech could mean the possible suspension of the PAC's armed struggle and its participation in the Transitional Executive Council and the April 27 election.

The PAC's national executive committee decided on Wednesday to contest the poll, but its decision still had to be ratified by the conference. — Sapa. (11/7)

PAC 'to contest general election'

CF 18/12/93 (117)

UMTATA. — The Pan Africanist Congress is to contest next year's elections despite opposition from elements in its student and youth wings, PAC foreign affairs secretary Mr Gora Ebrahim said yesterday.

Briefing journalists at the PAC's annual congress here, he said all branches and regions were bound by Wednesday's unanimous decision by the national executive council to contest the April 27 elections.

Speaking before delegates started debating the issue in closed session, Mr Ebrahim said every region was represented on the national executive committee and its decision was therefore binding on all regional structures.

The PAC political affairs secretary, Mr Jaki Seroke, said the debate on the national executive committee's decision was "not meant as window-dressing".

"We realise this is a crucial period in the history of our country and the input of the conference is therefore very important."

The decision on the election was expected to spark heated debate, with opposition coming mainly from a self-styled "watchdog" group within the PAC student and youth affiliates.

Referring to the PAC's possible participation in the Transitional Executive Council and the future of its

armed struggle, Mr Ebrahim said the organisation had "real concerns" about security issues and was negotiating a comprehensive "mutual cessation of hostilities" with the government and its security forces.

Proposed bilateral meetings between the PAC and the government and between the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, and the defence force had been delayed by the parliamentary session.

Mr Ebrahim and Mr Seroke strongly criticised the alleged harassment, victimisation and assault of PAC members by ANC activists.

Funding

"Such harassment and victimisation are incompatible with the demand for the democratisation of our country."

Mr Seroke said the PAC had never created no-go areas and had not been involved in internecine conflict. He accused the ANC leadership of "not doing enough to cap violence by its members".

Mr Ebrahim also said the conference had reiterated the PAC's position that funding would be accepted from any quarter provided no conditions were set.

The debate on the election decision and the future of the armed struggle was expected to continue until late last night. — Sapa

ANC set to choose election candidates

CT 18/12/93
(11A)
JOHANNESBURG. —
The African National Congress's PWV region is to vote tomorrow for 59 nominees to the organisation's ticket for a national assembly and 133 for the regional legislature.

Regional secretary-general Mr Paul Mashatile said yesterday that 500 delegates were expected to choose the candidates in a secret ballot to be conducted by the Independent Mediation Services of South Africa.

The ANC's PWV regional chairman, Mr Tokyo Sexwale, has been nominated to head the regional legislature.

Mr Mashatile said some nominees, including ANC Women's League president Mrs Winnie Mandela, had not yet confirmed they would stand. Others had declined because they were interested in civil service jobs.

Individuals would have to support their nominations with 200 signatures for them to be accepted, he added.

Candidates elected at tomorrow's conference would have their names forwarded to the ANC national elections conference to be held from January 15. — Sapa

ANC leader reaches out to alliance

Star 18/12/93

CHRIS WHITFIELD
Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — Nelson Mandela yesterday personally intervened in the crisis surrounding the continuing absence of the Freedom Alliance (FA) from a political settlement, asking President de Klerk to meet ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa on the issue.

And last night plans were being made for a late flurry of meetings — including a summit of De Klerk and the FA leaders on Monday — to bridge gaps before Parliament is scheduled to vote on the constitution on Wednesday. (11A)

The developments came as Parliament yesterday began its historic debate on the constitution — kicked off with an unequivocal apology for apartheid by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer on behalf of the Government.

After Mandela's phone call yesterday morning, De Klerk and Meyer met Ramaphosa for an hour-and-a-half at the President's Tuynhuys offices. A spokesman in De Klerk's office confirmed that the meeting was the result of a call from the ANC leader.

He said they had discussed proposed amendments to the interim constitution made by the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), an FA member, to a parliamentary joint committee. He added that Meyer would also hold "technical discussions" with IFP members over the weekend.

Ramaphosa was non-committal after the meeting, confirming that it had gone ahead at Mandela's initiative. But he added that he was no more optimistic of a breakthrough than he had been earlier in the day, and again stressed the ANC demand for the FA to commit itself to preparations for the April 27 election and to contesting the election itself. "The ball is firmly in the Freedom Alliance's court," he said.

Yesterday the IFP moved sharply to dismiss reports that the submissions might indicate differences with other FA parties. IFP negotiator Walter Felgate told Saturday Star that the IFP MPs were operating within a framework agreed by the FA. "They are not negotiating. The FA has given them its bottom line," he said.

During the debate in Parliament, IFP-nominated MP Farouk Cassim had revealed that he and other IFP MPs had held late-night meetings with Government ministers on the amendments. "A lot of ground has been covered. A great deal of common purpose exists. An honourable solution is in the offing," he said.

However, Government sources were at pains to later reiterate some of



RAMAPHOSA: Ball is in alliance's court.

constitution on Wednesday. The developments came as Parliament yesterday began its historic debate on the constitution — kicked off with an unequivocal apology for apartheid by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer on behalf of the Government.

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However, Government sources were at pains to later repudiate some of Cassim's more enthusiastic remarks — particularly his suggestions that Government agreed with certain of the amendments proposed.

War

One said: "We still don't have any commitment (to elections and the preparation for them) from the IFP."

The IFP MP for Vryheid, Jurie Mentz, said the Zulu nation would make war if its continued existence and self-determination were threatened. And turning to the election, he said: "If our bare minimum demands are met, we will participate."

An FA source said last night that plans were being made for a meet-

● TO PAGE 2.



RAMAPHOSA: Ball is in alliance's court.



Star Alliance

● FROM PAGE 1.

ing of De Klerk and the FA leaders on Monday, probably in Cape Town. It is understood that the FA leaders were also gathering in Ulundi last night.

Meanwhile, Meyer opened the debate on the 223-page Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Bill by describing the arrival of an "exceptional day".

He also gave what appeared to be the first direct apology by the Government for apartheid, saying: "We, who were

18/12/93 responsible for apartheid, are now saying that we want to leave that behind. We are saying we are sorry. But we are also saying that we are now determined to rectify what went wrong," said Meyer.

Conservative Party leader Dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg responded with a speech claiming that the vast majority of whites were opposed to the constitution. The CP would be demanding that it contain a clause recognising these people's right to self-determination and that the constitution would not apply to them. It should also provide for a white referendum, he said.

War of words over who did what in Oslo

THE African National Congress and the National Party yesterday continued their argument over events at the recent Nobel Peace Prize ceremony in Oslo at which ANC leader Nelson Mandela and President de Klerk were jointly honoured with the award. (SAPA) (IIF)

In a statement the ANC accused De Klerk of churlishness and pettiness over his criticism of the organisation's conduct at the ceremony.

The NP retorted that the ANC was twisting the truth in its "sour and petty attack" on De Klerk.

The ANC then released a letter to De Klerk by the Norwegian Council for Southern Africa stating as untrue his claim that ANC supporters hung protest posters in the hall where he and Mandela received the award on December 10.

When De Klerk returned to South Africa on Tuesday, he said he had felt ashamed on behalf of South Africa over the "bad manners" of a group of ANC supporters who, he said, had put up posters and tried to hijack proceedings by shouting ANC slogans.

See Editorial on Page 8

His criticism came after Mandela earlier in Oslo had labelled almost all members of the South African Government "political criminals".

The ANC said yesterday that De Klerk was hardly in a position to criticise other people's bad manners, listing several objections to the presidential couple's own behaviour during the Oslo visit.

"At the Nobel committee's official dinner for the Nobel Peace Prize laureates, Mrs de Klerk refused to respond to Mandela when he greeted her, resulting in guests, who witnessed the slight, expressing shock at such petulant and unpleasant behaviour."

The ANC also accused the couple of disrespect for talking to each other while a traditional torch march honoured Mandela by singing *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*.

A spokesman from the State President's office denied the ANC accusations.

"At no time during the festivities in Oslo surrounding the presentation of the Nobel Peace Prize did Mrs de Klerk refuse to greet Mandela," the spokesman said. "Quite the contrary. The president and Mrs de Klerk met Mandela on a number of occasions during the two days they were together in Oslo and, as befits a presidential couple, they were consistently gracious in their dealings with the ANC leader."

The NP statement suggested the ANC should have advised Mandela "to act responsibly and with dignity at the Nobel Peace Prize Forum". This would have salvaged Mandela's "diminishing stature".

"The ANC's effort to taint President de Klerk's statesman-like image will, in actual fact, contribute to President de Klerk's stature," the NP said.

The NP said Mandela had attempted to damage South Africa's reputation "by his untrue statements regarding children in jail and his slanderous remarks about 'political criminals' in government, in the same week the convicted Winnie Mandela was elected president of the ANC's Women's League".

The Norwegian Council for Southern Africa's letter to De Klerk said the customary torch march in support of human rights was organised by eight Norwegian non-governmental organisations to highlight their "Democracy for South Africa" campaign. The council's Kristina Medin said the ANC had not been involved in organising the march.

"Nobody was prevented from carrying pictures of you in the march, but naturally, most of the people attending the torch march had their sympathies with Mandela. Democracy and freedom of expression also means that any participant or group of participants in the march were free to express their views by singing, chanting slogans, etc. Nobody 'hijacked' the march by doing so," she said.

The ANC said De Klerk must have been aware that he was not the popular choice for the peace prize and should have realised "that in the eyes of the world, the Nobel Prize was not awarded to two equals". "By squandering a unique opportunity with petty politicking and meanness, he only confirmed that the people of Norway and Sweden were correct in their support for Nelson Mandela and the ANC," the organisation said. — Sapa.

NP and ANC trade insults

SAPA 18/12/83

S

Star 18/12/93
PAC

● FROM PAGE 1.

election was expected to spark heated debate, with opposition coming mainly from a self-styled "watchdog" group within the PAC student and youth affiliates.

Referring to the PAC's possible participation in the Transitional Executive Council and the future of its armed struggle, Ebrahim said the organisation had "real concerns" about security issues and was negotiating a comprehensive "mutual cessation of hostilities" with the Government and its security forces. (11A)

Proposed bilateral meetings between the PAC and the Government and between the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liber-

ation Army, and the defence force had been delayed by the current session of Parliament.

Ebrahim and Seroke strongly criticised alleged harassment, victimisation and assault of PAC members by ANC activists: "Such harassment and victimisation is clearly incompatible with the demand for the democratisation of our country."

Seroke said the PAC had never created no-go areas and had not been involved in violent internecine conflict. He accused the ANC leadership of "not doing enough to cap violence by its members".

Ebrahim also said the conference had reiterated the PAC's position that funding would be accepted from any quarter provided there were no conditions attached.

— Sapa.

Star 18/12/93
**All PAC
elements
set to
take part
in poll**

ENRICO KEMP

UMTATA — The Pan Africanist Congress will take part in next year's election despite opposition from elements in its student and youth wings, PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim confirmed yesterday.

Briefing journalists at the PAC's annual congress in Umtata, Transkei, he said all branches and regions were bound by Wednesday's unanimous decision by the national executive council to contest the April 27 election. (11A)

Binding

Speaking before delegates began debating the issue in closed session, Ebrahim said every region was represented on the national executive council and its decision was therefore binding on all regional structures.

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke said the debate on the council's decision was "not meant as window-dressing".

"We realise this is a crucial period in the history of our country and the input of conference is therefore very important."

The decision on the

● TO PAGE 2.

Winnie to lead march in honour of Oscar Mpetha

VUYO BAVUMA
Weekend Argus Reporter

(11A) ARG 18/12/93

VETERAN activist Oscar Mpetha's health is slipping, but his deep commitment to the eradication of apartheid and social inequalities remains unshaken.

Tomorrow, his fight again will be rewarded when ANC Women's League leader Winnie Mandela leads a march to present a Christmas gift to the wheelchair-bound campaigner in Malunga Park, Guguletu.

Back in President P W Botha's reign, the former United Democratic Front leader epitomised the strong spirit of anti-apartheid resistance.

In the '80s, Mr Mpetha, a founder

ARG 18/12/93

■ Tomorrow, veteran trade unionist and African National Congress stalwart Oscar Mpetha will return briefly to the spotlight when newly-elected ANC Women's League leader Winnie Mandela presents him with a Christmas gift.

member of the Food and Canning Workers' Union (FCWU), became the country's oldest political prisoner when he was convicted of terrorism in a marathon trial in the Cape Town Supreme Court.

In 1983, Mr Mpetha, a father of four, was released on bail of R1 pending his appeal against a five-year mandatory sentence which Judge Williamson reluctantly imposed, because "Mpetha is old and ill. His life expectancy is limited..."

He began his sentence in 1985 at

the age of 75, sparking campaigns internally and abroad for his release.

He was released in October 1989 when President De Klerk set about political reform.

Mr Mpetha's supporters highlighted his deteriorating health, but their calls fell on deaf ears.

Since a stroke and the amputation of his legs, he has been confined to a wheelchair.

Even during his imprisonment, Mr Mpetha spent long spells at Groot-

Schuur hospital recuperating from diabetes.

His union career started with the FCWU in 1947 while he was working in a fish factory at Laaiplek on the West Coast.

He joined the ANC in 1948 and became the regional president before the movement was banned.

Like many activists, Mr Mpetha was banned from attending meetings in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act.

