

BLACK POLITICS

1994

MARCH — MAY

# Mandela vows to win Buthelezi over

By Day 11/3/84

BILLY PADDOCK

ANC president Nelson Mandela vowed yesterday to do everything in his power at their meeting today to persuade Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to join the negotiations process and take part in the elections.

Opening the ANC elections media office at the Carlton Hotel last night, Mandela said: "It will be my duty to persuade him."

But he added that as keen as he was for an inclusive settlement, there were "absolutely no concessions possible on two issues. The elections cannot be postponed, and SA has to be a united country and, therefore, there can be no secession of any part."

He said he would work within this framework for the "rest of my life" to ensure that Inkatha participated in a full democracy.

The Carlton Hotel management donated the hotel's Cape Town Room and surrounding facilities to the ANC for the centre. Philips, Sharp Business Systems and Nashua donated the telephones, faxes and photocopiers for use by journalists and the ANC's information team.

Hopes yesterday were riding on today's meeting between the two leaders. However, ANC insiders said there was no chance of any further substantial concessions being made to the Inkatha leader.

One source said last night, "Essen-

tially, Mandela will appeal to their long-standing friendship and Buthelezi's humanity and strong battle over the years for democracy.

"He will stress the importance of the security and stability of the country and hopefully appease him by trying to persuade him he has nothing to fear from an ANC government."

The source said that there was a strong belief within the ANC that Inkatha was prepared to join the election campaign, because KwaZulu's public service was making plans to be rationalised within the new SA and voter education was continuing apace in KwaZulu/Natal. This was also being conducted by Inkatha members.

Meanwhile, it is understood Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini were prepared to take part if the constitution was changed to ensure it stated that Natal was a special case and made clear provision for a Zulu monarchy.

A source privy to the meeting between the two and Foreign Minister Pik Botha on Sunday night said Buthelezi had said that if provision was made for the king as monarch of a Zulu kingdom within a united SA, the demands of Inkatha would also be met.

"The clear indications are that they would then take part in the elections, as this was the response to Botha's direct inquiry," he said.

Report by W Paddock, TML, 11 Diegenal St., Jhb



ANC information head Pallo Jordan discusses facilities at the opening of the ANC press centre in Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel. Picture: GARTH LUMLEY

March 11 1994

# Mboweni warns on election talk

B/Dey 11/3/94

ANC deputy director of economic planning Tito Mboweni yesterday appealed to politicians not to risk damaging the economy in their campaigning for the April election.

Speaking in Johannesburg at the Syfrets awards for consistent excellence in business journalism, he said political opponents would obviously attack each other during the general election.

Finance Minister Derek Keys was campaigning as a Nationalist, so he was a fair target for the ANC.

It was nevertheless important that economic issues should be carefully handled.

Mboweni noted that the TEC finance subcommittee was investigating whether government Ministers were using their cars and other public resources in their political campaigns.

He said he had difficulty understanding why the ANC was being singled out for questioning on its economic policy while other parties, including the NP, produced no more than free market slogans.

"What is it that is so unreasonable about ANC policy? I think the answer lies in where we come from, rather than the policy itself."

## Business Day Reporter

Mboweni said there were four main issues the ANC had to tackle in correcting the wrongs of apartheid — a system which had not simply ended in 1990.

They were.

- Lack of justice for blacks in the economy, which was dominated by whites;
- The effects of forced removals, which would be central to the ANC's land policy;
- Income inequalities, and
- Homelessness and deprivation.

Mboweni said human resources and skills would have to be developed to meet these needs through a strong economy.

The ANC also intended to democratise the state, which was very powerful and had historically been "used against the black people".

He said that there were differences of opinion in the TEC on the public service.

"Some people want to continue as if nothing has happened," Mboweni said, but noted that demographics had to be taken into account.

Some progress was now being made concerning the public service, he added.

Report by T Bissaker, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb

# Makwetu: PAC plans leasehold property system

LEADERS of the Pan Africanist Congress, National Party and Democratic Party answered questions from readers of The Argus yesterday in the new On the Line election service

PAC president Clarence Makwetu was asked:

**With regard to the grabbing of every gram of South African soil for the Africans, how will this affect the so-called settlers of which I must be one because I am white, although I am a third-generation South African living in a little flat in Sea Point that I own. How will this affect me?**

Mr Makwetu The PAC intends to decommunitise the land once the party becomes a government Property ownership will be based on a leasehold system

However, the route to achieve this would be through constitutional means The PAC advocates the establishment of a Land Commission to address land reform and reallocation to the dispossessed

We do not envisage the presence of a community of settlers in a liberated society — we can only guarantee basic individual rights to all the citizens of the country

**President De Klerk was asked: Why has a matter of such importance as the future of our country not been referred to the people in a referendum, for example as to whether we should have a federal system? Are property rights entrenched in the constitution?**

President De Klerk In a referendum one should submit clear and simple questions to the voters because the answer from the voters must of necessity be clear and simple, such as Yes or No Those questions should therefore concern principles and not detail

The question of whether the country should have a federal system seems to be addressing a question of principle In actual fact, however, the current debate does not concern principles, but rather a great deal of complicated detail

Some people will argue that the system created by the new (interim) constitution is indeed a federation, and others will argue that it is not.

This is not a debate of principle but of semantics

There are "federal" systems with only minimal federal characteristics, and others with maximum federal characteristics Then there are systems that are not necessarily called federations, but have substantial federal characteristics

The real debate concerns the question whether the provinces should have more or less powers, *vis-a-vis* the centre — which is a very complicated debate

This debate could not be translated into simple questions of principle because it concerns a great degree of detail It is therefore unsuited for decision by referendum

Does this mean that the voters were and are excluded from decisions on these important matters?

Because direct consultation, for instance through referenda, was not practically possible, the mechanism of negotiating with all parties was introduced Each of the parties has a

## ON THE LINE



On the Line, an election service by The Argus, seeks to establish what issues voters feel strongly about. Questions can be phoned to 488 4157 After the electronic signal, please state your name and telephone number, then dictate your question and to which leader it is addressed Please keep it brief. Names will not be published

point of view on federalism and the other important questions, and each party represents its supporters

Even though some parties are very small, one knew that if all the parties were included, the vast majority of voters and all the important points of view were represented

Most of the parties also consulted with their supporters on a regular basis One can therefore say that the (interim) constitution is a fair compromise between all the important (and even some less important) points of view in the electorate

In this way the same purpose as that of a referendum was served **Are property rights entrenched in the constitution?**

President De Klerk Yes Section 28 of the constitution states that every person has the right to own property and that such property may not be taken away except in accordance with a law of parliament

In such cases, it may be done only for public purposes and an agreed compensation must be paid If no agreement can be reached on compensation, the compensation will be determined by a court of law

The situation is therefore no different from what it is today

Section 62 determines that the constitution may be amended only with a two-thirds majority The entrenchment is therefore strong, but not absolute

**Dr Zac De Beer was asked: How will you improve the standard of education?**

Dr De Beer The first thing that must be done is to depoliticise education

All education must be brought under a single department, with appropriate regional offices Special care must be given to pre-primary education

The aim must be 10 years of free and compulsory education for every child Provision must be made for the teaching of technical subjects, and curricula must be planned with the needs of the economy in mind

Underqualified teachers must be given opportunities to upgrade their skills

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# Bid to resolve Sowetan 11/3/94 crisis

By Themba Molefe  
Political Correspondent

AFRICAN National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi meet in Durban today in a last-ditch attempt to resolve what the Inkatha Freedom Party calls a constitutional impasse.

Mandela meets the IFP leader against a background of behind-the-scenes negotiations to find common ground.

However, Mandela last night warned that the ANC would not allow for a postponement of the April election.

Speaking at the opening of the ANC Media Centre at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg, Mandela said the organisation wanted South Africa to become a united country.

"We will not compromise on any demand for secession," he said.

He was highly critical of Buthelezi's stance to remain outside the transitional process and said, "I will spend the rest of my life persuading my colleagues (including those outside the ANC) who fear democracy to join in this process," he said.

## On his knees

In Bisho in Ciskei on Sunday, Mandela said he would go down on his knees to Buthelezi if that would bring peace. Meanwhile, the central committee of the IFP met in Durban last night to finalise strategy for the meeting. It is expected Mandela and Buthelezi will spend some time alone either before or after the meeting of their delegations.

Central to the meeting will be the IFP proposal that the interim constitution should have no force in KwaZulu-Natal until the province has adopted a constitution of its own and that the election in KwaZulu-Natal should take place no less than 90 days after the adoption of the constitution.

IFP information director Dr Ziba Jiyane said last night's preparatory meeting would debate Buthelezi's demand that the April election be postponed for 12 months in KwaZulu-Natal to allow for the adoption of a new constitution for the province.

The Freedom Alliance parties, of which the IFP is an important member, have until midnight on Friday to formally register for the election.

(Report by T Molefe, 61 Commando Road, Industria West Johannesburg)

# focus on AZAPO

AZAPO will not participate in the April 27 election. And it will remain a national liberation movement beyond April 27.

As in the past, Azapo will try to "liberate land, the economy and political power" from white control, said the organisation's president, Professor Itumeleng Mosala.

The message was clear: the struggle continues. The military wing of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, the Azanian Liberation Army, sent several members armed with AK-47 rifles to the conference to protect Azapo delegates.

Azania is expected to "maintain the armed struggle" after elections.

From a boardroom at the Holiday Inn in Umtata, Transkei, Mosala said on Sunday that Azapo members did not believe the April elections will give the country's majority access to the reigns of power.

"De Klerk and his cohorts have been able to successfully renegotiate the continuation of white power. For Azapo, there is no option but to fight white power which is hiding behind the supposed election for a new South Africa," said Mosala.

Instead of election campaigns, Azapo will hold anti-election campaigns. Leaflets and education material will be distributed. Door-to-door campaigns and rallies will be held countrywide to try to persuade people of the "futility of voting", said Mosala.