His last public appearance was shortly after his release from Pollsmoor in October 1989.

After celebrating two birthdays in virtual seclusion, Mr Mpetha was elected honorary regional president of the ANC in 1992.

Alliance crisis: PAC set for polls

ARG 18/12/93

(117)

CHRIS WHITFIELD
Weekend Argus Political Staff

NELSON Mandela yesterday personally intervened in the crisis surrounding the continuing absence of the Freedom Alliance from a political settlement, asking President De Klerk to meet African National Congress secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa on the issue.

At the same time, the Pan Africanist Congress has decided to take part in the April 27 election.

In-Umtata, the PAC's foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim confirmed, while briefing journalists at the movement's annual congress yesterday, that all branches and regions were bound by Wednesday's unanimous decision by the national executive council to contest the election.

And last night plans were being made for a late flurry of meetings — including a summit between Mr De Klerk and the Alliance leaders on Monday — to bridge the gaps before parliament's scheduled vote on the constitution on Wednesday.

The developments came as parliament yesterday began its historic debate on the constitution — kicked off with an unequivocal apology for apartheid by Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer on behalf of the government.

After Mr Mandela's phone call yesterday morning, Mr De Klerk and Mr Meyer met Mr Ramaphosa for an hour-and-a-half at the President's Tuynhuys offices. A spokesman in Mr De Klerk's office confirmed that the meeting was the result of a call from the ANC leader.

He said they had discussed the proposed amendments that the Inkatha Freedom Party

had made to the interim constitution. Mr Ramaphosa was non-committal after the meeting, confirming that it had taken place on Mr Mandela's initiative.

But, he stressed the ANC demand for the Alliance to commit itself to preparations for the election and to contesting the election: "The ball is firmly in the Freedom Alliance's court," he said.

Yesterday the IFP moved to dismiss reports that proposals might indicate differences with other Alliance parties.

IFP negotiator Walter Felgate said the IFP MPs were operating within a framework agreed to by the Alliance. "They are not negotiating. The Alliance has given them its bottom line," he said.

During the debate in parliament IFP-nominated MP Farouk Cassim had said he and other IFP MPs had held late-night meetings with government ministers on the amendments.

An Alliance source said last night that plans were being made for a meeting between Mr De Klerk and the Alliance leaders on Monday, probably in Cape Town.

Meanwhile, Mr Meyer opened the debate on the 223-page Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Bill by describing the arrival of an "exceptional day".

He also gave what appeared to be the first direct apology by the government for apartheid, saying:

"We, who were responsible for apartheid, are now saying that we want to leave that behind. We are saying we are sorry. But, we are also saying that we are now determined to rectify what went wrong," said Mr Meyer.

PAC to contest April elections

CP Correspondent and Sapa

THE PAC will participate in next year's election in spite of opposition from elements in its student and youth wings, PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim confirmed on Friday.

Briefing journalists at the PAC's annual congress in Umtata, Transkei, he said all branches and regions were bound by Wednesday's unanimous decision by the national executive council to contest the April 27 election.

Speaking before delegates started debating the issue in closed session, Ebrahim said every region was represented on the national executive committee and its decision was therefore binding on all regional structures.

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke said the debate on the NEC's decision was "not meant as window-dressing".

"We realise this is a crucial period in the history of our country and the input of conference is therefore very important."

The decision on the election was expected to spark heated debate, with opposition coming mainly from a self-styled "watchdog" group within the PAC student and youth affiliates.

Yesterday PAC president Clarence Makwetu told a media briefing that the PAC would not participate in the TEC.

Earlier, in his closing address to the congress he said: "... we shall not be part of the TEC until our aspirations and demands are met." He said the main problem with the TEC was that it had no power over the SADF and SAP.

■ See Page 4

Political comment and newsbills by ZB Molefe, headlines and sub-editing by B Keswa, all of 2 Herb Street, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

CIP1000 19/12/93

Makwetu lashes out at ANC

PAC president Clarence Makwetu blamed the ANC this week for clashes with his supporters in the Transkei and elsewhere.

(JIA)
Delivering his presidential address at the opening of the organisation's annual national conference on Thursday, he said the PAC and ANC were "at each other's throats - with all the provocation coming from the ANC".

The conference, being held at the University of Transkei, is to consider whether to participate in the April 27 election. However, Makwetu addressed the issue only indirectly, referring to the conference as a historic occasion.

"A critical juncture has arrived, not only in the history of Azania but in the

history of mankind. The whole country is looking at this conference with keen interest. This conference has to pronounce unambiguously on the coming April elections," he said.

Makwetu spoke in an overcrowded Great Hall filled with PAC supporters, shouting slogans such as "One settler, one bullet", and "Izwe Lethu" (our country).

Accompanied by two bodyguards who stood with rifles at the ready, he urged supporters to be responsible, and said they were there to forge a weapon to deliver a final blow to "racism and colonialism".

After the opening the conference went into closed session. - Eena

ANC, Nats stand fast against FA claims

By SEKOLA SELLO and Sapa

THE ANC yesterday remained adamant that they would not accommodate the Freedom Alliance's proposed amendments to the interim constitution - a position which dashes any chances of the conservatives rejoining constitutional talks. *C. P. Press*

And in what is seen as the hardening of attitudes by the ANC and government, Constitutional Affairs Minister Roelf Meyer lashed out at the FA for failing to take part in negotiations. *19/12/93*

ANC media spokesman Carl Niehaus told City Press yesterday that although they would like to see the FA as part of the constitutional process, their position remained unchanged - no changes would be allowed to the interim constitution.

"We are not going to give them (FA) more powers for the regions. This is final. Whatever discussions take place with them will be on the basis and within the framework of the interim constitution."

Hopes were raised late this week when ANC president Nelson Mandela called on the organisation's secretary general, Cyril Ramaphosa, to meet with State President FW de Klerk to try and resolve the constitutional deadlock resulting from the non-participation of the FA. *(SAPA)* *(FA)*

As a result of the meeting between Ramaphosa and De Klerk, who was accompanied by Meyer, it was believed that the two parties were contemplating some "carrots" to woo the FA back to the talks before Parliament votes on the interim constitution on Wednesday.

De Klerk is expected to meet with the FA leadership tomorrow as part of the ongoing process to bring them on board.

Niehaus said no "carrots" were being considered for the FA. However, he expressed the hope that the FA "would see reason and join the mainstream of South Africa politics".

Lashing out at the Conservative Party and Afrikaner Volksfront, Meyer said the right to resistance claimed by the two groups had no justification, because they had not taken part in the constitutional process.

Speaking in debate on the constitution, he said: "The CP cannot convincingly say that it exhausted all avenues in trying to get what they wanted."

In one instance the multiparty negotiating council had specifically set aside two days in July to give Inkatha, the KwaZulu Government and the CP the opportunity to make inputs on confederalism and sufficient consensus.



PROMISING ...
Trevor Manuel

World body honours Manuel

CP 11/2/93
TREVOR MANUEL, head of the ANC's economics department, has been named as one of four most promising global leaders of tomorrow by the Swiss-based World Economic Development Forum.

Confirming the award, Manuel said he was notified by post last week.

"The Forum annually lists a group of people as global leaders of tomorrow and they have named me as one for 1994. This is very pleasing as it represents world recognition of ANC economic policy," he said.

Yesterday Nathalie Bays, a spokeswoman for the Forum, confirmed that Mr Manuel was one of the 100 people from all over the world who will be invited to the foundation's annual meeting in Davos, Switzerland.

This is a week long business and economic summit which, in January last year, was attended by 20 heads of state or government, ministers from another 180 governments, 850 chief executives of the world's leading companies and 250 experts from the sciences, academia and the media.— Business Staff and Own Correspondent

SHOCK AT Boesak ON Boesak

A CABINET Minister this week used parliamentary privilege to launch a stinging personal attack on ANC Western Cape leader Dr Allan Boesak for living in "grand style" while claiming to represent the poor.

NP Minister of Population Development Jac Rabie quoted from an affidavit submitted to the Cape Supreme Court in May last year by Dr Boesak's wife, Elna, during divorce proceedings.

Mrs Boesak later withdrew her divorce action after the couple were reconciled. In terms of the law relating to divorce proceedings, the press is restricted to reporting only the barest details — but matters raised in parliamentary debates may be published. Illustrating Dr Boesak's alleged lavish lifestyle, Mr Rabie told Parliament he wanted to quote from Elna Boesak's affidavit, in which she set out details of her husband's financial situation.

"He is able to obtain substantial funds from overseas sources for his political and social work in South Africa," he quoted Mrs Boesak as saying. "He receives a substantial monthly income from the Foundation for Peace and Justice and also receives donations and grants from overseas sources."

"When he lectures overseas he receives remuneration therefore and he has also written books which provide him with royalties. "Some of his royalties are invested overseas and as these are received in foreign currency, they have a high value in South African rand terms."

"As an indication of his substantial monthly earnings and grants, he has managed to acquire, since his divorce in December 1990 (from his first wife, Dorothy), our Constantia home, which involved a deposit of R100 000 in cash, transfer and legal fees of approximately R25 000 and he has also financed the renovations of approximately R120 000. "He has further purchased an entire household of brand new furniture. The curtaining cost approximately R3 000, the Persian carpets approximately R12 000, the diningroom suite approximately R6 000. "One of the two lounge suites is made of leather and cost approximately R4 000."

Mr Rabie said the divorce papers added in the amounts mentioned in the more than R250 000. "He is in charge of the Foundation for Peace and Justice. Where did he get this type of money from? He talks about equal economic privilege for those he is supposed to represent," Mr Rabie said. "This is the type of hypocrisy of the ANC, whose leader, Nelson Mandela, recently in Stockholm called State President F W de Klerk and his cabinet a bunch of criminals."



ALLAN BOESAK

BY NORMAN WEST, Political Reporter

ANC's key men look for regional role

By RAY HARTLEY

11A

WITH Nelson Mandela set to become president after next April's elections, the ANC has turned its attention to who will rule the nine new provinces, as its regional election conferences across the country decide this weekend on nominees to both national and regional parliaments.

The ANC is expected to win a majority in at least seven provinces, with only the Western Cape and Natal being seriously contested by other parties.

SA's economic heartland, the PWV, will almost certainly be won by the ANC, and ANC regional leader Tokyo Sexwale is a clear favourite for the premiership.

ANC regional leaders say it is a foregone conclusion that he will be officially nominated for the provincial leadership at today's PWV regional nomination conference.

And the PWV region has decided that its officials should give priority to standing for the regional legislature so that they can continue their involvement in the organisation. Mr Sexwale is likely to continue as ANC PWV chairman while fulfilling his duties as provincial premier.

Less predictable is Natal where both the ANC and Inkatha could do well at the polls. While Inkatha will almost certainly opt for Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi as regional premier should they win in the region, the ANC could face a tough battle for the position between hardliners and moderates.

The ANC's Southern Natal, Northern Natal and Natal Midlands regions are scheduled to hold a conference in January to thrash out who will stand for the premiership and the regional legislature.

ANC southern Natal leader Jeff Radebe, traditionally a moderate, and self-styled Stalinist Harry Gwala are both obvious candidates for the premiership. But some ANC sources suggest that the organisation's most senior Zulu — deputy secretary general Jacob Zuma — may also be in the running.

The Western Cape region is also likely to be the scene of a closely contested election — this time between the ANC and NP. Should the ANC win, its current regional leader the Rev Allan Boesak is tipped as the most likely premier.

Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel has been tipped for the premiership should the NP win in the region.

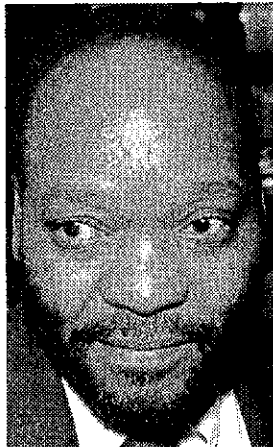
Other ANC figures who could occupy the office of regional premier are legal department head, Matthey Phosa, its most prominent ANC Eastern Transvaal figure, and local government head, Thozamile Botha, who enjoys much support in the Eastern Cape.

The ANC is expected to garner the strongest majority in the Northern Transvaal, but no candidates for the premiership of that region have yet emerged.

By Friday evening ANC Women's League president, Winnie Mandela, had not yet confirmed whether she would stand. Mrs Mandela has been nominated by several ANC branches and the ANC Youth League.



TOKYO SEXWALE
Clear PWV favourite



JACOB ZUMA
Possible Natal candidate

old comrades

S Times 19/12/93

By BRIAN SOKUTU

THE sound of gunfire echoes through the dusty Orlando Stadium in Soweto.

Excited ANC supporters ululate and chant.

Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres, clad in camouflage gear, run and dive on the pitch and leopard crawl.

You would think the cadres — from the 1960s Luthuli Detachment to the 1980s Young Lions — were preparing to do battle once more.

But, in fact, MK was officially disbanding after 32 years.

It was December 16, 1993.

On the podium to honour veterans of the armed struggle against apartheid were commander Joe Modise, commander-in-chief Nelson Mandela, commissar Andrew Maseko and chief-of-staff Siphiwe Nyanda.

Slain MK chief Chris Hani's widow, Limpho, accepted a posthumous medal for him.

Earlier, ANC peace desk



COMMANDERS . . . Nelson Mandela and Joe Modise

member Mondli Gungubele burst into song. "With the blood of Chris Hani, we shall be united," his tribute rang.