"We believe there are millions of people outside Azapo who share these ideals and whose expectations will not be met the day after elections. We will try to conscientise our people to the realisation that this election is an empty one," said Mosala.

Mosala said Azapo expected a backlash from whites and those supporting white power.

"We are bound to clash with people who believe white power no longer exists. But we are not planning or looking for conflict ourselves," said Mosala.

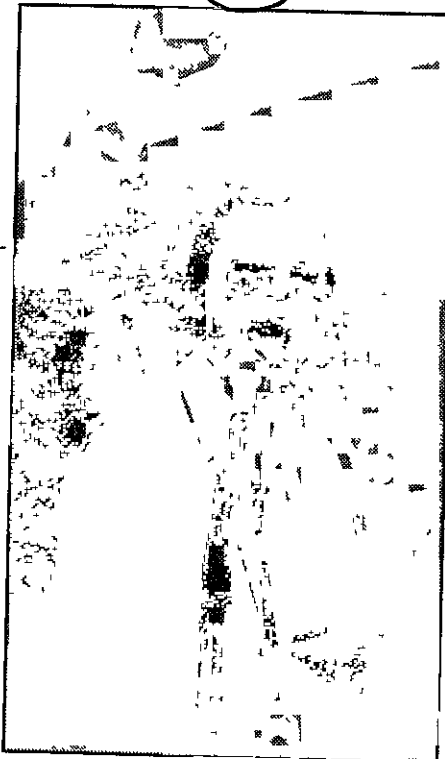
Azanian Students Organisation spokesman Phillip Kepadisa said his organisation was concerned that the new Electoral Act could be used by the Government to suppress Azapo campaigns.

Clause 63B of the Act states "Any person who (iii) otherwise influences the process or outcome of elections, shall be guilty of an offence."

According to Azapo spokesman Strini Moodley, the decision not to participate in elections was influenced by the contents of the new interim constitution. The document was written by parties that either supported or were deceived by the National Party government, he claimed. Many of the parties involved had no public support, he added.

Moodley criticised parties involved in talks for hiding specific details in the interim constitution. The new government of national unity will be unable to give land and economic control

*Sowetan 11/3/94*  
The Azanian People's Organisation at the weekend set itself on a course that formally separated it from all other South African liberation movements.  
**Glenn McKenzie** reports on the effect this will have on the elections:



Professor Itumeleng Mosala

to black South Africans, he said.

"There are non-negotiables written into the constitution. Particular sections will remain in the new constitution written after elections. We don't believe the ANC or anyone else will change that," said Moodley.

The decision to maintain armed struggle may mean Azapo will continue to battle for foreign funding, said Moodley.

"We have always been an organisation that has struggled to obtain funds. As in the past, our supporters will be black organisations that are deeply committed to our struggle. But of course these organisations are not rich," said Moodley.

Azapo archives expert Takatso Mofokeng said Azapo's development projects could attract financial support from NGOs and churches.

But he believed the armed option may also cause a false perception in international communities that Azania resembled rightwing radical movements.

**“We believe there are millions of people outside Azapo who share these ideals and whose expectations will not be met the day after the elections. We will try to conscientise our people to the realisation that this election is an empty one.”**

"Because we don't have control of our own media, we may be confused with the rightwing. Even in the front line states, there may be a mistaken perception that we are maintaining the struggle merely for the sake of struggle," said Mofokeng.

Mofokeng said that despite criticism from outside, the party had a large role to play in promoting grassroots issues.

"The next five years will be years of great frustration and unhappiness. We will not necessarily be a reactionary movement. Instead we will develop programmes that will show people the type of society that South Africa should become," said Mofokeng.

Currently, Azapo supports a variety of education, health care and housing programmes, Mofokeng added.

## Not optimistic

Moodley said he was not optimistic that the five years after elections would be peaceful.

"People's expectations have been built to such a huge degree that there could be frightening consequences," said Moodley.

"I believe there will be repressive legislation and an intensification of the civil war we are currently experiencing. There will be detention without trial, harassment and all of it will be done in the name of democracy.

"Neither the government nor the Transitional Executive Council will have any power to stop the kind of strife we are going to see," said Moodley.

# Ramaphosa alleges plans to block voting in Natal

Biday 21/3/94  
~~30/4~~ (M)

CAPE TOWN — ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told the TEC yesterday there were certain Inkatha Freedom Party areas where people would not be allowed to vote

Reporting to the council on the situation in Natal, he said it was deteriorating on a daily basis and preparations were being made to ensure that the elections were not free and fair

He said people were being trained and "churned out" from camps at the rate of 500 to 1 000 every two weeks. They were then deployed in several areas in Natal. The "agenda being played out" was to prevent elections taking place.

Ramaphosa said in the Umfolozi area people were being supplied with weapons while there were also reports of people being trained by white farmers who were supplying them with weapons.

"These activities clearly show something is afoot, in preparing people to attack those who want to vote," he said.

Ramaphosa read a letter from a

## Political Staff

Natal chief who said that people who voted would be killed. It said elections would not take place in Natal/KwaZulu, and any Zulu who went to the polls would be killed.

Ramaphosa said it would be difficult to hold free and fair elections in Natal and some people were already saying that if elections did take place they would be held in an "environment of bloodshed".

He said elections had to take place throughout the country — "our people will not allow any exception for Natal".

The TEC will decide on action to deal with these allegations at its next meeting.

TIM COHEN reports that the TEC resolved yesterday to take steps to allow all South Africans to vote anywhere in the country, including Bophuthatswana.

The TEC yesterday agreed to recommend to the President that he bring into operation immediately provisions of the interim constitution necessary to ensure that all relevant

preparations could be made.

TEC members called on all leaders to allow their public servants to take up positions in a new SA public administration and not be left out of the "rationalisation process".

In a thinly veiled reference to public servants in Bophuthatswana, the resolution called on all public officials and officers to demand and exercise their right to be a full part of this process. It reiterated the constitution's guarantees of public employees' job security.

The resolution was opposed by Ciskei delegate Mickey Webb on the basis that the legal ramifications had to be investigated thoroughly.

ANC council member Cyril Ramaphosa said nothing in the resolution referred to Bophuthatswana specifically and therefore Webb's objection was unfounded. But it was vital that SA citizens had the right to vote where they lived, and since citizenship had been restored to Bophuthatswana nationals, they should have the right to vote in the territory.

Report by P Cull, EP Newspapers, Press Gallery, Parliament, and T Cohen TML, Press Gallery Parliament.

## ANC Standerton march postponed

A PLANNED ANC march through the Transvaal town of Standerton has been postponed after talks between the ANC and Afrikaner Volksfront. *B. Day*

ANC legal department head Matthew Phosa said yesterday it was agreed to postpone the march and suspend the consumer boycott until further notice.

Last month the ANC attempted to march through the town to protest against right-wingers declaring it part of a volkstaat. Police opened fire on marchers, injuring more than 70. *2/2/94*

On Monday Phosa met Volksfront leaders Gen Constand Viljoen and Gen Tienie Groenewald. He said the Volksfront gave assurances that towns would become part of a volkstaat only through a negotiated settlement that had constitutional status. *(IA)*

A forum consisting of community and town council representatives to discuss local government issues would be set up.

GAVIN DU VENAGE

It should not be confused with the type of forum stipulated under the Local Government Transition Act, Phosa said.

He said the council was still awaiting guidance from the Transvaal Municipal Association on whether it should proceed with setting up negotiating forums in terms of the Act, and that this particular forum would be put in place as a temporary measure.

The local community still had to decide whether to continue the boycott.

Our Durban correspondent reports that Newcastle formed its own negotiating forum on Monday night despite attempts by the AWB to disrupt the meeting in the town hall.

Members of the town council, ratepayers' association, local affairs committees, NP and Afrikaanse Sakekamer resumed the meeting at another venue.

Report by G du Venage, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb

# IFP, ANC in 'breakthrough'

Sowetan 2/3/94

**T**he Inkatha Freedom Party is to consider provisionally registering for the April 27 election

This emerged after several hours of talks between African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Durban yesterday

Both the IFP and the ANC are also to explore possible international mediation to resolve outstanding constitutional deadlocks

"We've laid a solid foundation for possible breakthroughs," said Mandela at a Press conference after the meeting "We have laid the ground plan for future progress"

On his party's stance on elections, Buthelezi said "Provisional (registration) means it leaves our options open. If a solution is found, it makes

it possible for us to participate"

He said the IFP was determined to contest the election, but added that his party's demands, as contained in the Freedom Alliance's proposals, had to be met.

The Zulu king's demands also affected the IFP's participation in the election, he said

The question of provisional registration had to be taken to the IFP's central committee for ratification, he said.

Questioned on whether the IFP was closer to contesting the elections, Buthelezi replied, "Not at all"

On his party's proposals to have the election postponed, Buthelezi noted that Mandela and President FW de Klerk had made it clear this would not happen

But, he said "We have not even started campaigning. It's only fair to give us a little space to campaign"

The deadline for registration is Friday. Both leaders resolved to redouble their ef-

forts to encourage their constituencies to participate in and support National Peace Accord structures and all peace initiatives.

"It's sufficient for us to say we're satisfied with the progress we've made," Mandela said.