The posthumous honouring of other MK cadres was a touching moment for relatives. Mrs Hani wept.

David Moisi, one of those who bombed Sasol in 1980, described Thursday's parade as "a milestone in the history of MK".

"It marks a transition from apartheid to a new democratic South Africa. We risked our lives for freedom, but this is not a day to look back. It is a day to reflect profoundly on the future," he said.

Mr Nyanda described the event as "no normal celebration but a birthday".

Mr Modise, who will go down in history as the last

commander of MK, said of his army: "The formation of MK ushered in a new epoch in our struggle for liberation. It introduced a qualitatively new phase which fundamentally altered the course of history."

(11A)

"The impact of armed struggle combined with creative application of other complimentary forms of struggle was felt throughout the length and breath of our country."

A contingent of about 30 police in uniform — all members of the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union — received a standing ovation from the crowds when they marched alongside MK cadres.

The support ANC Women's League president Winnie Mandela enjoys within MK ranks was visible when she was mobbed by admiring young soldiers at the end of the event.

Mrs Mandela, dressed in military uniform, accepted a medal on behalf of an MK soldier.

ANC officials opt for public service

MARIANNE MERTEN

KEY ANC PWV officials such as Murphy Morobe and Thozamle Botha were not overlooked in last week's regional election candidate list, but had decided not to stand for election, the ANC said on Friday.

ANC PWV regional secretary Paul Mashatile said news reports had created the perception that these ANC officials had been omitted from the list. **BDA**

The ANC was holding discussions about future placements and some prominent officials would be moving into senior public service positions rather than parliamentary posts. **2012193**

For this reason, some officials had declined to stand for election, Mashatile said. All regional leaders were encouraged to stand for the regional election. **(11A)**

If elected, they would not be asked to step down from their regional positions in the ANC, Mashatile said.

The ANC had decided that only regional leaders should not stand for the national assembly.

Mashatile said one exception might be PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale, because the tripartite alliance wanted him in the position of regional premier.

All nominations were sent to the ANC national list committee whose duty it was to confirm whether the proposed candidates had accepted their nominations, Mashatile said.

For this reason he could not say whether ANC Women's League president Winnie Mandela had accepted her nomination.

WELFARE ...
POLITICAL ...

Govt closes loophole in gaming legislation

BIDA 20/12/93

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — Government has taken steps to close a loophole in legislation being used by hundreds of gambling machine operators.

The General Law Sixth Amendment Bill, which was tabled on Saturday, will amend the Gambling Act to close a loophole in terms of which gamblers are given vouchers entitling them to further games which are subsequently cashed in.

The amendment redefines the phrase "opportunity to play another game".

In terms of the redefinition such an "opportunity" must be restricted to playing the same game, and cannot, either directly or indirectly, be converted into money, property, cheques, credit or anything else of value.

The Bill — omnibus legislation amending a number of Acts — also places a ban on the illegal transportation by plane of drugs and animal products such as rhino horns and elephant tusks.

The ban currently covers only transportation of armaments.

Meanwhile, Gaming Association of SA joint chairman Grant Kaplan said at the weekend that establishing a gaming board was a good idea in principle, but the proposed amendments to the Gambling Act catered for vested interests to the detriment of the gaming industry.

MARCIA KLEIN reports Kaplan said his association, whose members are independent casino operators, was in principle happy with

the prospect of the establishment of a gaming board, as tabled in Parliament last week.

But it was concerned there was a potential conflict between the jurisdiction of the board and the jurisdiction of the separate regions, which would ultimately decide whether to grant licences.

Kaplan said the Bill seemed to favour Sun International over all other casino and gaming operations, as special dispensation had been made for casinos in the homelands.

He said the proposed legislation had been planned to be pushed through "with the least possible opposition and at the most inopportune time for opposition spokesmen to make substantive protest".

The association believed it would be preferable to allow existing gaming operations until a gaming board was established "and parameters have been established for licences to be granted".

Kaplan said many casinos operating in SA would seek licences "and run respectable operations employing many thousands of people".

They merely wanted some form of regulation of the casino industry, controlling "tax and the like".

Government had to do no more than look at the rest of Africa to see how responsible gaming boards and gaming industries could create significant wealth and opportunity for much of the population, he said.



While the PAC decided at the weekend that it should continue with the armed struggle, this member of the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe flourished her pistol for the last time at the ceremony in Soweto last week disbanding the organisation. Picture: ABDUL SHARIFF

PAC objects to SAP and SADF escaping TEC

BIDA 20/12/93

UMTATA — The "exclusion" of the SAP and SADF from the jurisdiction of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) was unacceptable, PAC president Clarence Makwetu said on Saturday at the closing session of the organisation's annual conference.

The conference did, however, unanimously endorse the PAC's par-

icipation in next year's election.

Makwetu said it would be "suicide" if the PAC's armed wing was subjected to the TEC while the security forces were not.

But the PAC remained committed to "a mutual cessation of hostilities" with government.

Commenting on reports that the

PAC had been evicted from its Johannesburg headquarters because of rental arrears, Makwetu said this was news to him.

Earlier on Saturday, the PAC announced the presence of two alleged police spies at the conference, said to have been instructed in Botshabelo near Bloemfontein. — Sapa.

Mandela calls for gradual change

ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday the rebuilding of SA had to begin immediately after the April election, but that change had to be gradual to meet black aspirations without scaring off whites. B/DQY 20112193

It could take several years for an ANC-led government to respond fully to black needs after 300 years of white supremacy, he said in an interview. (11A)

"A programme of national reconstruction and development must be launched immediately," he said.

But he said: "We are warning our people against exaggerated expectations. To address these questions it is necessary for us to mobilise resources.

He accused the NP government of conniving in the violence affecting black communities. He said this was intended to keep blacks from voting and prevent the ANC from winning a majority in the election.

It would also be a "tragic mistake" to underestimate the power of the white ultra-right to destabilise a democratic government. The ANC would make every effort to persuade them to rejoin the transitional process but would never concede a white homeland.

Black demands for land and better living standards could be addressed without touching white assets, he said.

Mandela predicted the ANC and its allies would win the election. But violence could result in 40% of blacks staying away from the polls. If that happened, the NP would have a chance of victory. — Reuter.

ANC candidate list tomorrow

(11A)

CT 20/12/93

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC's list of Western Cape candidates for regional and parliamentary elections will be announced tomorrow.

Voting for candidates took place at an elections conference at the Peninsula Technikon on Saturday and ballot boxes were flown to Johannesburg for counting by the Independent Mediations Service of South Africa.

Delegates at the weekend conference were drawn from the ANC (55%), Cosatu (20%), SA Communist Party (10%) and the Mass Democratic Movement (15%).

They had to choose from a list of over 1 000 aspirant candidates for the national assembly and 480 for the regional legislature.

Some names which were withdrawn at the last moment be-

Delegates voted in at Technikon

cause the proposed candidates had not indicated their willingness to be on the ANC lists included Archbishop Desmond Tutu, UWC rector Mr Jakes Gerwel, Mrs Dorothy Boesak, Dean Colin Jones and Mrs Adelaide Tambo.

Proposals for the regional legislature include Cape Town Olympic bid co-chairman Mr Ngconde Balfour, educationalist Mr Franklin Sonn, Muslim Judi-

cial Council leader Sheikh Nazeem Mohammed, table tennis player Cheryl Roberts, former DP Western Cape chairman Mr Bill Sewell and UCT Professor Mervyn Shear.

ANC PWV chairman Mr Tokyo Sexwale has been nominated for the post of premier to serve on the ANC's regional legislature in the election run-up.

Mr Sexwale will remain chairman of the PWV region while his nomination for head of the regional legislature is put forward.

Should Mr Sexwale win the position he will retain his regional title and continue with his regional duties.

● In Kimberley PAC member Mr Zakes Hlatshwayo was one of the people nominated yesterday to the ANC's Northern Cape regional leadership at the organisation's nominations conference.

Azapo calls for election boycott

Sowetan 20/12/93

THE Central Witwatersrand region of the Azanian People's Organisation vowed yesterday to campaign for a boycott of the coming election. (UFA)

Azapo regional chairman Mr Jeff Setshiro said in a statement read at a Press conference in Johannesburg that Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania firmly maintained their view that the impending elections were "fraudulent" and that the majority of black people "have been sold out by the Kempton Park decisions".

Setshiro said black people were falsely made to believe their liberation was vested in the "proposed" April election. He said Azapo and the BCMA would actively campaign, in the run-up to the "sham elections", for a boycott by educating blacks on their right not to vote.

"Azapo will expose the fact that the coming election has, as its sole purpose, the perpetuation of black people's bondage and to protect white minority interests and supremacy," he said.

Azapo would call upon black people not to vote and would "expose the lies ... invested in the euphoria surrounding the question of elections," said Setshiro. — Sapa.

focus on struggle

THERE IS GENERAL AGREEMENT that the high point of the struggle for freedom in South Africa was the uprising of 1976. Confronted by angry young black people, all authorities crumbled. The young people themselves deliberately meant to subvert all authority.

They directed their wrath against the authority of the conservative politics of survival of their parents and the authority of all divine institutions, including what they perceived to be the earthly manifestations of the latter.

This period heralded an era of the new politics of survival in SA. A new one because the old one had been eradicated by the political process that culminated in the uprisings of 1976. In SA, all politics of resistance is at the same time politics of survival.

This is a function of the ultra repression of the political system in the country. For this reason, the politics of the older community had always been characterised by a dimension of survival strategy.

These older members had learned to seek their own ways of surviving in the extremely repressive atmosphere of the post 1960 apartheid rule. The younger generation of black activists of the 1970s had appreciated the reasons for this politics of survival. Nevertheless, they vehemently, albeit creatively, opposed the adult population's version of survival politics.

The politics of the 1970s were not without violence. Many casualties were sustained. The difference is that the violence came from no other place than the fascist prisons of the regime. Activist after activist died. Their faces were relentlessly black. The white State's style of eliminating black opposition culminated in the death of Steve Biko on September 12 1977.

Populism

The period of the late 70s was that of intense political populism, the devastating results of which we are yet to overcome. At the close of the decade so characterised by political populism, thousands of black people had died in Natal, not to mention the number of homes and families destroyed.

Internecine political conflict led to many murders of comrades, with Azapo accusing and protesting to others like the ANC of murdering its members. In this period, the struggle for organisational hegemony intensified, ironically made worse by the ideological partisanship of international funding agencies.

As 1990 drew to a close, it became increasingly clear that black people had run into a crisis. In 1976, when black students invaded the streets to make political demands, they were acting out their break with liberal politics.

I have chosen to describe it as a break with liberal politics.

The uprisings of 1976 heralded an era of the new politics of survival in SA, Professor Itumeleng Mosala, Azapo president, said at the Biko Memorial Lecture:



Sowetan 2012/193

“We forgot that others fought struggles similar to our own”

politics in SA as a problem of historical amnesia. Since the beginning of the 80s, the struggle for liberation has been conducted as if black South Africans were the first people on the stage of history to conduct a liberation struggle. We did this to the pleasure and entertainment of those in the international communities and not least white South Africans, who controlled the funding purses.

Not only did we forget that others in the world had fought similar struggles to our own, but we also forgot that in our own history and within our own culture, there are venerable traditions of struggle from which we can learn.

In SA the apparently peculiar behaviour of the adult population of blacks bewildered the new generation of brave and committed revolutionaries who were evidently bereft of class analysis in addition to everything else. When the violence broke out in 1985, it seemed like things would get back to normal. We trusted the historical connection between the new generation and the old. The struggle was for human liberation and therefore it could not contradict itself.

Whatever we may think about Inkatha, the homeland leaders and community councillors, the way in which the situation in Natal was handled by the “liberation movements” leaves much to be desired. The feebleness of class analysis of situations in the process of struggle is responsible for this wrong handling of events like the above.

Despite a great deal of hot air about class analysis as opposed to racial analysis at the beginning of the 80s, very little, if any, has been applied to a variety of contexts that arose in struggle during this period.

We failed to de-Europeanise our class analysis of the traditional leaders and the puppets

imposed by the apartheid regime. We allowed a separation of culture and politics only because we disagreed with the unity of politics and culture as expressed by the SA government through its policy of tribal rule for blacks.

Cultural politics remained the domain of those who had acquiesced in the system. In short, we took our cue from the regime itself rather than developing our own initiative and alternatives.

The SA struggle was after all, highly Americanised by the time of the State of Emergency of 1985. It had become a struggle highly dependent on the media and on the floodlights. Indeed, through a relentless process of mediatisation, the leadership that had developed organically from within the communities in the 70s and before was converted into celebrities. In this way the struggle was reinvented.

It is worth remembering that the reporting of the struggle in the English media had for years been only a negative one. It was not until the uprisings of '76 and especially the death of Steve Biko that it began to receive sympathetic coverage in the media inside SA.

Media barred from attending

Consequently, most organisations never relied on the SA media for support of any kind. In most meetings inside the country, the media would actually be barred from attending. Their position on most issues was known even before the reporting took place.

Azapo has decided to re-establish the Black Community Programmes (BCP) and to rename it the Steve Biko Memorial Trust for Community Development and Social Transformation. The purpose is to create multiple infrastructures and projects owned and controlled by our people in an effort to make sure that they never have to sell their souls to anyone.

The first project under this trust will be the scholarship programme sponsored by the National Sorghum Breweries with an initial grant of R1 million. Other projects are in the process of being established with the purpose of promoting self-reliance and self-sufficiency. The aim is to engender a sense of dignity for black people and continue the struggle for true humanity in the best tradition of Biko's legacy.

Mandela now goes for the final hurdle

Sowetan 20/12/93

By Ike Motsapi

AFRICAN NATIONAL Congress president Nelson Mandela believes South Africa is on the threshold of a new era of hope, development and prosperity for all despite the threat of a "civil war" by rightwingers.

In a review of the year 1993, Mandela, in an interview with selected journalists yesterday, said much had been achieved through negotiations and that this augured well for the future.

Mandela said he was happy his talks with the Government in 1986 while in jail had led to the beginning of a new era in South Africa starting after the April 27 elections.

He said: "Through the ANC's effort, we have adopted a non-racial constitution. This is an historic achievement especially when you take into consideration that we had 26 political parties all pulling in different directions. Now, however, we have made progress.

Outside the process

"There are political forces which are outside the process, some of which are threatening to launch a civil war.

"In spite of that we are having discussions with all of them and are looking to the future with optimism because of the people of South Africa are behind the negotiation process.

"People who are outside this process are all from the minority groups. Nevertheless, we are talking to them."

He said the new democracy began with the establishment of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

"The TEC will ensure that all political parties will have a chance to compete in next year's general elections.

"The TEC is the first institution of government reflects the population mix in the country.

Powers of government

"It is an institution which is already beginning to assume powers of government and its seven sub-councils ensure that it will be able to exercise that power.

"Firstly, it will make sure that the Independent Electoral Commission will take control of the elections from the regime and place it in the hands of the people themselves.

"It is going to ensure that the South African Broadcasting Corporation is now going to be developed into an independent body and not a propaganda tool for any party or government.

"There is a sub-committee on defence and far-reaching steps have been taken to merge all the armed formations in the country.

"The TEC is already an institution of government which signals the demise of white rule in this country and the beginning of a new democratic society which reflects the aspirations of all South Africans."

Threat of war

The ANC leader said the threat of civil war by the rightwingers should not be underestimated because they were fairly powerful in spite of the fact that they represented a minority.

He said: "During the last general elections the white vote was split between the Conservative Party and the National Party.

"But the rightwingers won close to a million voters during the referendum last year. They have a substantial following in the civil service, police, army and they also man key installations such as energy and fuel and could therefore paralyse any gov-

RIGHTWING MENACE *Racist*

fanatics can do serious damage to

South Africa's future — ANC leader:

ernment.

"To acknowledge those facts does not mean the peace forces are not powerful or unable to control the situation.

"But one must be realistic. Umkhonto we Sizwe, which at the beginning was much smaller than anything the rightwing could offer and inexperienced, was able to hit wherever we wanted in spite of the government deploying its forces to guard key installations.

"So, the rightwing could cause a lot of damage. However, we believe that whatever damage they could cause, the democratic peace force will be able to put the fire out," Mandela said.

Mandela said the ANC held talks last week with President FW de Klerk and the leader of the Democratic Party, Dr Zach de Beer.

"The meeting was to stress to these two leaders that the interim constitution should be adopted as agreed by the Multiparty Negotiating Council at Kempton Park.

"Secondly, as with Mr de Klerk, we discussed the demands made by the Freedom Alliance.

"These are normal talks between myself and De Klerk to discuss the fears and demands of small groups and how to address them. 20/12/93

Fear of elimination (IIA)

"Although some of the fears might be baseless, they may be genuine in that some political parties fear that they will be eliminated after the elections.

"We have to find ways of assuring them that they have nothing to fear," said Mandela.

Are parties like the Inkatha Freedom Party fearful they will also be eliminated?

Mandela replied: "Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has confirmed this. His last statement on Radio 702 confirmed this.

"He said he will not take part in the forthcoming elections because to do so will be to tie a noose around his neck.

"Buthelezi said as a result of those elections the ANC will become a dictator. That's a confession that he does not think he has a chance of surviving the elections.

"So, those fears are there and they have been expressed."

Voter education

Mandela said the ANC was ready for the elections and that voter education would play a crucial role in bringing the people to the polls.

He said the ANC was aware an estimated 22 million voters could go to the polls, adding: "An intensive campaign has been launched. We are deploying about 2 000 structures throughout the country to help in voter education.

"We are also opening offices throughout the country to be nearer the people. We also need transport especially on election day so that we can take people to the polling booths.

"We have to make sure that our house-to-house campaign is effective.

"We are also concentrating on bread and butter issues during the campaign. We will be addressing issues such as unemployment which is at 50 percent, housing, education, disease and so on.

"We have also launched the People's Forum where people, instead of leaders, do the talking."

(IIA)

Sowetan

POLITICAL enemies, working round the clock, appear tantalisingly close to an all-inclusive settlement

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — The Government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance launched a 24-hour task force this morning in a last-ditch bid to bring the dissenting alliance into the country's political settlement.

This follows five hours of meetings between Government and the FA last night and sources said it amounts to a tentative step towards an all-inclusive settlement.

FA negotiator Rowan Cronje said: "All we are saying is that it is 11.59 and 59 seconds let's solve this problem."

The development also comes after news that an accord was about to be reached between the ANC and Afrikaner Volksfront on the vexed issue of Afrikaner self-determination.

It was agreed during last night's marathon session in the parliamentary complex that each of the three groups would send five representatives to the task force, scheduled to begin its work this morning and then report at 8 am tomorrow.

If agreement is reached, there will be just enough time to get through the procedures required for amendments to be made to the constitution before it is put to the vote in Parliament on Wednesday.

According to a joint Government/FA/ANC statement the task force will be mandated to "consider" and come to agreements on:

■ A commitment to the process — as demanded by the Government and the ANC of the FA.

■ Changes to the interim constitution proposed by the FA. The FA's major demands centre on giving more power and autonomy — including taxation powers — to provinces.

It also wants provisions written into the constitution allowing the provinces to write their own constitutions, subject only to the endorsement of the constitutional court. And changes to those clauses of the constitution affecting regions should only be made with the approval of the senate, which will be made up of provincial representatives, it says.

Other changes it wants include the renaming of Natal as KwaZulu/Natal and for voters to be given the right to cast a ballot at both national and provincial level.

A Government source described the task force as a "make or break" attempt to find a solution.

The stakes are high: FA negotiator Cronje said the task force would decide whether the new South Africa was born with all parties playing a constructive role or "in division, enmity and antagonism".

▶ To Page 3

Last-ditch bid to get FA in fold

◀ From Page 1

In effect the task force's deliberations will probably decide whether the country can move away from the threat of civil war. *Star 2012193*

The meeting followed one on Saturday between Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and FA members. That meeting ended with Meyer asking the FA to phrase its proposals in a legal framework and to bring back a mandate for them from their leaders.

Yesterday morning Cronje phoned Meyer to say it would be done. A breakthrough agreement would trigger a spate of moves to ensure that the amendments can be included in the interim constitution when it is put to the vote in Parliament on Wednesday.

However, it was clear that there is still one critical gap between the parties. That is the demand by the Government that there should be a commitment by the FA to participating in elections and the preparation for it — including the Transitional Executive Council — should agreement be reached.

The FA argues that the fact it is negotiating in good faith implies such an agreement. Cronje also said that documentation it had provided to the Government made this clear: "We have given them the commitment." However, Government negotiators apparently want this stated explicitly.

■ Meanwhile, Parliament has been told that the AWB may have drawn up plans to wage civil war. Reading from documents apparently handed to the national peace secretariat, National Party MP Johan Steenkamp said the plan reeked of racism and nazism.

The documents contain plans for mass graves for "kaffirs" and say that "no kaffirs or non-whites" will be allowed into specially created AWB camps.

Task force in last-ditch bid to solve the Freedom Alliance problem

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Star 2012193

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Task force in last-ditch bid to solve the Freedom Alliance problem

It's 11.59 and 59 seconds

Star 20/12/93

nds

Azapo calls for blacks to boycott the election

2012193
BIBSAJ
JOHANNESBURG

AZAPO called yesterday for a boycott of the April election and an intensification of armed struggle.

Addressing a media briefing in Eldorado Park outside Johannesburg, Azapo branch secretary Donne Reece said the election was "fraudulent" and any government voted in would be illegitimate.

"We have already started with our education campaign, telling our people of Azania why they should not vote and that our liberation army, Azanla, will not disband because the Kempton Park government has not delivered," Reece said.

His organisation would do everything in its power to stop people voting. "We would not stop people from going to the voting stations but we would not respect the government of the day."

Azapo's Central Witwatersrand region said the organisation and the

Black Consciousness Movement of Azania maintained their view that the election was fraudulent and that most black people had been sold out at multiparty talks.

"Black people are falsely made to believe that their liberation is vested in the proposed election. (IA)

"Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement will actively participate in the process in the run-up to the sham elections and will, in the coming weeks and months, actively campaign for a boycott by educating black people on their right not to vote," it said.

Black people were dying daily while their whites counterparts were living in fortified houses with 24-hour security.

Reece said he was not prepared to divulge details of who Azapo was aiming its military attacks at.



Azapo held a news conference near Johannesburg yesterday to call for a boycott of the April 27 election. Eldorado Park branch secretary Donne Reece, left, and Witwatersrand chairman Jeff Selthiro addressed the media. Picture: GARTH LUMLEY

PAC won't take part in peace force

Star 20/12/93

■ OWN CORRESPONDENT

Even if an agreement is reached on the suspension of the armed struggle, the Pan Africanist Congress will not take part in the proposed national peacekeeping force.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said in an interview after the PAC conference ended on Saturday that the PAC would set up an alternative to the peacekeeping force.

"There is no way we can be part of people who preach peace and commit atrocities at the same time," Alexander said. The PAC would rather train communities to protect themselves.

"The Peace Accord is a dead duck. We don't want to be engaged with charities which have no chance of success."

He said that as soon as agreement had been reached on the mutual cessation of hostilities, the PAC would overhaul its army and swell the ranks of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla). (WA)

"Once there's an agreement, we will, with the assistance of the Organisation of African Unity, introduce a ranking system to prepare for participation in a defence force of a new type."

"We will also embark on a programme to push our army strength, by establishing more units, to swell Apla membership from 12 000 to at least 25 000," Alexander said.

The PAC decided at its fourth national conference in Umtata at the weekend that it had not abandoned armed struggle and rejected participation in the Transitional Executive Council.

The cessation of armed hostilities is the main obstacle to the PAC's participation in the TEC. However, the organisation decided to take part in the April 27 election.

Sexwale set to be PWV kingpin

BY HELEN GRANGE

The ANC's PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale looks set to be the kingpin of the important PWV region following his nomination yesterday to head the PWV regional legislature.

The nomination was the outcome of voting by the Tripartite Alliance regional nominations conference in Johannesburg, where candidates were nominated for both national and regional parliaments.

The ANC is expected to win a majority in at least seven of

the nine new provinces, with only the Western Cape and Natal being seriously contested by other parties.

Sexwale, in an interview after his nomination, said that if his party won in the PWV, he would immediately begin addressing the problem of unemployment and lack of housing and infrastructure in the region — "a very big challenge".

Sexwale also said one of his priorities would be to assist in creating opportunities for workers and small businessmen to take part in industry.

2012/193
star
"As the frontline of Mandela's government, and as the economic engine of the country, the PWV will need to be effective and efficient. We will have to work very hard to deliver," Sexwale said.

(11F)

He would remain chairman of the PWV region while his nomination for head of the regional legislature was put forward, according to ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa.

Voting for nominations for the national constituent assembly was under way and the results were expected this week, Ma-

moepa said.

The ANC expected to nominate 200 candidates for the constituent assembly, 133 for the regional legislature and 59 for the regional representatives to serve in the constituent assembly.

FormerPAC member Zakes Hlatshwayo was nominated yesterday to the ANC's northern Cape regional leadership at the organisation's nominations conference in Kimberley.

The ANC's present regional chairman, Manne Dipico, was nominated for the position of regional premier.

PAC urges negotiating council session

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

THE Pan-Africanist Congress today called on the negotiating council to meet within 48 hours to debate the "underhand and unilateral action on the part of the government and the African National Congress".

PAC constitutional negotiator Patricia de Lille said the ANC and the government were only two of the negotiation parties

which had brought about the interim constitution.

Their efforts to accommodate the Freedom Alliance could lead to changes in the interim constitution.

"Any amendment to the interim constitution not agreed upon by the 21 negotiating parties is illegal."

Meanwhile, the movement said lack of action by President De

PREG 20/12/93
Klerk against the rightwing was to blame for the "murderous plans" of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging. ~~304~~ (11A)

The only guarantee for peace and successful elections was joint control of all armed forces.

The movement said statements by the police that they were monitoring the activities of the rightwing instead of preventing the killing of blacks smacked of "insensitivity and racism".

Govt 'fomented violence'

By Ike Motsapi

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday accused President FW de Klerk and his administration of being involved in violence that is sweeping the country.

Mandela said De Klerk was doing this because he still hoped that he would be president of the new democratic South Africa after the April 1994 elections.

Officials involved

He said there was "strong evidence" that senior government officials were involved in the violence claiming many of blacks lives daily.