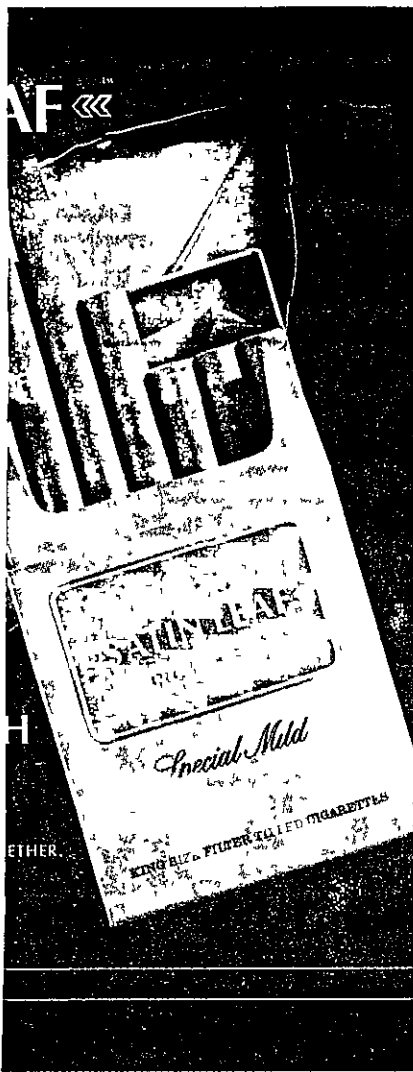
In another development, the Transitional Executive Council management committee was yesterday directed to take effective political and security steps to ensure that the election went ahead unhindered in Natal.

A resolution adopted unanimously at a council meeting in Cape Town urged it to ensure that the people of Natal were effectively able to exercise their right to vote

Supporting the motion, ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said Natal posed the greatest challenge to the TEC's authority

He said "The TEC cannot pussyfoot around this issue. We have to act firmly and demonstrate that the TEC's powers are enforceable"

— Sapa  
(Report by Craig Doonan and Greg Arde, 330 West Street, Durban)



Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi shakes hands with African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela in Durban yesterday. The two met in a last-ditch attempt to persuade the IFP to join South Africa's first all-race election on April 27.  
PIC Associated Press

Time is of the essence, says FW

# ANC agrees to foreign mediation

B/Day 3/3/94

THE ANC yesterday accepted international mediation in negotiations with the Inkatha Freedom Party, and urged that it start soon, but there was not much optimism that this would lead to a breakthrough.

There was a flurry of activity as political leaders met to assess the implications of Tuesday's meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The ANC's national working committee agreed to the proposal that in return for international mediation, Inkatha would consider provisionally registering for the election. Inkatha's central committee meets tomorrow to evaluate this and decide on registration.

President FW de Klerk welcomed the progress made, but poured cold water on the feasibility of international mediation, citing time constraints. However, he had an open mind and would look at specific proposals.

Buthelezi, however, took a hardline stance in a speech to KwaZulu MPs, restating all Inkatha's demands as bottom-line positions that had to be met. He also demanded a separate Zulu kingdom.

He said the amendments to the constitution and the Electoral Act, passed yesterday in Parliament, were "totally inad-

TIM COHEN  
and BILLY PADDOCK

equate" and did not come near accommodating Inkatha or KwaZulu.

"In summary ... the position remains exactly the same as before. Mr Mandela's supposed concessions do not even begin to address our demands for exclusive provincial powers, autonomous taxing powers, and the protection and guarantee of provincial constitutions against the arbitrary decisions of the constituent assembly."

He said the problem of the king and the Zulu kingdom "is far from being resolved, and cannot be resolved through the amendments of certain existing sections of the (interim) constitution" (IA) (H)

There also appeared to be divisions within the central committee, with hardliners claiming mediation was a waste of time and merely led to further delays while the ANC retained the moral high ground, and others indicating that it "should be given a chance".

On Tuesday night De Klerk met Africaner Volksfront co-leader Gen Constand Viljoen and also discussed the matter in Cabinet. Yesterday Freedom Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje met foreign diplomats and the CP held a secret meeting.

It is understood that the ANC's national

□ To Page 2

## Mediation

B/Day 3/3/94

□ From Page 1

working committee agreed to the proposal in principle, but needed to work out the terms of reference of the mediation and approve mediators. No list of possible mediators has been drafted yet. (IA) (H)

An ANC source said there was no need for the mediation to be protracted as Cronje and Inkatha negotiator Walter Feigate had said that the differences could be resolved within a "day or two if there was the will on all sides to find a settlement".

Meanwhile, De Klerk told Parliament that he foresaw "major difficulties" with international mediation. Time was of the essence for the parties that had registered

as well as for the Freedom Alliance.

He suggested that other parties consider "provisional registration".

He claimed some of the credit for the Mandela-Buthelezi meeting, saying the groundwork had been laid during discussions between Buthelezi and government ministers. But he was extremely glad that the meeting had taken place, although it had been "very late in coming" as the ANC "did not play ball".

Reports by T Cohen and W Paddock. TML, 11 Diagonal St. Jhb

● See Page 4

● Comment: Page 8

**NEWS** Mixed reception for crucial D

# Appeal to FA to join polls

**■ SUMMIT REACTION** European

Union and OAU plead for inclusion:

**T**HE OUTCOME of the summit between ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Durban on Tuesday was received with mixed reactions here and abroad. Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche said he doubted whether the IFP would in fact participate in the April election

Reacting to the IFP's decision to provisionally register for the election, Terre'Blanche said that if the party did participate, it would probably only be on a regional level to prove its popularity in KwaZulu. He said the IFP and Zulu monarch King Goodwill Zwelithini could use a regional victory as leverage for their demands for self-determination

The Organisation of African Unity Observer Mission in South Africa welcomed the outcome of the summit

OAU mission spokesman Mr Sam Ibok said OAU Secretary-General Mr Salim Ahmed Salim would meet Mandela in Umtata tomorrow as a result of the latest

political developments. Ibok urged all parties involved in the negotiations to continue to seek common ground

The European Union appealed to the Freedom Alliance to join the April elections. In a letter to alliance chairman Mr Rowan Cronjé, the European Union said it welcomed the initiatives aimed at consolidating the democratic foundations of South Africa.

"The European Union is convinced that the only way to reflect their commitment to the process of democratic change in South Africa is for all parties to participate in the forthcoming elections. All South Africans must be allowed and encouraged to express their individual views on the country's future."

"At the same time, the European Union strongly urges all parties to refrain from threatening violence and from impeding the course of the elections and from delaying a solution on the outstanding constitutional issues" — Sapa.

(Report by Patrick Bulger, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)

# Joint rallies planned for ANC and Inkatha

3/24/94

DAVID GREYBE

DURBAN — The job of passing on the newfound political understanding between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi to their warring followers will be left to a joint task group

Its most pressing task would be to organise joint rallies for Inkatha and ANC leaders, including Buthelezi and Mandela, officials and supporters in Natal said yesterday

There were also calls for Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini to inform chiefs that Zulus could belong to any political party

Joint rallies would send the right message to supporters of the two camps, Durban Regional Chamber of Business president John Dickson said.

Many members of the region's business community had for too long felt there was not much evidence of goodwill between the two sides, and business had suffered, Dickson added

"The leaders must come here and speak with one voice," ANC regional peace desk officer Cyril Shez said, standing in the deserted Inanda squatter settlement on the North Coast

ANC supporters claimed residents had fled the area because of intimidation by Inkatha supporters

ANC supporter Richard Cele, 38, said he had been on the verge of fleeing with his family but after the good news from Buthelezi and Mandela "I have decided to stay a bit longer in the hope

there will be peace".

Inkatha spokesman Ed Tillett accused government of turning a blind eye to huge MK arms caches, MK training camps and highly trained MK members in the region

Only a mutual end to hostilities and mass disarmament could make the task group's job a success "But how it will be achieved no one knows yet."

Shez called on government to stop issuing weapons such as automatic rifles to the KwaZulu government. He claimed the weapons ended up in Inkatha hands.

He also called for Zulu chiefs to be paid their salaries by the TEC and not the KwaZulu government "because some chiefs are scared that if they allow free political activity, Ulundi will cut off the money".

Mandela and Buthelezi said after their meeting in Durban on Tuesday that primary responsibility for the maintenance of law and order remained with government.

A joint ANC-Inkatha task group was set up in 1991 after the two leaders met in Durban, but officials admitted yesterday it had not achieved much

Tillett said joint rallies would go some way to defusing a volatile situation "The problem is we are also in the throes of an election campaign"

Report by D Greybe, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb



# PAC outlines affirmative action policy

**BISA 4 1994**  
AFFIRMATIVE action under a PAC government would be "a series of deliberate corrective measures" to redress the socio-economic and political injustices of apartheid, PAC president Clarence Makwetu said yesterday. (WA)

He told an Enterprise Investment Forum seminar in Johannesburg affirmative action was a proactive effort over a period of time. It was necessary to set up equal starting positions between different groups. Abolishing legal discrimination was not enough, he said. (WA)

Land reform, access to resources and democratising the economy were crucial to affirmative action.

The PAC would mobilise resources for these interventions through taxation, savings, self-help schemes and international sources.

If these were not successful, measures such as nationalisation and redistri-

**MARIANNE MERTEN**

but ion would be considered. "Without this intervention, we are likely to continue underutilising our vast re-

sources," he said.

Increased productivity was essential to economic growth and SA's ability to compete abroad.

Report by M Merten TML 11 Dingohel St, Jhb

# ANC's Sexwale calls for 'chorus of advice' from SA business

THE ANC had to team up with business to meet the demands of the destitute, give ordinary people a stake in the economy and make SA competitive, ANC PWV head Tokyo Sexwale said yesterday.

He told a forum of top businessmen in Johannesburg that "a demagogue will take it all unless blacks are seen to be on the centre stage of ownership of the economy". Such a team effort would also depoliticise development, which would not be accomplished through fiscal measures alone. "If Mandela can kneel in front of Buthelezi, we can kneel in front of you to say that we

need to work together."

Sun International chairman Sol Kerzner, Anglo American gold division chairman Clem Sunter, TML MD David Kovarsky and Liberty Life vice-chairman Doran Wharton-Hood were among those present. Sexwale said unbundling was not the way to spread ownership. "If you unbundle a company and Mr Myburgh or Sol Kerzner gets it, it does not make sense," he said. "Even with Natfoc, you can't unbundle to Motlana all the time." He told the businessmen he had invited them to this first business leadership fo-

## MUNGO SOGGOT

run so that he could hear a "chorus of advice", instead of the disjointed tips he was passed while being "wined and dined".