Mandela, who was speaking to *Sowetan* in his office at Shell House, Johannesburg, said the

Alleged Azanla 30 refused bail

By Russel Molefe

THIRTY alleged Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla) cadres arrested in connection with possession of arms in Lebowa last month were refused bail when they appeared in the Pietersburg Regional Court on Friday.

Magistrate Mr J Steyn was told earlier by Lieutenant Johan van Wyk that the accused would abscond or interfere with State witnesses if granted bail. He said their release may also hamper police investigations.

The accused have not yet been formally charged. They were arrested in a cave.

Charges of terrorism, intimidation and contravention of the Arms and Ammunition Act are being investigated.

ELECTION STRATEGY

Mandela says

mayhem aimed at scaring away black voters:

violence was orchestrated by the Government in order to discourage about 40 percent of black voters from going to the polls during the elections.

Main aim

He said the main aim of the violence by the Government was to pit "African against African" and to see to it that President de Klerk would still be in power after the elections.

"The ANC is aware of some senior State officials' involvement in the violence which is between Africans. We are of the view that this is just a way of discouraging black voters from the

polls next year. "We are aware that surveys have shown that the ANC will achieve an outright majority if elections were held now and even the Government knows this.

"The ANC is (also) aware that the National Party enjoys the support of whites, coloureds and Indians. De Klerk believes that if many blacks stay away from polls this will give him the chance to lead the country after the elections."

Mandela said the ANC was "catching up on him fast" by winning the support of Indian and coloured people.

● See Page 9

Tokyo gets nod from ANC

By Lulama Luti

TRANSPARENCY, communication and coordination would be top on the agenda of the African National Congress PWV regional parliament, ANC PWV chairman Mr Tokyo Sexwale said yesterday.

Speaking shortly after his nomination as ANC regional premier, Sexwale said while it would be business as usual for him, it would be business with a difference.

Urgent attention

"The mandate given to us as from today offers a wider area to cover and our responsibility will go beyond the confines of the organisation and the tripartite alliance," he said.

Among the issues he cited as needing urgent

attention were the continuing violence on the East Rand, health, housing, education. All of them formed part of the ANC's socio-economic development programme.

As regional premier, Sexwale will head the region's parliament after next year's April 27 elections.

Elected unanimously

Sexwale was elected unanimously for the post at the region's election conference at the Jiss Centre in Mayfair, Johannesburg.

The conference was held in order to nominate 200 candidates to represent the ANC in both the national and regional parliaments.

Similar nomination conferences are being held in other major centres throughout the country and the results would be available later in the week.

NEWS Election manifesto to be revealed in mid-January

PAC yes to poll

Sowetan 20/12/93

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

THE Pan Africanist Congress decided at its national conference in Umtata at the weekend to participate in the April 27 elections. (11A)

The PAC also said its election manifesto was still being drafted and would be revealed in mid-January.

The organisation said it had not abandoned the armed struggle and rejected participation in the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

It said its participation was central to its demand on the re-formulation of provisions of the TEC sub-council on defence regarding the armed struggle and joint control of armed formations.

The cessation of armed hostilities is the main obstacle to the PAC's partici-

pation in the TEC.

PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said in an interview that even if an agreement was reached on the suspension of the armed struggle, the organisation would not participate in the proposed national peacekeeping force.

He said the PAC would set up an alternative to the peacekeeping forces.

"There's no way we can be part of people who preach peace and and commit atrocities at the same time," he said.

Alexander said the PAC would rather train the communities to protect themselves.

"The Peace Accord is a dead duck," he said.

Alexander said as soon as an agreement had been reached on the mutual cessation of hostilities, the PAC would overhaul its army and swell the ranks of the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

Winnie lashes out at De Klerk

Sowetan 20/12/93
AFTER two years of virtual isolation, Mrs Winnie Mandela stepped up her political comeback with a vengeance yesterday, lashing out at President FW de Klerk and calling his supporters "criminals".

"Vote National Party and you vote to legalise murder," the estranged wife of African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela, told about 5 000 cheering supporters at Cloetesville, 40km outside Cape Town.

She was speaking at a rally to honour the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe. (1A)

"These criminals, the National Party, have the audacity to put on a moronic advert," she said and described the NP as the "stupidity of the last kicks of a dying horse".

Calling De Klerk a "so-called head of state", she said he had accepted this year's Nobel Peace Prize with hands "dripping with the blood of our people". De Klerk and Mr Mandela shared this year's prize. — Sapa-AP.

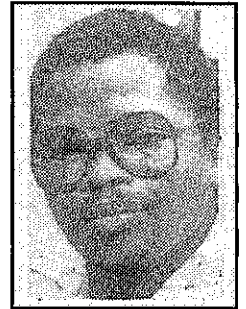
focus on the PAC

Sowetan 21/12/93

Pan Africanist Congress president

Mr Clarence Makwetu at the organisation's annual congress in Umtata at the weekend quoted a Buddhist saying:

"Not at any time are enemies appeased through enmity, but they are appeased through non-enmity. This is eternal law." Political Correspondent **Themba Molefe** reports:



THE PAC's national executive council managed to convince its militant constituency to participate in the transitional government and April 27 elections.

Makwetu's address to the fourth national conference of the PAC set the tone for the acceptance by the PAC component structures to contest South Africa's first nonracial election.

It was indeed a different PAC — one would say a tame PAC — which listened and followed the path its leader charted. Gone was the militant rhetoric that has characterised PAC events.

Slogan of the day

(IIP)

Even the "one settler, one bullet" slogan was not heard. Peace, reconciliation and unity were the slogans of the day. Even Mr Johnson Mlambo, deputy commander of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), was moderate in his address.

"This is not the time for creating any divisions. It's time for unity," Makwetu said.

Fear, Makwetu observed, ruled South Africa today.

"The life of man today is corroded and made bitter by fear. Fear of the future, fear of ideologies and fear of being outsmarted.

"To me this is a greater danger than danger itself, because it is fear that drives people to act foolishly, thoughtlessly, dangerously and even pretend to be brave," Makwetu said.

A few hours later, the PAC conference ratified a decision by the NEC to participate in elections.

While Makwetu and the PAC extended the olive branch, he was steadfast on the role of the PAC in the Transitional Executive Council and the armed struggle, which is currently on a temporary moratorium.

Mutual cessation

Makwetu was, however, optimistic that a mutual cessation of hostilities agreement would be reached in bilateral meetings with the Government.

In a post-conference interview, PAC general secretary Mr Benny Alexander said the organisation participated in the elections because the "best way to stop the Government for going on as it does is by taking over".

By participating in the elections, the PAC would have the opportunity to implement majority rule or cause a constitutional crisis.

And, as Makwetu said in his opening speech, the PAC conference indeed pronounced itself "clearly and unambiguously" on the April election.

Speeches or statement

However, although not said in formal speeches or statements, the PAC is not interested in participating in the Transitional Executive Council and will not. What was clear is: The organisation is interested in elections and says it is ready.



The PAC will take part in the elections says PAC president Clarence Makwetu.

This election, says Alexander, will be a contest between the PAC, African National Congress, National Party and Democratic Party.

And the PAC will win, Alexander says. "Go home and preach unity like never before," Makwetu told his followers at the end. "Unity might ensure victory and peace. The PAC is in."

“The best way to stop the Government for going on as it does is by taking over”

Talks with alliance hit snags

BIDEN 21112KFB
ADRIAN HADLAND

CAPE TOWN — A task force of negotiators from the Freedom Alliance, government and the ANC were locked in discussions last night in a final attempt to reach an all-inclusive constitutional settlement.

The 15-member task force had until 8am today to reach an agreement on outstanding issues that would pave the way for the inclusion of the alliance in next year's election.

With a news blackout imposed on the task group's deliberations, little indication had been received by last night of whether an agreement was likely.

An alliance statement said ANC task team leader Cyril Ramaphosa had dismissed the alliance's demands as "being far too extensive".

These demands included

extended powers for regions, a one-ballot electoral system and constitutional leeway for Afrikaner self-determination.

The task team seemed to have gotten caught up on the first item on the agenda — the question of whether the alliance was prepared to commit itself to the elections prior to final agreement, a source said.

This has been a sticking point since government made commitment to participation in the elections a precondition to amending the constitution.

"We are not any closer (to a deal) than we were this morning," Ramaphosa said during a supper break.

Inkatha Freedom Party MP Hennie Bekker said:

"The process is balancing

on a knife-edge".

Alliance negotiator Rowan Cronje said it would be a "tragedy of enormous consequences" if discussions on the second half of the agenda — the alliance's 13 demands — were not even reached.

If an agreement is reached, there is still time for amendments to be ratified by the negotiating council and included in the constitution.

If not, an early Parliamentary session may be called for January in which a Constitutional Amendment Bill could be discussed.

President F W de Klerk said a summit of leaders would be necessary, in the event of a finalised agreement, to publicly endorse parties' and government's response.

New party

Political Staff

THE ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance might find itself in serious trouble next year if a party yet to be launched, tentatively called the Mass Workers' Party (MWP), gets its way. (11A)

The MWP, whose launch may not come before the April 27 election, has as one of its objectives "the breaking-up of the ANC-Cosatu-SACP" alliance, according to a statement issued by Salim Vally, a spokesman for an MWP conference to be held in February.

Mr Vally said a number of people within unions affiliated to Cosatu were in favour of the establishment of a workers' party.

ARG. 21/12/93



Threat to ANC alliance

Sowetan Correspondent

THE ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance might find itself in trouble next year if a party yet to be launched, tentatively called the Mass Workers' Party, gets its way.

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■ WORKERS PARTY To be

launched to fight elections:

Sowetan 21/12/93

A spokesman for the national preparatory committee for a MWP conference to be held in February, Vally said a number of people within some trade unions affiliated to the ANC-leaning Cosatu were in favour of the establishment of a workers' party. (11A)

He said some of these people, who

were party to the formation of the conference preparatory committee, have come from unions such as the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, the Chemical Workers' Industrial Union, the Paper, Printing, Pulp and Allied Workers' Union and the National Education, Health and Allied Workers'

Union.

Vally said a movement for a MWP would be formed early next year and the possibility of the movement contesting the April 27 elections would be discussed.

He said the preparatory committee for the MWP was opposed to a government of national unity which would not "take forward working class interests".

"Nevertheless, the MWP conference in February might decide to contest the elections in order to expose this fraud and highlight the demands of the working class," Vally said.

Star 21/12/1

Dispute over ANC press card

BY HELEN GRANGE

The ANC's practice of issuing accreditation cards to journalists has been called into question by media organisations concerned about the right of free and unbiased access to political events, particularly over the election period.

Last week the ANC's department of information and publicity issued a notice advising that: "All journalists requiring ANC media accreditation for 1994 (and for the election) please fax a list of names and addresses

Reacting yesterday to the advisory, Conference of Editors chairman Richard Steyn said the conference felt strongly that editors should issue official press cards and that it should not be necessary for any political party to accredit journalists.

A spokesman for the SA Union of Journalists reiterated yesterday that

the union supported the principle that media accreditation be the responsibility of journalists' organisations only.

Media Workers' Association of SA assistant general secretary Themba Hlatshway endorsed this view.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus replied yesterday that the ANC cards were issued by the organisation on an annual basis but were not compulsory.

Unique

John Battersby, of the Foreign Correspondents' Association, said the FCA had not objected to the ANC's issuing of media accreditation as the present transitional situation in the country was unique and the cards were just a "facility".

"But as soon as the transition is over, there should be only one card, because to have more than one has the effect of undermining one's position as a journalist."

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NEGOTIATORS emerge empty-handed after FA refuses to commit itself to the electoral process

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Prospects for a peaceful transition looked bleak today as the Government-ANC-Freedom Alliance task force gathered for their final attempt to reach agreement on the new constitution.

This followed yesterday's marathon 10-hour talks session which ended in deadlock.

The special 15-man task force — five members from each organisation — left the parliamentary complex empty-handed shortly before 11 pm after they failed to agree on an ANC demand for an FA commitment to take part in next year's elections and to participate in the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

Exhausted negotiators were grim-faced today as they gathered at 8 am back at Parliament. As talks resumed this morning it was clear that both the FA — which includes the CP and the IFP — and ANC had not shifted from their positions which led to last night's stalemate.

Time pressures are mounting: the draft constitution which the FA wants changed before it will become part of a settlement is due to be voted on by Parliament tomorrow. This makes a breakthrough extremely unlikely.

Government negotiator Dawie de Villiers said: "We need a miracle."

At separate press conferences last night the FA put the blame squarely on ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, while De Villiers signalled exasperation at the FA's intransigence. (S) (IA)

FA chairman Rowan Cronje said Ramaphosa had introduced new demands — including one insisting that individual FA leaders commit themselves to the process in writing.

He said that, with a few amendments, the FA could live with the Government position but not with the ANC's demands. "I have never been as disappointed and as sad as I am now. I appealed on several occasions that we have an awesome responsibility on our

▶ To Page 3

Push for 'a miracle' after long talks fail

Star 21/12/93

◀ From Page 1

shoulders," said Cronje.

But De Villiers said the ANC had softened its demand for an unconditional commitment by the FA to participate in preparations and the election — including the TEC.

The ANC had in effect adopted the Government position — that the commitment should be conditional to agreement being reached, said De Villiers. "I don't think, in essence, that our position differs fundamentally from what the ANC required."