The ANC wanted to tap business leaders' experience because it had no experience in government. Sexwale said he probably would be in charge soon of the PWV region, which was "the engine room of the sub-rune that is SA. If I put one foot wrong I'll sink it. We don't want your votes, we want your wisdom". The ANC and business had to work to-

## 4/25/84

gether to make SA competitive, or else the "Pacific Rim will eat us for breakfast. There is a danger that certain of our tax policies may be at odds with you businessmen and the JSE, but we want to be transparent, starting now."

The media was not invited to the discussions between the businessmen and ANC representatives after Sexwale's speech. Kovarsky said the need for a clear economic policy to attract investment had been discussed, as well as the importance of efficient local government. The businessmen had done most of the talking and

Sexwale had said there would be a follow-up meeting after the election.

Wharton-Hood said the quality of input at the discussion session had been "outstanding" and both sides had been frank and open. The event had been "one of the most positive developments in the last couple of years". He was impressed by the ANC's attitude to holding discussions with the business community, saying "If the previous government had done the same thing we would be much better off today."

Report by M-Soggor TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb  
● Picture, Page 3

# Public service ads slammed.

**GAVIN DU VENAGE**

FEW blacks were applying for vacant posts in the public service, possibly because the wrong publications were being used to advertise openings, ANC representative on the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) finance subcouncil Tito Mboweni said in Pretoria yesterday **413194**

He said ads for vacancies were usually placed in the Sunday Times and a few Afrikaans-language papers and possibly did not reach many who could apply.

Another reason for the small number of black applicants could be the wording of advertisements, which often called for proficiency in English and Afrikaans, and "some knowledge" of a black language. This implied only whites should apply, Mboweni said **(11A)**

He said the subcouncil was holding discussions with various government departments about advertising in mass circulation publications aimed at the black market, such as City Press and Imvo

Mboweni said the subcouncil was making good progress in general despite its large workload and several minor prob-

lems. The subcouncil met at least once a week and reported regularly to the TEC.

It had swiftly considered and adopted resolutions on more than 20 issues, including the financing of the KwaZulu jet, the problem of the lack of accountability over TBVC expenditure, and SA's foreign debt obligations.

He said the subcouncil had also stopped a Development Bank loan to Bophuthatswana because it had refused to allow free political activity in its territory. Bophuthatswana had still not satisfied the TEC that it would comply with its requirements and the loan would remain on hold.

Mboweni said the KwaZulu jet purchase had been allowed as it would be a state asset to be transferred to the next government. A condition attached to the aircraft's purchase was that it could not be used for party political purposes, one that would be strictly applied to all state assets in the run-up to the election.

Report by G Duvenage TML, 11 Diagonal St Jhb

# 'Plot' to kill Ramaphosa

CT. 5/3/94 (11K)

By BARRY STREEK

POLICE are to interview Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen about a reported right-wing plot to assassinate ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa

Police chief of intelligence Major-General Krappies Engelbrecht would personally interview Gen Viljoen, who was "out of town" when police sought to interview him yesterday, Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Mr Craig Kotze said

The Sowetan newspaper reported yesterday that Gen Viljoen had "volunteered" information to the ANC that there was a plot to kill Mr Ramaphosa

He had also linked the alleged plot to covert military operations

ANC spokesman Mr Ronnie

## Police to interview Viljoen

Mamoepa confirmed last night that the ANC had received information from "independent sources" about a right-wing plot to murder Mr Ramaphosa

In its report, the Sowetan said it had learnt that Gen Viljoen had approached the ANC with the information "because he wanted to draw suspicion away from his people who, he said, were not part of the conspiracy"

Mr Ramaphosa said in a radio interview "It causes a great deal of concern that there could be a

bunch of people out there who want to eliminate one"

Mr Kotze said the matter was seen in, an extremely serious light

Gen Viljoen issued a statement saying it was not AVF policy to become involved in hit-squad activities

He said the Sowetan story was probably aimed at discrediting the right-wing

"If I should become aware of such planning I would report it to the police and do everything possible to prevent such a dangerous deed," Gen Viljoen said

AVF spokesman Mr Stephan Maninger said he did not believe there was any right-wing plot to kill Mr Ramaphosa and doubted Gen Viljoen would volunteer such information

Gen Viljoen could not be reached yesterday to ascertain whether he had told the ANC of the alleged plot

# ANC pulls plug on its beleaguered Paris office

ARG 5/3/94

**JAMES TOMLINS** (11A)  
Weekend Argus Foreign Service

PARIS — The African National Congress office in Paris is closing down in May after 25 turbulent years here, during which two of its representatives were assassinated

This is in line with ANC policy of closing down all of its 18 foreign bureaux before the election

The New York bureau has already closed, a victim of a lack of funding by the United Nations

The ANC Paris bureau, which also covers Switzerland, is out of funds. The telephone was cut off some weeks ago for failure to pay the bill

The bureau always has worked at a slower pace than its hectic London counterpart, with far fewer supporters. But, it has survived some frenzied moments

One of the worst was in 1988, when ANC "ambassador" Dulcie September was assassinated by a gunman outside her office in central Paris

The crime has never been solved, but the ANC believe she was killed by a Pretoria hit-

man, whom they have named

Her successor, Solly Smith, also met a violent end. He was poisoned, ANC sources claim he was "executed" when it was discovered he was a government agent

The new envoy, Michael Msizi, is highly regarded for his diplomacy, as well as his fluency in French

Mr Msizi played host to ANC president Nelson Mandela when he came to Paris after his release and on a subsequent visit. He even has been tipped by ANC sources here as South Africa's next ambassador in Paris

For the moment, however, there is concern about their future among the 20-plus accredited SA diplomats in the embassy, one of the country's most modern — a seven-floor fortress beside the river Seine

Critics at the time of its inauguration complained that it had bullet-proof windows as protection against anti-apartheid protesters

It was opened on May 3 1974. Nobody could have imagined that in 20 years' time the ANC would be nominating their own man to head it

# Azapo launch NO-campaign

By PEARL RANTSEKENG

CIPRESS  
6/3/94

AZAPO would not register as a party for the elections and would also not participate in the elections, the movement said at the launch of its anti-election campaign this week

Azapo's National Campaign's Committee chairperson Mbuleleo Rakwena told the media that Azapo would be campaigning to show people the shortcomings of the elections

Rakwena said the election had done more to divide black people than unite them

"It has done more to rob people of their right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," he said

He said Azapo was going to advise black people that the elections would not deliver liberation or freedom because of the negotiated agreements at Kempton Park and non-negotiable clauses surrounding the land

Rakwena said his organisation was not going to join the elections because they do not want to go in with a system that had no capacity to deliver

"Any party elected in these elections will not be able to meet the demands of black people for liberation. The negotiators at Kempton Park did not even have a mandate from the people," he said

He said his organisation's aims were to actively regain what the people had lost under apartheid.

Rakwena said they believed theirs was the only organisation that had a long-lasting solution that would bring true peace to all people irrespective of race, religion, colour or creed

Said Rakwena "We are calling on all black people to cast their vote for Azapo and not vote at all"

Report by P Rantsekeng of 2 Herb Street, New Doornfontein

# PAC pushes land plan

Sowetan 7/13/94

■ **BROAD SMILES** Political tolerance as

PAC and ANC campaign in Motherwell:

**P**AN AFRICANIST CONGRESS PRESIDENT Mr Clarence Makwetu clambered onto a pickup truck yesterday for his tour of Motherwell township in Port Elizabeth

Twenty-odd youngsters toy-toying ahead of the truck slowly led the convoy through streets winding through some of the poorer sections of the township. Their ranks swelled to 250 and then by 100 more as the procession moved at snail's pace.

Political intolerance was absent throughout the tour, even when the convoy ran into a group driving past with loudspeakers to advertise African National Congress PWV leader Mr Tokyo Sexwale's visit to the same township on Sunday afternoon.

With broad smiles, organisers from both parties waved and greeted each other as they passed.

Makwetu stood on the back of the truck, dressed in suit pants and a long-sleeved shirt, shielded from the sun by an umbrella. He waved occasionally to groups of people watching on the side of the road. (11a)

Stopping at one street corner, Makwetu spoke about the PAC's plan to fight the April election and promised there would be no violence if the PAC came into power.

He pushed the PAC's land policy, saying "the only dispute between us and the regime is land. If that is not uppermost on the agenda then there is no need for us to negotiate."

The PAC's objective was to work for the

unification of Africans. "The purpose of such unification is to get back our land. We say this loudly and clearly.

"We are not going to buy this land. There is no receipt to show that this land was bought. The only thing our history shows is that land was dispossessed from the African people."

Makwetu also reiterated that the PAC would meet the Afrikaner Volksfront this week to discuss its demand for a *volkstaat*.

But, "I want to make it clear in no uncertain terms. The issue of a *volkstaat* is a non-starter" — Sapa (Report by Juliette Saunders, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

# ANC will find the funds — Manuel

MACASSAR — The ANC would find the funds for its reconstruction and development programme because it had the will to do so, ANC economics head Mr Trevor Manuel said here yesterday

"The National Party did not because it was corrupt," he told about 400 people at a meeting here. "It never thought the elections would come so it did not care. We can afford it because we want to"

The state had the money for housing but was not using it, he said. The NP government had had 48 years to do something but had not. It had never thought of solving the housing problem because it had not considered people's needs

National Housing Minister Mr Louis Shill's "days were numbered" and he would be out of a job after the April 27 elections, said Mr Manuel.

"He has no right to decide what is going to happen under an ANC government. He must be put in his place."

The NP also did not have the political will to do anything about crime. — Sapa



# Olive Sowetan 7/13/94 branch for FA

By **Themba Molefe** (11A)  
Political Correspondent

THE deadline for registration for the April elections should be postponed to allow all parties to come to an all-inclusive settlement, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said in Pietersburg yesterday. This proposal will apparently be brought up in the meeting of the Transitional Executive Council tomorrow.

He said he would urge the ANC and its allies, the Independent Electoral Commission and Patriotic Front parties to accept his proposal.

Addressing about 20 000 supporters in the "heartland of the *volksstaat*", Mandela appealed for absolute patience to allow the likes of the Afrikaner Volksfront, Bophutha-tswana and Inkatha Freedom Party to eventually contest the election. He was addressing an International Women's Day rally at Pietersburg Stadium.

By inference, Mandela described people like Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen as men of integrity because they wanted to get into a democratic settlement.

Mandela said he would propose that no deadline be set for the registration of parties while discussions were being held with the parties outside the process.

(Report by T Molefe, 61 Commando Rd  
Industria West, Johannesburg)

# ANC lashes out at Kriel over killings

THE ANC yesterday hotly disputed Law and Order Minister Herrus Kriel's reasons for the Bhambayi massacre in which 11 people died, blaming the internal stability unit and calling for Kriel's resignation.

ANC Natal leader Jacob Zuma called for the national peacekeeping force to be deployed and international monitors to be concentrated in Natal.

At a news conference, he rekindled the ANC's "third force" theory of why incidents like the Bhambayi massacre occur, suggesting that the killings were in part designed to raise tension in the area and discourage residents from voting.

ANC southern Natal media officer Dumsani Makhaye said that Kriel's statement that the true causes of violence were political intolerance and ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party leaders' lack of control over members was "an insult to the people of SA".

Political violence was caused by elements within the apartheid security forces, particularly the internal stability unit, which was the regime's "killing machine".

The unit had been withdrawn from Bhambayi and replaced by the army in December. Until mid-January, when Kriel

TIM COHEN

had reintroduced the unit into the area, there had been no violence. Since then people had been killed "like flies".

The pattern was the same on the East Rand, in Bekkersdal and elsewhere. Kriel had to explain why the unit had blocked Bhambayi's four entrances during the attack, Makhaye said.

"Where did the assassins get the special bullets that ignite on impact that were used in the Bhambayi massacre? These bullets are only available to the apartheid special forces," he said.

Instead of blaming ANC and Inkatha leaders, Kriel should resign. He had failed the country in his duties as the minister responsible for defending the lives and property of South Africans.

Sapa reports ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday blamed government for the Bhambayi massacre.

Government had opposed "at the highest level" an ANC request that the internal stability unit be withdrawn and the army be deployed in violence-torn townships, he said.

Reports by T Cohen TML, 11 D'Arques St, Jhb and E Kemp Sapa Newbank House Strand St, CT

## EC trains peace corps on East Rand

IN A significant move to restore peace in the East Rand township of Daveyton, the EC observer mission has embarked on a pioneer project to train a peace corps which it says will have a "calming influence" on the community.

The first batch of 90 trainees completed their training, which included crowd control, radio operation and dispute resolution, last week. The second group begins its training to-

WILSON JWANE

day outside the township.

Mission deputy chief Les House said yesterday the corps was intended to "plug the gap" between the community and police. Their duties would include patrolling the township and resolving incidents which did not necessarily require police involvement. House said it was hoped the peace corps would have a calming influence on the

community and that it would reinforce a culture of tolerance in the area.

The project would be extended countrywide if it proved successful in Daveyton. House said it was hoped the peace corps would follow the example of those in the US.

Meanwhile Sapa reports the Wits/Vaal regional peace committee yesterday appealed for 6 000 volunteers to act as monitors

# BUSINESS DAY SURVEY



# Parties differ on mediation

DAVID GREYBE  
and TIM COHEN

EARLY indications suggest that the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party may not agree on the type of international mediation to resolve constitutional differences.

ANC and Inkatha negotiators met separately yesterday to decide on the mediation they would favour, prior to their meeting in Durban today, while government continued dismissing the proposal.

Some ANC members expressed a preference for high-profile facilitators to resolve a few outstanding issues quickly, while Inkatha apparently favoured a firmer form of mediation.

Government's position remained that SA's political parties were capable of resolving their problems without foreign involvement, which could drag out the tran-

sition process even further, government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer said.

"I personally don't think it's a workable concept at all," he said. 813194

Government and ANC chief negotiators made clear, however, that the April elections would not be postponed as a result of mediation. (IA) (NS)

The ANC would meet this morning to finalise its proposals, but it appeared the organisation was not prepared to accept Inkatha's bid for full-blown mediation as in the former Yugoslavia.

Freedom Alliance negotiators met for

To Page 2

## Mediation

most of yesterday to work out their mediation proposals, support for which was expressed by Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope yesterday. (IA)

But Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said even bodies like the UN were not the right organisations to deal with mediation. (NS)

"I am sorry to say that even the fact that we registered last Friday for elections does not necessarily mean we are going to participate if mediation does not take place before (the elections)"

Natal ANC premier candidate Jacob Zuma suggested that the mediation effort might include aspects of negotiations cur-

rently under way with Zulu King Goodwill Zweithini. 813194

It was quite possible that the mediation could take place quickly, because the areas of dispute had already been substantially identified in negotiations.

SACP national chairman and ANC negotiator Joe Slovo expressly ruled out arbitration in favour of "facilitation".

"But in the end it depends upon the parties themselves," Slovo added.

Meyer said the parties were not talking about mediation but rather international involvement of a kind similar to that which followed the Boipatong massacre.

Report by T Cohen and D Greybe TML, 11 Diagonal Street, Jhb

From Page 1

NEWS FEATURE *Only three days to grab initiative that has been created for moderates*

# Hope that AVF may yet join polls

Southern Africa

## SECRET MEETING Viljoen

may still lead a party to the polls:

GENERAL Constand Viljoen has less than three days to grab the initiative he has created for moderates in his ranks by registering a far right party, the Vryheidsfront

Early yesterday Viljoen and his supporters were apparently in a secret huddle and so-called moderates who support the general say there is still hope

The Vryheidsfront is now a registered party and Viljoen may submit a list of election candidates by tomorrow if he wants this registration to hold up

If he fails to submit a list the registration merely lapses

Viljoen seems to have his entire Afrikaner Volksfront directorate of generals behind him in favour of the strategic option which includes participation and negotiations with the ANC in search of a political accord

Prior to yesterday morning's crisis meeting, the AVF's General Tienie Groenewald told *Sapa* "There will be more efforts to convince people in the AVF that we should keep our options open"

Viljoen's driving motivation since he was catapulted to a leadership position in the AVF has been Afrikaner unity. He has said repeatedly that he would do anything before he would move to break

day's meeting of the so-called People's Representative Council, the parliament designed to lead the Boere-Afrikaner people over the transition, General Viljoen can no longer regard those he leads as a unified force

They crushed his Friday night initiative and cheered when CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said there would be no participation in the April 27 election

However, even if the moderates in these official ranks are in the minority — the registration option was crushed by 73 votes to 20

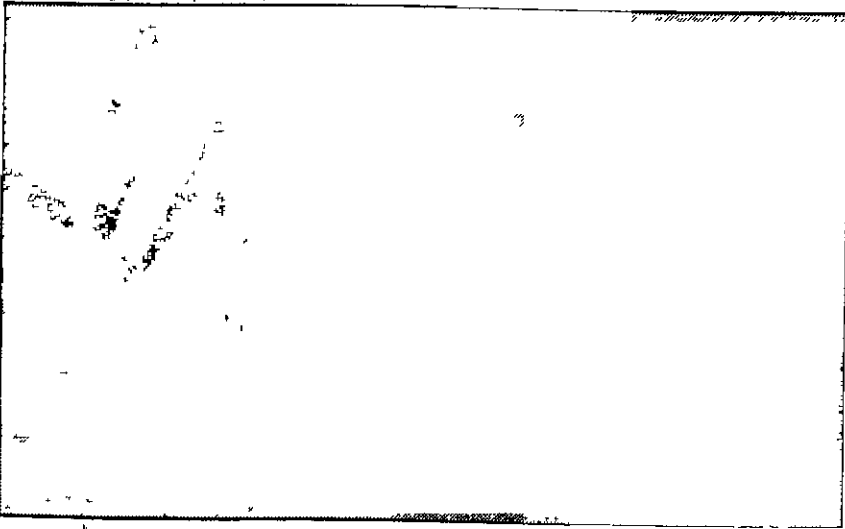
there is a widespread opinion that grassroots support would emerge for Viljoen if he led a party to the polls in search of a *volksraad*

Groenewald confirmed to *Sapa* yesterday that it was no secret that some AVF members supported taking part in the election and that they would continue efforts to get the election boycotters round to

He said yesterday's meeting with the alliance partners

Bophuthatswana and the IFP would help determine the AVF's course of action

FA chairman Mr Rowan George confirmed yesterday that the meeting was that of the sub-committee set up to examine the question of official recognition and what the FA would



There will be more efforts to convince people in the AVF that we should keep our options open