The mammoth round of talks yesterday barely touched on substantive issues as the parties became bogged down on the commitment issue. (S) (IA)

In essence the ANC and the Government — wary that the FA's leaders may renege on any deal — are demanding an up-front commitment to the transitional process from the FA.

The FA says it has in effect given that commitment, but it was clear last night that the alliance is showing some reluctance about becoming part of the TEC.

Observers suggested a special session of Parliament might be called next month to accommodate further amendments — leaving a gap for the FA but others say neither side was willing to budge and the issue now was really about "attaining the moral high ground".

Star 21/12/93

Govt-ANC-FA task force retires empty-handed after hours of talks

Task force retires empty-handed after hours of talks

'miracle'

Makwetu's 'mandate to end PAC struggle'

□ Go-ahead to negotiate on laying down of arms

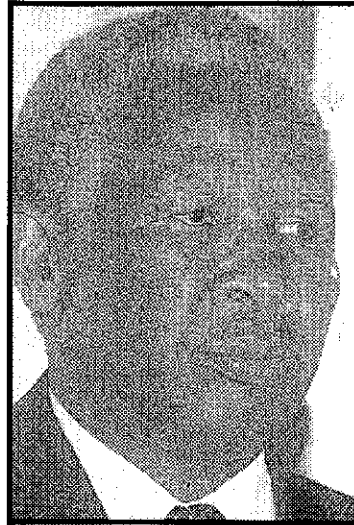
Political Staff

ARMED with a fresh mandate to seek an agreement on a "mutual cessation of hostilities", Pan Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu will now assume full responsibility for negotiations with the government on conditions on which his organisation will suspend its armed struggle.

Mr Makwetu, who PAC sources have privately praised for his "inspiring performance" at the three-day Umtata congress which ended at the weekend, was given the go-ahead to negotiate an end to the PAC's armed struggle.

This, said the sources, would be done once conditions put to Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel by PAC defence secretary and Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) commander Sabelo Phama at their last meeting in Zimbabwe have been met.

These include the release of all arrested Apla cadres and "remaining political prisoners", as well as undertakings by the gov-



Clarence Makwetu

ernment to ensure the police and the Defence Force "do not engage in any violence against the African people and PAC members", to dissolve the commando units "within a mutually agreed time frame" and "not to hunt down or arrest Apla members".

^(11A)
ARG 21/12/93
PAC sources also disclosed that the overwhelming majority of the delegates at the congress had voted in favour of taking part in next year's elections. All Transvaal and most Natal and Free State regions were in favour of contesting the elections, while the anti-election lobby was led by the organisation's Western Cape region.

The Border region also wanted the PAC to fight the elections, according to sources.

The sources said that although the congress had decided against the PAC's participation in the Transitional Executive Council, it had agreed that the organisation could take its seat on the multi-party body if thorough-going joint control of the security forces was agreed upon.

The PAC, which has always struggled financially, reconfirmed its long-held principle that it should be self-sufficient, but also appealed for funds from anyone to enable it to fight the elections effectively. Such financial help, it said, would have to be without conditions.

Govt, ANC talks

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

HOPES for the inclusion of conservatives and rightwing parties in the constitutional settlement for South Africa were dashed late last night.

The Government, African National Congress and Freedom Alliance deadlocked about 10pm at the HF Verwoerd Building in Parliament in Cape Town.

The FA said it wanted to consult its principals and a meeting would continue between the three parties this morning.

This was after a whole day's trilateral meeting to woo the rightwingers into accepting and participating in next year's April 27 nonracial election.

fail to woo FA

Sowetan 21/12/93

The FA refused to give its commitment to accept "a democratic outcome" against the background of multi-party negotiations at the World Trade Centre. (11A)

Late last night the FA and Government held separate Press conferences to explain their positions.

ANC chief negotiator Mr Cyril Ramaphosa told Sowetan that his organisation would lay down its position and would not compromise.

"All we want from them is a commitment to accept a democratic outcome of the constitutional process," Ramaphosa said.

Meanwhile, debate on the interim constitution

ended in Parliament last night.

President FW de Klerk was expected to sign into law the new Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act of 1993 tomorrow, effectively sealing the end of the last white Parliament.

However, this depends on the voting of the joint tricameral parliamentary seating today.



Failed attempt . . . but ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma stresses at a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday that the postponement of the signing ceremony was not the "end of the road".

PICTURE: JOAO SILVA

ANC-Volksfront agreement delayed as FA deal fails

Star 22/12/93

BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Failed attempts to include the Freedom Alliance in the negotiated settlement have led to the postponement of an agreement between the ANC and Afrikaner Volksfront. (11A) (S.A.P.A.)

The signing of the agreement was postponed after it became clear that talks between the Government, ANC and FA were not progressing in Cape Town.

The "Memorandum of Agreement" was endorsed by the top six ANC leaders, including the organisation's president Nelson Mandela. It is understood that it had also been approved by the FA.

Betrayed

The proposed agreement included provisions for the AVF — an FA member — to have considered taking part in the Transitional Executive Council and the April election should a final settlement have been reached by the end of January between the AVF and the ANC.

At a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, AVF leader General Constand Viljoen and ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma stressed that the postponement of the signing ceremony was not the "end of the road".

The two delegations are scheduled to meet today.

Announcing the decision not to sign the document, Viljoen said: "The attitude of the people in the Cape may have dashed the last opportunity of finding a peaceful settlement for South Africa, at least for the time being. We feel betrayed."

The AVF leader said that signing the agreement yesterday

could have resulted in a rift within the FA.

A second reason was the Government's refusal to submit AVF amendments to the Interim Constitution to Parliament. "For reasons which are not clear to me, the Government has decided, after discussion with certain representatives of the ANC, not to enter these amendments into the Constitution.

"This to me is a red light and I get the impression that the people are not taking us seriously and that there is very little regard for the efforts that we as a joint negotiating team made."

Zuma told the press conference that the agreement sent "a clear message that we can reach a solution without going the route of a bloodbath".

Viljoen repeatedly stressed that the only solution to the country's constitutional problems was negotiations.

In terms of the "Memorandum of Agreement" between the AVF and the ANC, a working group would be established to examine the viability of a volkstaat; the civil rights of Afrikaners outside the volkstaat and those of non-Afrikaners within the volkstaat; and the white homeland's relationship to central government. The group is to report to the leaders by January 20.

■ Asked whether he could control his followers, Viljoen said: "Up to now we have really succeeded in exercising a sense of responsibility. I will call on our supporters to remain calm and to be wise in their attitude. I am worried because of the degree of impatience."

Commenting on the possibility of civil war, he said: "It is not my policy to threaten war. Tension is arriving at breaking point."

Star 22/12/93
**Mokaba in hot
water over call
to aim at ISU**

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba has landed in hot water again — this time for reportedly urging mourners at a funeral to "direct your guns against the ISU (the SAP's Internal Stability Unit) rather than your own brothers".

The Law and Order Ministry reacted with outrage yesterday. Spokesman Craig Kotze charged that the comments amounted to an "open incitement to violence and the murder of policemen".

Mokaba reportedly made the remark at a Katlehong funeral for 10 ANC members killed in clashes, apparently between the Youth League and ANC-aligned self-defence units.

Mokaba could not be contacted yesterday.

(11A)

D-day for last white

Sowetan 22/12/93

Parliament

By Themba Molefe and Bongani Mavuso

SOUTH AFRICA EDGED to a constitutional crisis yesterday with the failure of a joint African National Congress and Government effort to get a commitment from the Freedom Alliance. But if the FA, through the Inkatha Freedom Party and Conservative Party, manage to secure an amendment to fulfil its demands, this would mean reopening the whole multiparty negotiations process for approval of those changes and put the country back to first base.

The tricameral Parliament rises today after the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act of 1993 is adopted by the last white-dominated Government.

Talks broke down yesterday after the five-party FA refused to meet the ANC/Government demand that it take part in transitional constitutional structures, the April 27 elections or accept the outcome of the process as legitimate.

The trilateral negotiations continued late last night in Cape Town and were to only begin dealing with substantive constitutional issues then.

Central to the conflict is the FA's demand for the right to self-determination which it wants entrenched in the interim constitution.

Although this has a different meaning to the five parties comprising the FA, the demand means the

question of an Afrikaner volkstaat to the rightwing Afrikaner Volksfront which includes the Conservative Party. (SOWETA) (IIF)

Sowetan was reliably told yesterday that the ANC was prepared to walk out of the meeting at any time and had had enough of the rightwing problem. ANC chief negotiator Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said on Monday that commitment to the outcome of the process was non-negotiable.

Meanwhile, the ANC and the Afrikaner Volksfront failed to sign a "memorandum of agreement" in Johannesburg yesterday because of various "problems" allegedly encountered by the AVF.

Addressing a Press briefing yesterday, AVF leader General Constand Viljoen said "occurrences in Cape Town and the attitude of some people there" had stopped him from signing. He said "certain elements" within the Government made it necessary for his party not to sign. Loyalty to the FA also contributed to his party's refusal to sign.

Viljoen said: "The ANC remains loyal to the SA Communist Party. We also felt that we should not do anything that would split the Freedom Alliance." He said rejection by the Government and failure by the ANC to have the "agreement" entered into the future constitution showed that some "people were not taking our agreement seriously".

ANC deputy general-secretary Mr Jacob Zuma said negotiations between his party and the AVF would continue.

● See page 6.



Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen with African National Congress deputy general secretary Mr Jacob Zuma at a Press conference at a Johannesburg hotel yesterday.

PIC: LEN KUMALO

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KNOCK DOWN PRICE

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PRICE

Final sitting of whites-only House

MPs vote new deal for us all

Star 22/12/93

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Parliament resolved to place the interim constitution on to the statute books today amid the tantalising prospect of an all-inclusive political settlement.

In ANC/Government/Freedom Alliance (FA) talks finishing moments before midnight last night negotiators from the dissenting FA agreed to take a proposal to be put to their leaders that would pave the way for further talks in the New Year.

It would also embrace the "commitment" required by the Government and ANC before they are prepared to discuss changes to the constitution demanded by the FA.

Although the more than 30 hours of exhausting and tense talks ran too late to have amendments included in the constitution that will go before Parliament, the proposal does make provision for another sitting of Parliament late in January to give legal effect to any agreement.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa described the talks as "very constructive".

FA chairman Rowan Cronje expressed disappointment that a deal could not be concluded in time to get agree-

A glimmer of hope has emerged, but today's historic vote takes place without the backing of the Freedom Alliance

~~2000~~ (11A) ~~2000~~ (11A)
ments included in the constitution before it was put to the vote, but said the proposal meant "that an open door has been made possible".

This means that today's landmark vote will go ahead, with the historic Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Bill likely to be passed with CP and Inkatha — two FA members — dissent.

The vote is scheduled to follow a ceremonial final sitting of the whites-only House of Assembly — the chamber in which apartheid was hatched and given legal effect.

Crucial to future participation by the FA is an endorsement by its leaders of the Government/ANC proposal on the way forward in talks with the FA.

They will have to decide whether they are prepared to commit themselves to abide by the constitution — as amended in terms of any agreement struck with the FA — and ad-

here to the "laws, rules and regulations governing the transition as well as the elections and related processes".

The phrasing amounts to an ANC concession — it had wanted an explicit commitment to the TEC, a provision rejected by FA negotiators.

In return the Government and ANC have agreed that talks should continue with a January 24 deadline. Should these bear fruit amendments to the constitution would be put to the Negotiating Council and then a special session of Parliament.

The commitment required of the FA had vexed the task force's negotiations spanning two days. Although the proposal was billed as coming from the ANC and Government, it originally arose out of a sub-committee including FA members — an indication that at least some members of the alliance look favourably on it.

A Government negotiator said that in spite of the frustrating negotiations the proposal amounted to a "fantastic achievement". Should a deal be struck it would amount to a staggering accomplishment — an all-inclusive agreement from parties from across the spectrum in the Republic.

► Deal delayed — Page 3

ANC slams De Klerk's challenge to Mandela

BIDON 23/12/93

THE ANC yesterday described President F W de Klerk's challenge to ANC president Nelson Mandela to participate in a radio and TV debate as "empty and bankrupt" but did not rule out the possibility of accepting the challenge. (117)

"Media events of the type De Klerk seems to be so desperate for will be a cherry on top of a serious (election) campaign, not the starting point," the ANC said.

The NP hoped to hide the fact that it did not have answers to SA's problems by turning the election campaign into a Hollywood affair and hanging "onto Nelson Mandela's coat-tails".

De Klerk and the NP had officially admitted a vitriolic campaign against the ANC would be one of the hallmarks of their election campaign, the ANC said. "This is to be expected from a party whose time to bow out and allow democracy to take its course, has come."

According to the ANC, the campaigns were seen as "a contest between the NP's corrupt white minority rule and mismanagement and, on the other side, democracy, reconstruction and development".

The People's Forums, where ordinary people had expressed their aspirations and worked out ways of addressing these with the help of the ANC, would lay a basis for a

MARIANNE MERTEN

future reconstruction and development programme, it said.

Meanwhile, in his Christmas message, Mandela said this was the last time Christmas would be celebrated under "white minority rule" and 1994 would be the "year of our freedom". He appealed to "all democrats who want peace and justice" to isolate a minority trying to foster racial hatred. This minority "must not be given the chance to undermine the democratic future of SA".

Elections on April 27 needed to result in the formation of a representative government whose priority was to build "a better life for all, bringing jobs, security and, above all, peace", Mandela said.

He extended condolences to those who lost family, friends, homes and possessions during the violence of the past year and noted that millions of South Africans still lived in abject poverty caused by apartheid and NP rule.

Christmas should be a time for joy, when families came together to celebrate the festive season and the new year was a time to look forward with hope and resolution. For decades there had been no reason to celebrate, but now the future held a promise of a brighter tomorrow, he said.

focus on BCM

THE adoption of two national anthems, *Nkosi Sikelela i' Afrika* and *Die Stem* by the Kempton Park alliance is a neat summary of the nature of their political settlement.

For black people, that settlement would prove just as unworkable as demanding the singing of *Die Stem* in the townships and villages.

This settlement spawns images of the discredited Zimbabwe-Rhodesia and South West Africa-Namibia. While these two were quickly transformed, at least politically, into something resembling integrity, it remains to be seen how long ours will remain as insipid as it is.

From beginning to end, the negotiating process was characterised by the bosberade and secret agreements. Except for what was revealed in Kempton Park, many of us do not know what agreements were reached in our name.

Compromise is a beautiful word which implies ability to give and take and a willingness to accommodate the interests of adversaries. However, in the case of Kempton Park, the compromise reached means the condition of the black majority in South Africa will remain one of subjugation and poverty.

Settlement

In accordance with the Kempton Park settlement, the advisory Transitional Executive Council has been installed with blacks as junior partners. This junior status will not change much after the April 27 1994 elections.

Some blacks will come into office, not into power. The essence of state power lies in the police, army and civil service and governments remain in power only if they have the loyalty of these organs of state. But these will remain in the hands of the white minority.

The white security forces were trained and taught to serve, protect and defend white minority domination. It follows that those blacks who will take political office will become paralysed hostages of white minority privileges.

The settlement is also hopelessly inadequate in the all important area of restitution, justice and black participation in the economy. Genuine political democracy is impossible without economic democracy. For us, such participation in the economic life of the country must begin with land repossession.

A people without land can have neither political nor economic power.

The economy in our country is based mainly on agriculture and mining. The other subsidiary sectors of industry and commerce are derived from the first two. All these are impossible without ownership and control of land.

Land hunger

In addition, land is needed for residence, the building of schools, churches, stadia and roads. It is a well known fact that those who own homes are secure and powerful while squatters and

Mosibudi Mangena, chairman of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania and commander-in-chief of Azanla, says freedom will be impossible to attain without control of the land and the economy.



Soukran 23/12/93

(11A)
Those who control the economy of a country also call the political tune

lodgers are an insecure and powerless lot.

Whites understood this very well and went about the task of dispossessing and removing us from our land in a ruthless and systematic fashion. As late as 1970s they were still consolidating their already solid control of the land through the infamous forced removals.

Their ownership and control of the land enabled them to control us politically, enrich themselves and to attain the dominant position they occupy in the country today. But that loss of land condemned blacks to poverty, powerlessness and an inferior status in society.

There can be no meaningful, just and lasting political settlement in our country that does not include the redistribution of land. It would also be ridiculous to talk of democracy in a situation where one racial group, through plunder and oppression, has exclusive control of the economy.

It is a fact that whites, as individuals and through estate companies, insurance companies and building societies, won at least 87 percent of both the urban and rural areas. And it is a fact of life that those who control the economy of a country also call the political tune.

Whites must be immensely pleased with the fact that many black leaders seem to have lost their tongues when it comes to the issues of land repossession.

This might explain their delight with the outcome at Kempton Park while blacks in the townships are mostly indifferent. Whites have absolutely nothing to lose by the advent of the kind of hollow democracy reached at the World Trade Centre.

History has shown that the loosening of the chains of oppression through liberal democracy without restitution means nothing. African-Americans are still languishing in abject poverty and oppression despite the abolition of slavery

in 1863 and the guaranteeing of civil and democratic rights by the American constitution.

Thirteen years after the attainment of their hard-won independence in which thousands perished, black Zimbabweans still suffer the indignity of having to take to the streets to demand land.

About 4 000 white commercial farmers control most of the land while the majority live in poverty in the crowded versions of bantustans. Ten million black Zimbabweans control a paltry 1,5 percent of the economy while the rest is still firmly owned by a quarter million whites.

We should learn from history, mistakes and experiences of others so that we can do things better.

Black leaders must stop grovelling for approval from whites and wallowing in patronising praises and gifts they receive for displaying weakness.

The legacy of racist-settler colonialism in our country requires militant action to redress the crimes and injustices of the past.

The Kempton Park constitution, with its bill of rights suitable for a normal society, is completely inimical to this course of action. It is a sham for which future generations will condemn us.

Real political power derives from control of land and economy, and is protected by loyal security forces.

It is crystal clear that any black leader who takes political office under the present constitution and circumstances would be a laughable puppet of the white establishment. And that means the road ahead remains one of struggle.

History has shown that the loosening of the chains of oppression through liberal democracy without restitution means nothing

Work to end violence in '94, Mandela pleads

Star 23/12/93

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL
CORRESPONDENT

ANC president Nelson Mandela has called on all South Africans to put aside their differences next year and work together to bring an end "to the terrible violence tearing our country apart".

In his Christmas message yesterday, Mandela said all democrats who wanted peace and justice would have to work together to isolate the minority "who try to foster racial hatred and violence".

"They must not be given the slightest



Mandela . . . hopes for
a brighter future.

(IA)
chance to undermine the democratic future that we have worked so hard for," said Mandela.

He said the April 27 elections would have to

result in a government which would stand for all South Africans and have as its priority the improvement of everyone's life.

He extended his "deeply felt sympathies" to all who had lost loved ones "through criminal violence" this year, and said for the first time South Africans had something to look forward to in the new year: a brighter future.

In a separate message, ANC Youth League deputy president Lulu Johnson said the transition process had indeed finally become irreversible, thanks to the ANC's efforts.

ANC criticises FW's 'Hollywood campaign'

Star 23/12/93

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The ANC yesterday accused President de Klerk and his Government of having no answers to the serious problems facing South Africans.

It also accused De Klerk of seeking to turn the campaign for the April 27 election "into a Hollywood affair in which the people are merely observers".

Commenting on the launch of the NP's election campaign in Cape Town this week, the ANC said De Klerk's quest for a public debate with Nelson Mandela was an attempt to hide the NP's lack of answers for the myriad of problems facing the country.

"De Klerk and his party are getting too used to joint international awards for achievements pioneered by the ANC, and they hope to perpetuate this by continuing to hang onto Mandela's coat-tails



De Klerk ... accused of having no answers to SA's problems.

(S) (A) (IA)
during the election campaign.

"This is to be expected from a party whose time to bow out and allow democracy to take its course has come," said the ANC.

Making his challenge to Mandela on Tuesday, De Klerk said he had no restrictions about the debate which should take place as close as possible to the election and be "open, free-ranging, fair

and free".

In its response, the ANC said it would not be diverted from its programme to ensure that pertinent and serious issues facing the majority of South Africans formed the basis of the election campaign.

The election was essentially a contest between "the NP's corrupt white minority rule and mismanagement on the one hand, and democracy, reconstruction and development on the other, for which millions spared no effort under the leadership of the ANC", the ANC said.

However, the ANC said it was not opposed to debates among leaders of parties contesting the election. Given its concern about the plight of the people, media events of the type suggested by De Klerk would be "a cherry on top of a serious campaign — not the starting point", the ANC said.

UN ends payments to ANC and PAC — but picks up tab for other apartheid activists

(11A)

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK.—The decision to end United Nations payments to the ANC and PAC, in what Foreign Minister Pik Botha termed a demonstration of impartiality, still leaves other anti-apartheid activists enjoying its largesse.

The UN will pick up the bills for a seminar to be held in London next month under the auspices of the special committee against apartheid.

Yet it is unclear what purpose this will serve now that the system of racial separation has been dismantled.

While ANC and PAC offices in New York will lose their UN subsidies, a number of South Africans — most of whom went into voluntary exile but have since received passports to return at will — remain on the UN payroll as anti-apartheid radio broadcasters.

There are other examples of a UN

phenomenon of self-perpetuating programmes that outlive the purposes for which they were created.

One way to disband them is to withhold funding, but since the UN budget is subject to General Assembly approval that minority of members who make the biggest contributions under a sliding scale of payments often fight a losing battle when causes like decolonisation, aid to Africa and the anti-apartheid

movement are involved.

In a statement, Mr Botha hailed the General Assembly's resolutions adopted on Monday as "a watershed in our relations with the UN."

However, a careful reading of the principal resolution suggests it may still be too early to signal "the end of an era which should now be confined to the past" (Mr Botha's words), because suspicions persist.

Drafted by Nigerian ambassador Ibrahim Gambari, long-time chairman of the anti-apartheid committee, some of its terms are grudging at best.

While there is no longer any encouragement for the armed struggle, the government still is referred to only as "the South African authorities".

There is a ritual demand for the immediate release of "remaining po-

litical prisoners and the inter-racial community is requested to continue aid for "disadvantaged South African democratic anti-apartheid organisations and individuals".

Also, the resolution calls on all governments to "observe fully the mandatory arms embargo imposed by the Security Council", which that body should "continue to monitor effectively."

AKG 25/12/93

Gwala and Radebe top candidates

(11A) (23) Wm 23-29/12/93
Farouk Chothia

TWO African National Congress leaders — the moderate Jeff Radebe and the hardliner Harry Gwala — have emerged as the ANC's candidates for the premiership in Natal/kwaZulu's provincial legislature.

ANC sources said this week that while Gwala commands immense respect at grassroots level, Radebe could still emerge top of the ANC list as he heads the largest ANC region — Southern Natal — in the province.

ANC sources said Gwala was nominated as the candidate for the premiership at a Midlands nominations conference last weekend while Radebe was nominated by the Southern Natal region at a similar conference.

The Northern Natal region has nominated ANC deputy secretary general Jacob Zuma as its first choice and a member of the Zulu royal family, Senior Prince Mcwayeyizeni Israel Zulu, as its second choice.

ANC sources said Zuma was likely to pull out of the race to concentrate on a nomination for the national assembly.

They also doubt whether he has support in Natal/kwaZulu, as he is currently based at the ANC head office in Johannesburg.

He is also the least popular among ANC militants, who feel that he followed a policy of "appeasement" in peace talks with the Inkatha Freedom Party earlier this year.

Prince Mcwayizeni, who is a member of the ANC's national executive committee, stands no chance of



Harry Gwala ... ANC Midlands leader is respected at grassroots level

being nominated for the top job. He had neither a high profile in the region nor a good grasp of the political situation in the country, one source said.

The sources said the two contenders were Gwala and Radebe.

Gwala, a hardliner, is the ANC Natal Midlands chairman and Radebe, a moderate, the Southern Natal chairman.

The sources said elections for a single candidate would take place at a provincial conference — attended by representatives of all three regions — early next month.

Representation at the conference would be proportional, giving Radebe the edge as the ANC Southern Natal region is larger than the Midlands and Northern Natal regions, sources said.

"About 55 percent of the delegates at the conference would be from Southern Natal. The Midlands and Northern Natal would have to share the remaining 45 percent," said one source.

He added that if Zuma and Prince Mcwayizeni fall out of the race, Northern Natal is also likely to back Radebe, as it is controlled by moderates opposed to Gwala's hardline stance.

ANC sources said that also working in Radebe's favour is the fact that he could reach out to people across the spectrum: from militant township youth to conservative businessmen.

"Once in power, the premier would have to relate to non-ANC people as well and this is something that Radebe, and not Gwala, would be able to do," said one ANC source.

But other ANC sources are confident that Gwala would win, as he is the longest-serving ANC member in Natal/kwaZulu and commands respect throughout the province.

"Gwala is a household name and contrary to the popular myth, he is preferred above Radebe not only among Africans but also among Indians and whites in Natal/kwaZulu," said one ANC source.

Terms of endearment

The prospect of including important elements of the Freedom Alliance in a constitutional settlement improved dramatically this week as negotiators battled to reach agreement before parliament finally approved the interim constitution on Wednesday.

As the FM went to press, government, ANC and Alliance teams were locked in last-minute talks in Cape Town; and in Johannesburg, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) leader Constand Viljoen were preparing to unveil a "strategic interim agreement" that might just pave the way for a mutually acceptable political relationship between rightwing Afrikaners and the ANC. The tripartite talks in Cape Town followed a four-hour meeting on Sunday between government and Alliance delegations.

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer says five-member teams from each of the parties were mandated by their leaders to try to reach a constitutional agreement which included the Alliance. The meeting began on Monday morning and the parties gave themselves until 8 am on Tuesday to reach agreement. This meant amendments to the interim constitution would still be possible before it was voted on by parliament on Wednesday.

The ANC/AVF agreement followed almost four months of contact between the two groups, according to a statement issued after a joint meeting in Pretoria at the weekend. It said the agreement could pave the way for AVF participation in interim constitutional structures and the general election on April 27. "In terms of the agreement, both parties are in support of the introduction of a non-racial democracy in SA. They also see the need to seek ways to accommodate the desire of many Afrikaners for self-determination in a *volkstaat*."

In an interview with the Reuters news agency this week, Mandela said it would be a "tragic mistake" to underestimate the power of the white Right to destabilise a democratic government. The ANC would make every effort to persuade them to rejoin the transitional process but would never concede a white homeland.