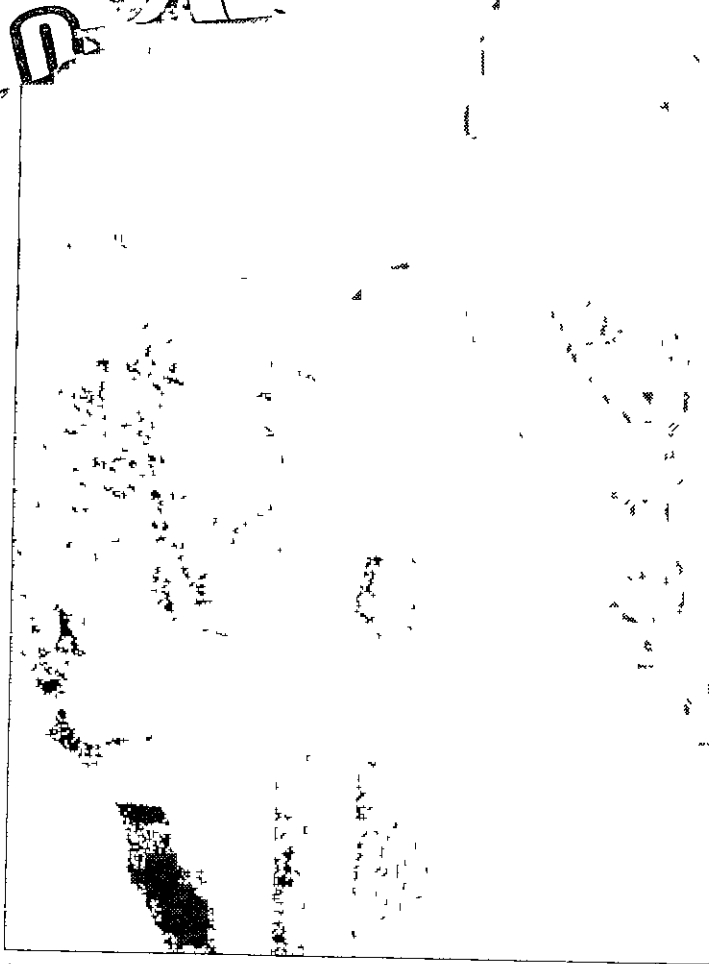
Viljoen ... not sounding the retreat.

quires from this option that it has succeeded in convincing the ANC could be a way past the impasse. The sub-committee is chaired by IFP national chairman Mr Frank Mdlalose

Viljoen's description of negotiations with the ANC dovetailed precisely with an account given by ANC national chairman Mr Thabo Mbeki on Friday. Mbeki, who stressed that any *volksraad* had to be nonracial in its formulation, said that whatever agreement was reached, the ANC would consider itself bound to honour this

Meanwhile, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela has endorsed an extension of the deadline for registration with a view to encouraging yesterday's cabinet meeting in Bophuthatswana which must decide whether to take this late registration option for its Christian Democratic Party

Mandela told supporters at an election rally in Pietersburg there would be no peace if some players remained outside the election process (Report by D Lautenbach 216 Vermeulen Street Pretoria)



African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela poses with a young girl dressed in traditional gear at a People's Forum in Sekororo in Lebowa in the Northern Transvaal, the heartland of white Afrikanerdom, this week.

# Alexander to contest PWV for PAC

Sowetan 9/3/94

**By Lulama Luti**  
Political Staff

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday released the names of seven candidates for regional premierships, with general secretary Mr Benny Alexander topping the list of PWV regional nominees.

Effectively, Alexander will contest the PWV premierships with the African National Congress' Mr Tokyo Sexwale, the National Party's Mr Olaus van Zyl and the Democratic Party's Mr Tony Leon.

## Regional premier

PAC negotiator and secretary for relief Mrs Patricia de Lille has been nominated to stand as regional premier in the Western Cape, one of the most closely contested regions in the country.

The other nominees are Mr Leslie Ntuli (Eastern Transvaal), Mr Joe Mkhwanazi (Natal), Mr Molefi Lithoko (Free State), Mr Morwamotshe

Ntwampe (Northern Transvaal) and Mr Raymond Johnson (Northern Cape).

Speaking at a media briefing, Alexander said the PAC list of regional candidates differed from those of other parties in that it was the only one with a woman standing for premierships.

## PAC-ANC election pact

He said it was also the only list with a soldier (Johnson) as a nominee.

Asked about the prospects of a PAC-ANC election pact, Alexander said recent statements by ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela had quashed such a "united front".

"The statements by Mr Mandela, in which he called on the PAC to submit documents detailing our financial status, assets, membership, etc as though it is two companies merging and not a united front, has really made it virtually impossible (for an election pact)," he said.

(Report by L. Luti, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg)

# Pressure on Bop mounts

Sowetan 9/3/94

**By Mckeed Kotlolo, Ike  
Motsapi and Sapa**

AFRICAN National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday urged the South African Government to withdraw seconded officials from Bophuthatswana to force homeland president Lucas Mangope to resign

Mandela's comments came as the beleaguered Bophuthatswana government issued a statement in an attempt to clarify its decision against the election, an issue now at the centre of the civil unrest in the area (11A)

Addressing students at the University of Venda on the last day of his Northern Transvaal election road show, Mandela said the ANC would also propose "other measures" against Bophuthatswana

Mandela said he had asked Mangope to allow people to decide their political future "but it seems I am talking to a stone"

In its statement the Bophuthatswana government said "A decision to participate in the election in South Africa had implications for Bophuthatswana far

broader than those for military dictatorships such as Transkei and Venda — which functioned by decree — and ordinary political parties"

In the case of Bophuthatswana only its parliament, which will sit on Tuesday, can make the decision to enter into the elections, the statement said

Bophuthatswana also sent a letter to the South African Government decrying statements by Foreign Minister Mr Pik Botha that SADF troops may be sent into Bophuthatswana if needed

● See page 8.

## Other fronts

See Page 17 for a comprehensive coverage of political developments

● Cosatu outlines its election education programme,

● PAC issues its list for the regional premierships,

● Women look back at International Women's Day,

● TEC slams Nats R90 million move on housing

# ANC says personal taxes will not increase

B. Paddock 9/13/94

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC promised yesterday taxes on individuals would not be increased, but said it would increase revenue and prove that a better life could be afforded in SA.

Reacting to the latest report of auditor-general Henri Kluever, the ANC said: "Our money has been squandered recklessly, mismanaged, misappropriated and mispent. It is time for a change — not just of direction, but especially of management."

The same sentiments were echoed by the DP, which said it was "concerned about the overall audit", but particularly about all education departments. It called for an investigation of these ~~DIAX~~ departments.

The ANC said NP claims that its record showed it was fit to govern had been contradicted from "inside the heart of the NP government itself — the state auditor-general's annual report which catalogues a spending spree in which the public service dissipated taxpayers' money irregularly".

The report also sketched a picture of a public service which was "unaccountable and out of control", the ANC said, and quoted Kluever's summary that there was an inability to manage state debts, there was poor regulation of spending by state entities, and there were deficiencies in accounting for financing of the homelands.

"After those comments, eyebrows will be raised by his curious conclusion that 'the public services were reasonably well managed'," the ANC said.

SA's gross gold and foreign exchange reserves had fallen 3,6% to R330m, state debt had risen 7% to R31,805m, and expenditure 3%.

The ANC said the auditor-general showed tax collection was not always effi-

cient.

"So much for the official record of the NP's competence in government," the ANC said. "It is a record devoid of any sense of responsibility towards the taxpayers, and of total inability to manage matters competently."

It then promised that it would "increase state revenue through rapid expansion and efficient tax collection . . . and show that a better life can be afforded without any increase of the tax burden on the people".

DP education spokesman Roger Burrows said the time had come to investigate all education departments, as he was concerned that the overall audit of education had not been done and that millions of rands were being misspent.

DP MP (Yeoville) Douglas Gibson said the report showed "scandalous mismanagement" that had not happened even during the years of President PW Botha.

He said President FW de Klerk had to bear the responsibility for the "extremely adverse comments of the auditor-general".

"What compounds the agony of the poor taxpayers is that millions of rands of this, maladministration relates to secret projects," Gibson said, adding that government had to play open cards.

Responding to State Expenditure Minister Amie Venter's announcement of a 12-point plan to correct matters, he said: "When the Nats are at a loss as to what to do, they always announce new plans and a new beginning. It is the same rotten old Nat party."

Report by B Paddock, TML 11 Diagonal St Jhb

# ANC derailed talks with us, says PAC

WILSON ZWANE

THE ANC had derailed negotiations on an election pact between itself and the PAC, PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said, yesterday. *Biday 913194*

He told journalists in Johannesburg the ANC's insistence that the PAC should submit documents detailing its finances and assets had put "a spanner in the wheel".

Alexander said the PAC would now contest the elections on its own. The organisation had come to that decision reluctantly, as it knew a united front would have been in the best interests of the people.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the declaration of membership and assets was crucial to discussions on co-operation.

The PAC also made public yesterday the names of candidates for the premierships of the country's seven regions. *(11A)*

Alexander will contest the PWV premiership, while Patricia de Lille and Joe Mkhwanazi will contest the Western Cape and Natal respectively. Alexander said the PAC was putting great emphasis on these regions "to ensure overall victory".

Other premiership candidates are Leslie Ntuli (Eastern Transvaal), Mofe Lithoko (Free State), Norwatmotshe Ntwampe (Northern Transvaal) and Apla official Raymond Johnson (Northern Cape).

The North West and the Eastern Cape will announce their candidates today. Also today, the PAC will make public its national list of candidates.

Report by W Zwane, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb



# UN mediation insists ANC

*Sowetan 9/3/94*  
THE African National Congress will insist that only the United Nations be involved in mediation with the Inkatha Freedom Party, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday. (11A)

This came amid continued discussions between IFP and ANC representatives at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park yesterday to try and resolve the political impasse.

He was addressing students at the University of Venda on the last day of his Northern Transvaal election campaign in the area.

"Mediation must be left to organisations that have experience in this field. We don't want organisations we have never heard of," he said.

Mandela said the IFP's decision to provisionally register for elections was the result of a collective effort by himself and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and he appealed to ANC supporters to "forget the past and recognise the contribution which Chief Buthelezi has made".

Today is the deadline for the submission to the Independent Electoral Commission of all lists of candidates for the national and provincial elections.

However, the IFP yesterday insisted it would only draw up the list after attempts at international mediation and provided that such attempts were successful.

(Report by Enrico Kemp, Nedbank House, Strand Street, Cape Town and Lulu, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.)

**H**OVERING malevolently over the new phase of talks between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party is the issue of the election date.