Against that background, hardliners in the Alliance, including CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg and AWB chief Eugene Terre-Blanche, were unlikely to be swayed by either the Cape Town talks or the AVF accord with the ANC — unless provision was made for what would in essence be a race-based *volkstaat*.

Their continued rejection of the process would open the way for a split in the Alliance, with the more moderate rightwing whites, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei and Inkatha joining the transition. A split in the Alliance would also add to the legitimacy of whatever action the TEC may decide to take to counter rightwing insurrection or terrorism.

However, it was clear that changes to the interim constitution would need to be handled sensitively. The PAC warned this week that it will not endorse amendments worked out by only the ANC and government.

PAC negotiator Patricia de Lille says the PAC has demanded that the negotiating council be convened within 48 hours to debate the "underhand and unilateral actions" of the ANC and government. She adds that all parties need to be consulted if any amendments are made to the constitution.

In parliament this week the marathon debate on the interim constitution drew to a close with relatively little drama.

An allegation by Nat MP Johan Steenkamp that the AWB is planning the widespread murder of blacks created a stir, but was denied by the organisation. The SAP also says it has not authenticated the document on which Steenkamp based his allegations. The AWB describes the allegations as false and ridiculous and says it will immediately suspend any members if it is proved they are involved. The document outlines alleged plans for the mobilisation of AWB supporters and mentions mass graves for "kaffirs." Law & Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze says the document and its source are being investigated.

The SA Institute of Race Relations warns in a publication issued in Washington that the election is threatened by political violence, intolerance and hindrance of free political activity.

The publication, *Watchdog*, is aimed at alerting influential policymakers in SA and abroad to "hidden trends inimical to pluralism" in an effort to encourage them to bring appropriate pressure to bear on political players in SA.

In the Reuters interview, Mandela says violence could result in 40% of blacks staying away from the polls. If that happened the NP would have a chance of victory. ■

Hendrickse ends career with a sting

Sowetan 29/12/93

■ POLITICAL FOOTBALL Labour

leader denounces FW and his party:

THE REVEREND ALLAN HENDRICKSE ended his 15-year career as leader of the Labour Party yesterday with a stinging attack on the National Party and urged the coloured community not to repeat the mistakes of the past.

Opening the party's 28th annual congress in Bellville, he said white political parties had used the coloured people as a political football in the past.

He called on coloured people to review the past, recall oppressive legislation, and to ask themselves who was responsible.

"The National Party caused hardship, hunger and hatred.

"How can any right thinking member ever think of voting for the oppressor, the National Party?"

He said the coloured people had brought the National Party to power in 1948 and "look what they did to us".

"They took away our franchise, they had new delimitations of constituencies which ensured that they could not lose power through the vote."

He said the history of the NP was a

history of immorality.

"We must remind the coloured people that incorrect strategy brought the National Party to power and therefore they created the opportunity for the Nats to enforce apartheid."

He said the NP wanted coloured people to forget the past.

"They want you to believe that they are a new party — a prostitute in a new dress still remains a prostitute!"

He said coloured people were faced with the challenge of ensuring the National Party was not returned to power.

"We must unite under the banner of the ANC and politically crush the NP.

"How can we support a party whose leader, FW de Klerk, now State President, is fighting for his life to become a vice-president of the new government?"

"He will be in a powerless position and will have to humble himself under the new State President, Nelson Mandela."

"I must appeal to all, irrespective of differing ideologies or strategies, to close ranks under the banner of the ANC to assure the oppressed a resounding victory on April 27."

We don't want ISU, says ANC

By Mzimasi Ngudle

THE African National Congress yesterday said any decision to deploy the Internal Stability Unit in Alexandra Township would be "ill-conceived and premature".

Blaming criminals for the attacks on policemen in the area, ANC spokesman Mr Paul Mashatile said the deployment of the ISU would politicise an otherwise apolitical situation.

Mashatile dismissed claims that the attacks were politically motivated. Members of the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union had also complained of criminal attacks, he said.

Police have, however, denied the ISU was to take over policing in the township. Witwatersrand police spokesman Colonel Dave Bruce said: "If the need arises, police will be accompanied by ISU members."

Major Eugene Opperman said ISU members were "trained intensively and specifically to handle unrest and crowd situations".

Mokaba's claims probed

JOHANNESBURG. — Police are investigating claims that alleged assassins are stalking African National Congress Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba.

Mr Mokaba said earlier this week that he had confronted an armed white man outside his front door.

Police spokesman Colonel David Bruce said police were investigating Mr Mokaba's claims and that these were being taken seriously.

Mr Mokaba, whose life has been threatened often over the past few years, had said his home was under constant surveillance and that even visitors to his home were being photographed as they arrived.

In one incident a man knocked on his door allegedly looking for a friend.

The man then drove away in a car that was later found to have licence plates from a stolen vehicle, Mr Mokaba said.

He also alleged that, despite calls to the police, the flying squad had been dispatched only after an intervention by ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

Col Bruce said he could find no record of the flying squad having been dispatched.

However, the staff who had been on duty on that particular night were now off duty and could not be contacted to assess what had happened.

Zimbabwe to train MK, Apla forces

Star 29/12/93

■ BY ROBIN DREW
STAR AFRICA SERVICE

Harare — South African guerilla fighters from the ANC's armed wing MK and the PAC's Apla force are to be trained in Zimbabwe to be officers and NCOs in the new South African army.

The first batch of 500 combatants has arrived and is due to begin training next week. Courses will last four to six months.

The Zimbabwe National Army itself was formed by integrating the old Rhodesian army with Zanla and Zipra guerillas.

A key role was played by training teams from the British army who have also worked closely with the Zimbabweans in training Mozambican army soldiers.

Officer cadets, platoon and company commanders for the integrated SADF will be trained at the military academy in Gweru and at the staff college at army headquarters in Harare.

Non-commissioned officers will be trained at the school of infantry base at Mbalabala, south of Bulawayo.

State Security Minister Sydney Sekeramayi said the main objective was to prepare the soldiers for the challenges of creating their own integrated army.

Outgoing Hendrickse gives Nats a roasting

Star 29/12/93

Cape Town — The Rev. Allan Hendrickse ended his 15-year career as leader of the Labour Party yesterday with a stinging attack on the National Party and by urging the coloured community not to repeat the mistakes of the past. (11A)

Opening the party's 28th annual congress in Bellville, he said white political parties had used the coloured people as a political football in the past.

"They only knew you when they needed your vote. The National Party caused hardship, hunger and hatred.

"How can any right-thinking member ever think of voting for the oppressor, the National Party?"

"They took away our franchise, they had new delimitations of constituencies which ensured they could not lose power through the vote. They want you to believe that they are a new party — a prostitute in a new dress still remains a prostitute."

He said coloured people were faced with the challenge of ensuring the National Party was not returned to power.

"We must unite under the banner of the ANC and politically crush the NP."

He said the new government would be led by the ANC, and the Labour Party would be part of that government.

"When I look back, I say it has been worthwhile despite all my inadequacies as a person, criticism, attacks and character assassination. Today I'm still what I am, and while God is God I will remain what I am because I am not a creation of the NP."

Hendrickse was given a standing ovation when he and his wife Terry entered the Kuils River Teachers' Training College hall.

— Own Correspondent.

Hendrickse to lead party until April poll

BIDAY 30/12/93

CAPE TOWN — Labour Party leader Alan Hendrickse will remain in office until after next year's general election.

Addressing the closing session of the party's two-day congress in Kuils River, Hendrickse said he accepted a congress resolution that all office bearers should stay on until a special congress after the April 27 election.

The 66-year-old politician, who has led the Labour Party for 15 years, announced his retirement as party leader on Tuesday.

Hendrickse said then that he wanted to devote more time to his family and his ministry.

The congress resolution followed intense pressure on Hendrickse from Labour Party delegates and ANC observers to review his decision to quit.

Although he would remain a member of the Labour Party, he planned to join the ANC and canvass coloured support for the ANC's electoral alliance.

"There are still people who say they want to vote for the Labour Party. We will channel that vote into the ANC. Our obligation is to ensure that the coloured vote does not go to the NP," Hendrickse told delegates yesterday.

He said he had been nominated for the ANC's election list but had not been approached for a future ambassadorship and would not entertain such an appointment.

He said his party had gained valuable experience through its participation in management committees and the tricameral Parliament, and this expertise would be made available to the ANC in its election campaign.

Delegates also unanimously decided to contest the election under the ANC's leadership, colours and symbols and ratified a national executive committee decision allowing Labour Party members to hold dual membership with

other organisations.

Congress also approved the appointment of a committee to investigate the party's administrative and financial restructuring under the new regional constitutional dispensation.

Addressing a news conference later, Hendrickse said he was prepared to meet ANC western Cape chairman Allan Boesak to discuss animosity towards the Labour Party's involvement in the ANC electoral alliance. He was willing to meet Boesak if such a meeting was arranged by ANC leaders. (1A)

Hendrickse admitted there were problems, particularly with the ANC's western Cape region where the Labour Party's participation in the tricameral Parliament was resented.

The ANC's national leadership agreed in October to accept the Labour Party as part of its electoral alliance despite opposition from the western Cape region.

Hendrickse said he did not think problems between his party and the ANC were insurmountable and he looked forward to a meeting with Boesak to reconcile their differences.

A further bilateral meeting between the ANC and Labour Party would be held on January 12 and the ANC's election lists would be finalised at a meeting of the ANC-aligned Patriotic Front the next day.

Hendrickse dismissed news reports that his party had been snubbed by the ANC's failure to send a representative to its congress.

He said ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa had telephoned him to apologise for the fact that the ANC was not represented at the conference. Ramaphosa and other senior ANC leaders had been "instructed" by ANC president Nelson Mandela to take a holiday before the election campaign, he said. — Sapa.

● Comment: Page 6

Hon.
fros
yes

ANC youth want Gwala

Star 3112193

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope might find themselves living under regional governments led by their fiercest foes, Harry Gwala and Rocky Malebane-Metsing, if the ANC Youth League has its way.

Earlier this year the influential ANCYL chose ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki — then ANC international affairs director — as heir-apparent to ANC

president Nelson Mandela.

Now it has nominated Gwala and Malebane-Metsing for the positions of premier in the regions of Natal-KwaZulu and North West respectively.

Just as there is no love lost between Buthelezi and ANC Natal Midlands chairman Gwala, so also does Mangope not see eye to eye with Malebane-Metsing, the man who would have taken over from him if the February 1988 coup in the homeland had succeeded. (11A)

Tokyo Sexwale has been nominated for the premiership of

the important and most populous PWV region.

Nominees for premiership of the other six regions are: John Nkadimeng (Northern Transvaal), Patrick "Terror" Lekota (Free State), Dr Allan Boesak (Western Cape), Mannie Depitso (Northern Cape), as well as either Matthew Phosa or former KaNgwane Chief Minister Enos Mabuza (Eastern Transvaal) and either the Rev Arnold Stofile or Raymond Mhlaba (Eastern Cape).

► Surprises amid mixed bag — Page 15

MK soldiers ^(11A) 'joining Nats'

31/12/93 CT 3/12/94

THE National Party fired off a new election campaign salvo yesterday, claiming that a number of uMkhonto weSizwe (MK) members had joined the NP because they considered the ANC dictatorial, Xhosa-dominated and corrupt.

National Party federal council liaison director Mr Jacko Maree said the party had been approached recently by a number of dissatisfied MK members. "It would appear that there is deep dissatisfaction in MK ranks over the ANC and its leadership," he said.

The ANC dismissed the allegations with "contempt and disgust". It said these were "reminiscent of the NP's malicious propaganda against the ANC since time immemorial". The ANC and the public were aware that people joined the NP not out of conviction but for pecuniary gain.

"The statement is yet another attempt by the NP to stoke fires within the ranks of MK. Instead of making unfounded allegations, the NP should clean the ranks of the SADF, which is riddled with CCB and hit-squad elements, and lend its weight to efforts to create a new and nonracial defence

Tensions in ANC claimed

force," the ANC said.

Mr Maree said among the main reasons for dissatisfaction were that:

- The ANC was autocratic and dictatorial in its dealings with MK members;

- The ANC leadership was made up overwhelmingly of Xhosas who received preference in appointments and promotions;

- There was bitter animosity in MK between commander Mr Joe Modise and military intelligence deputy head Mr L W Ngculu, whose MK name is James Makhaya. Xhosas in the SACP were favouring Mr Makhaya and trying to influence MK members to side with him against Mr Modise;

- The R10 million promised to MK was still in ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela's London bank account. But the R2 143 intended for each MK member was a pittance;

- MK members, as well as Mr Modise and ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, were extremely unhappy about Mr Mandela's decision to invite Transkei leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa — who is seen as a threat to Mr Modise — on his European tour, without consulting the ANC national executive council.

- MK members were shocked by the widespread corruption within the ANC. "They point out that pro-ANC homeland governments have been engaged in massive corruption. Auditors have identified financial mismanagement in the ANC southern Natal region and the ANC Border region."

The ANC said NP allegations of corruption were absurd considering the party's own track record of maladministration and financial mismanagement and its direct responsibility for fraud and corruption in the homelands.

Mr Maree said he could not say exactly how many MK members had defected to the NP. The NP had been cautious about admitting MK members, as it was worried about the possibility of being infiltrated. However, there was no bar to MK members joining the NP. — Own Correspondent and Political Staff