ANC president Nelson Mandela has repeatedly said a postponement cannot be contemplated. His Inkatha counterpart Mangosuthu Buthelezi has stopped short of demanding that it must be. But he talks, as tirelessly, of a need for flexibility in the election timetable. If deadlines — rather than the constitutional questions in dispute — become the issue we are wasting our time, Buthelezi argues, not unreasonably.

Both Mandela and Buthelezi are, in their own way, correct. Neither can possibly take a different view at this stage.

The ANC has staked its reputation on an April 27 election, and if its supporters see it beginning to waver in response to Inkatha pressure — while Inkatha remains uncommitted to participation in the poll — the consequences would be unthinkable.

In the meantime, there continues a huge struggle within Inkatha. Frank Mdlalose is back in negotiations after an almost three-month absence due to injuries sustained in a motor accident. So is Joe Matthews, who was out of the limelight for a period. Both clearly favour a compromise settlement and participation. At the same time, Buthelezi's key adviser, Walter Felgate, appears to remain sceptical of, or even hostile to, the prospect of international mediation facilitating a settlement.

**N**one of this gives any indication whatsoever of which course Buthelezi is intent on. There is only one certainty that mediation, should it occur, will produce an outcome which forces some further concessions from the ANC on regional powers, and that outcome will be something less than Inkatha's ideal. This will pose for Buthelezi a political choice (and, in the end, it is Buthelezi's, will that counts in Inkatha). Does he accept an imperfect compromise as the likes of Mdlalose would be inclined to do? This implies acceptance of the notion that, as under more or less pure federations the world over, regions and the centre

# Shhh . . . this is no time to talk about postponing the poll

ALAN FINE

remain involved in a constant struggle to win further power from the other. Buthelezi's second option is to find a pretext among the numerous constitutional imperfections to avoid testing his support at the polls.

There is one crucial feature of Buthelezi's demand for mediation that is being lost sight of — not least by President F.W. de Klerk, who seems hostile to the idea, and the ANC, which is sceptical about its potential.

From Buthelezi's perspective, Codesa and its 1993 no-name brand successor were creations of an ANC/NP conspiracy, structurally designed to weaken unfairly the position of smaller parties like Inkatha Mediation. In contrast, will provide Buthelezi and Inkatha with, for the first time, a forum of which they were the initiators and primary architects, and in which they will, therefore, be more comfortable.

In some respects, the value of a self-built forum may be a mirage — the constitutional issues in dispute have not changed. It may have more to do with personal or organisational ego than substance. But in this respect, Buthelezi and Inkatha are no worse than any other mainstream politician or interest group.

And this is why mediation, as a possible last-gasp route to a settlement, should be taken seriously by both the ANC and NP. It may be that

there was never a chance of a deal. But the potential consequences of deadlock are a driving reason for pursuing a settlement until the last possible moment — up until the election and, if necessary, beyond which returns us to the question of the election date.

One of the few reasons for hope that Inkatha may seriously be seeking a settlement has been Buthelezi's uncharacteristically delicate handling of the issue. He could easily have made it an early stumbling block, which would have nipped the mediation process in the bud. Instead, he appears to have recognised and acknowledged the ANC's sensitive position on the matter.

And the ANC's position is, and must unavoidably be, that the election date is absolutely unmovable and any amendment out of the question — for now at least.

There would seem to be only one, strictly defined, scenario under which that could change, and timing is still of the essence.



Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the ANC's Nelson Mandela

First, it would require sufficient progress to be made in mediation over the next few weeks for Inkatha to make an unconditional commitment to participation in the election, and acceptance of its outcome. If the Independent Electoral Commission deems it to have been free and fair.

Second, Inkatha would have to provide a very good reason why a delay is necessary in the interests of fairness. After all, with its media advertisements and plethora of public meetings, it has been running an election campaign even before it has committed itself to participation. Alternatively, the timing of a settlement or near-settlement would have to be such that it would be logistically impossible to hold the election on time. If Inkatha is to be able to carry out its undertaking to participate.

Even under these circumstances, it is difficult to contemplate a postponement of more than, say, a month.

Let there be no illusions about the costs of a postponement. It would delay a possible resurgence of business confidence. It could cost the fiscus tens of millions of rands. Ballot papers may have to be reprinted. It may even be necessary to add to the state fund on which parties are drawing, to enable them to stretch their campaigns into the extended electioneering period. It would certainly inconvenience hundreds of foreign journalists and dignitaries who have made plans to be in SA for the election and inauguration of the next government.

**B**ut these costs pale into insignificance next to the social and macro-economic costs over the next five or 10 years of a non-inclusive election which could have been avoided had there been a little more patience. Nevertheless, the circumstances described here are the only ones under which an election postponement could be contemplated. And public contemplation can begin only once these events have occurred.

So, rather than acknowledge the possibility, it would be best for now, for the ANC, the NP and everyone else involved to deny (as with changes to the constitutional court and the double ballot) that it could possibly happen — I-Nel.

# PAC in battle to find funds

Vuyo Mvoko (11A)

STRAPPED for cash and desperately needing to gear up its election machinery, the Pan Africanist Congress has knocked on every door in search of a cheaper, preferably free, ride to elections.

PAC foreign affairs secretary Gora Ebrahim and his deputy Carter Seleke met senior ANC officials Sydney Mafumadi and Ibrahim Ismail last Friday to discuss what they termed "matters of mutual interest".

Speaking in Port Elizabeth on Saturday, PAC president Clarence Makwetu said it was "in the interests of the struggling masses" that the two organisations met. He accused the media of wanting to keep them apart.

When ANC president Nelson Mandela was asked on Sunday whether his party would be willing to enter into an alliance with the PAC, he said any organisation wanting an election pact with the ANC would be asked to bring an audited record of its membership, its financial record and assets.

Reacting this week, PAC secretary general Benny Alexander said the ANC apparently viewed an election pact as a merger of two businesses. He said the PAC would contest the elections on its own. Previously, the PAC had knocked on the doors of homeland parties, Amichand Rajbansi's Minority Front, and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP).

It later became apparent that the ANC had won over some of the homeland parties, while other parties had decided to go it alone.

Makwetu denied allegations that senior PAC members caught playing "footsie-footsie" with Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's African Democratic Movement were trying to negotiate an election pact. Rajbansi on the other hand said since the double ballot was no longer an issue, he saw no reason why his party should enter into an alliance with anyone.

Alexander said foreign countries which had previously frozen funds promised to the organisation — on condition it renounced violence and committed itself to the transition process — would release them.

With little more than a month to go before elections, sources say the PAC is battling to obtain funds to run a fully-fledged election campaign.

## Their opponents' failures ...

WE asked leading figures in the major political parties to list five issues they don't think their opponents are dealing with. Of the five parties we approached, only the Pan Africanist Congress did not respond.

### MARTHINUS VAN SCHALKWYK

National Party media spokesman

- The true role of the South African Communist Party in the ANC
- Productivity
- How state income will be increased to fund the election promises of the ANC, without dramatically increasing personal tax
- Solutions for the rent and service boycott
- Political tolerance and free expression

### ZABU JIYANE

IFP national spokesman

- The constitution's myriad flaws
- abandonment of its ideal role and fier rather than divider, its inability to protect against the abuse of central government power
- Moral degeneration, lack of respect for human life and authority, figures, breakdown of the family and family values prominent
- The effect of unrealistic expectations, inadequate attention to productivity, overemphasis on redistribution of the products of the imperatives of growth
- The growing dependency syndrome, the state expected to solve all problems, lack of individual initiative
- The dangers of replicating social engineering in a new guise, creeping socialism, creation of entrenchment, national unity at the expense of diversity

### CYRIL RAMAPHOSA

ANC secretary general

- Rebuilding the country and national reconciliation. The NP has no political plan to heal the division and suspicion created by apartheid
- Meeting basic needs. The NP does not have a comprehensive response to the social and economic crisis facing the country
- Gender issues. Oppressive customary laws are still in place, women are still treated more than their male counterparts. Women still suffer the results of the migrant labour system
- Education. The NP lacks the commitment to prioritise black education and the credibility needed to build a culture of learning
- Land and agricultural reform. The NP has no plan for broadening access to land and strengthening the tenure rights of people who have been on the land for centuries, and no plan for improving the lot of rural people in general

### TONY LEON

Democratic Party, F.W. de Klerk

- Consumer rights - which are deficient and incidental in South Africa
- The question of freedom of information, given second rank protection in the Bill of Rights
- Cultural freedom. Liberating the art from the straitjacket of political correctness and minimising state involvement
- Gay rights - because this election is about all forms of liberation
- The environment. There is an unacceptable amount of industrial pollution and much basic and environmental unconsciousness in the state and the business community

W/M 11-17/13/94

# Freedom Alliance breaks off talks with ANC over homeland crisis

DAVID GREYBE

The Freedom Alliance last night broke off its destabilising tactics the next day after all talks and mediation with the ANC until the ANC stopped its action in Bophuthatswana. The ANC's President Lucas Manekeng said the ANC's decision to stop the action was taken by Gen Constand Viljoen announced. He said the decision had been taken by alliance leaders and the ANC should allow Bophuthatswana President Lucas Manekeng to make the decision to give up or maintain the sovereignty of Bophuthatswana without being intimidated.

Penruell Maduna said the agreement was expected to provide for mediation by "neutral high-profile political leaders", possibly under the auspices of an international body such as the UN, before constitutional experts were brought in to "capture" the political agreement.

Maduna said extending the deadline for the submission of candidates' lists to the Independent Electoral Commission could provide enough time to resolve the problems keeping Inkatha and the Freedom Front out of the elections.

However, the IEC official responsible for the 80-million ballot papers said the printing had to start tonight in England if the deadlines were to be met.

All negotiations, mediation, submission of candidates' lists and efforts by the alliance to rejoin the process will be stopped. The alliance warned that if the ANC/SACP alliance was allowed to proceed

with its destabilising tactics the next day, it would be Kwazulu and the Afrikaner people. This is a shocking development and the question arises whether government is involved, Viljoen said.

However, talks on mediation went on last night between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party and negotiators were expected to finalise details.

The talks concluded with an ANC call to extend to Wednesday the deadline for the submission of candidates' lists.

If we are flexible enough on the deadline issue we, Inkatha and Gen Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front could still participate in the elections, ANC negotiator

for instance, were contacted to assist Maduna said the ANC was ready to conclude a political accord of the A.I.F. rather demand for a vote. The accord, originally scheduled to be completed by March 15, was expected to include an ANC undertaking to pursue the issue of a Volksstaat despite ANC opposition. If the April election showed overwhelming support from all residential areas, Maduna said the ANC would continue with this if the voters followed the democratic route of elections.

Report by D Greybe, Tel., 11 Oldham St, Jhb

## Mandela tries to allay farmers' fears

THEO RAWANA *Biday*

THE role of farmers was important to the economy and an ANC government would do nothing detrimental to this sector when addressing land issues, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday. 1113194

After meeting a delegation of the SA Agricultural Union (SAAU) in Johannesburg, he said that while the ANC was devising strategies to address the issue of landlessness, the role of farmers as key producers also had to be considered.

Mandela said he had asked for the meeting to allay farmers' fears after land claims were made at the Community Land Conference in Bloemfontein last month.

The land distribution proposals of the National Land Committee — an umbrella body for land and agriculture-related organisations — were not those of the ANC, although the organisation supported the conference. He said it was necessary for farmers "to come on board" (IA)

Mandela said the meeting had been productive in resolving the issue of voter education on farms. He gave no details.

SAAU president Boet Fourie said the SAAU would present its policies to the ANC next week and would hold more talks in an attempt to influence ANC policy.

He said the SAAU had told the ANC that its plans for land use were unrealistic and small farmers could never be established at the cost of commercial farmers.

Property rights had to be protected at all costs, he said.

Report by T Rawana TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb

● Picture Page 3



NEWS ANC leader expresses concern over preference to other parties

# Mandela, farmers talk on land issue

By Donald Pressly  
Political Staff

ANC PRESIDENT Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday met captains of the all-white agricultural unions to mollify their concerns about ANC land policies

ANC recognised that there were serious feelings of uncertainty in the farming sector

Transvaal union boss Mr Dries Bruwer and OFS boss Dr Piet Gous, both Conservative Party MPs, boycotted the session.

**Black landlessness**

Mandela said the farmers' concerns had to be balanced against the necessity of the new government to address

the problem of black landlessness.

But the ANC recognised the key role played by white farmers in food production

**Private property**

A way had to be found to provide land "without making inroads into private property", Mandela said.

Foure said the union would present a package of proposals to the ANC next week to try to influence its land policies.

Mandela also raised concerns about farmers giving access to certain political groups for voter education, but denying the ANC access.

**Transporting workers**

Apparently referring to the NP, he said farmers were keen on transporting workers to its meetings.

Foure said the union had held discussions with the IFC and TEC on this matter

Mr William Mullins president of the Natal Agricultural Union said Natal farmers had agreed in discussions with political groups to transport workers to political meetings if they felt the security situation would be risky on their farms.

Access to farm meetings must be arranged with the farmers five days in advance.

Sundays would be excluded, the NAU spokesman said

# PAC looms as Western Cape power broker

■ PAC support in the Western Cape appears to be growing rapidly, giving the Pan Africanists a chance of sharing power in the province.

DAVID BREIER

Weekend Argus Political Staff

THERE are growing signs that Pan Africanist Congress support is taking off in the Western Cape as the PAC draws black support from the African National Congress.

Election analysts say the ANC has been concentrating much of its electioneering on winning coloured support from the National Party, neglecting its black constituency which is being drawn to the PAC.

PAC support is now believed to be strong enough to win it a few seats in the 42-member Western Cape parliament, giving the PAC a chance to win the balance of power in the event of a "hung parliament" where no party has an absolute majority.

While all signs are that the Nats will be the biggest party in the province, beating the ANC into second place, there is no guarantee the NP will win an overall majority of more than half.

The Democratic Party which is struggling to maintain a strong foothold in the province, has already said it will deal with the highest bidder if neither the NP or ANC premiership candidates command an overall majority. The NP candidate is Hernus Kriel and the ANC's is Allan Boesak.

Patricia de Lille, the newly-nominated PAC candidate for the Western Cape premiership, told Weekend Argus that if the PAC held the balance of power in the province, the "issues" would determine which party it would support.

Ms De Lille said the key issue for the PAC was housing and the PAC would support

whichever party would provide the most housing.

"There is plenty of State land immediately available for housing that is lying vacant at present," she said.

Ms De Lille stressed the PAC was not talking of taking land for housing from the "haves" to give to the "have-nots" as there was sufficient State-owned land which could be used for the purpose.

She attributed the growth of PAC support in the Western Cape to the strategy of organising the PAC into small five-member cells where members were motivated to each recruit five members.

The concentration on small house meetings rather than on mass rallies had given the PAC "quality membership" on which to base its support, she said.

Election analysts point to a number of additional factors which have strengthened the PAC's hand.

One of these is the sheer luck of being drawn first by the Independent Electoral Commission. This means the PAC will top the ballot papers for both the national and provincial elections while the ANC is buried in the middle. The NP appears last on almost all lists.

A more significant factor favouring the PAC at provincial level is the double-ballot system where separate votes are cast for the National Assembly and the provincial legislature.

Research has shown that many first-time voters who are ANC supporters will vote for the ANC on the national ballot and the PAC on the provincial ballot in the mistaken belief that the provincial ballot is for their second-choice party.

(News by D Breier, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)



**International**

**NO. 1019/11/12**  
**S. Africa**

By **JACOB DLAMINI**

ANC president Nelson Mandela has appealed to his followers not to disrupt a visit to Soweto by President F W de Klerk.

Addressing a rally in Sebokeng yesterday, Mr Mandela called for political tolerance (117)

"I can't guarantee that Mr de Klerk's forthcoming visit to Soweto will not be disrupted 1313194

"I can only make an appeal to you to allow him to come," Mr Mandela said

## Unrest areas anger ANC

GOVERNMENT and the ANC clashed over the unilateral imposition of emergency police powers in the wake of the Bophuthatswana unrest ~~unrest~~ *Business Day*

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel announced on Friday that he had declared 52 towns and cities "unrest areas" *14/3/94*

Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze said the declaration of an unrest area allowed police to search people and property without a warrant, to set up roadblocks and to impose curfews

ANC president Nelson Mandela told supporters at a rally on Saturday that President FW de Klerk had made no mention of the measures when they met for several hours on Friday to discuss the Bophuthatswana crisis *(IA)*

"He never even hinted that that sort of action was being planned I was absolutely stunned to learn about it," he said *(IA)*

Mandela said he would protest strongly to De Klerk

ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale said at the rally that the emergency powers had been invoked without the Transitional Executive Council being consulted

"How can we have a free and fair election when 52 areas are in a state of emergency? We will defy these powers," Sexwale said

Kotze said the intervention was legal in terms of the transitional arrangements, but added that the TEC could review Kriel's action

He said the intervention was designed partly to halt "the sort of barbaric looting and violence we saw in Bophuthatswana"

But he said the special powers could also help police to contain any backlash against the execution-style killing of three AWB members in Bophuthatswana

Sapa reports that the areas include Alberton, Boksburg, Benoni, Cullinan, Christiana, Coligny, Delareyville, Ellisras, Germiston, Johannesburg, Kempton Park, Klerksdorp, Krugersdorp, Pretoria, Potchefstroom, Randburg, Randfontein, Springs, Swart-ruggens, Thabazimbi, Vanderbijlpark, Ventersdorp, Vereeniging and Bloemfontein — Reuter

# ANC 'behind takeover of Bop'

*Business Day 14/3/94*  
DAVID GREYBE

THE ANC worked feverishly behind the scenes at the weekend to ensure the Transitional Executive Council took charge of Bophuthatswana after ANC accusations that President FW de Klerk had acted unilaterally

The ANC accused De Klerk of reneging on an agreement with Nelson Mandela on Thursday night that the TEC would appoint an administration to replace Lucas Mangope.

The ANC national working committee sanctioned the deal on Friday morning, only to find out De Klerk had agreed Mangope would remain at the helm in the beleaguered homeland in exchange for participation in the elections, ANC sources said

The ANC accused De Klerk of deploying the SADF in Bophuthatswana without discussing specific aspects of the deployment despite an agreement to do so, which led to a row between the ANC and government at an emergency TEC management committee meeting on Saturday.

Mandela and De Klerk held separate news conferences at the Union Buildings on Friday night after they failed to resolve their differences over the handling of the crisis at a tense two-hour meeting

De Klerk said he had been assured by Bophuthatswana chief negotiator Rowan Cronje that Mangope would comply with TEC resolutions which demanded the embattled leader allow free political activity. However, Mandela demanded the assurances in writing from Mangope

De Klerk argued Mangope should be permitted to remain Bophuthatswana's head until the election, as was the case with Brig Oupa Gqozo in Ciskei and Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa in Transkei

When Independent Electoral Committee chairman Judge Johann Kriegler failed late on Friday night to secure Mangope's co-operation, the ANC led the charge within the TEC management committee to take control of the situation

Not all the management committee members attended the emergency meeting in Pretoria. Present were the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa and Mac Maharaj, the SACP's Joe Slovo, government's Roelf Meyer and the DP's Colin Eglin *(IA)*

In an extraordinary development, the management committee decision to replace Mangope was announced by Ramaphosa, flanked by Slovo and Maharaj, at an "ANC Press conference". A management committee news conference scheduled immediately afterwards, to have been addressed by Eglin, was cancelled without explanation. *(IA)*

Meyer yesterday denied the ANC had hijacked the handling of the crisis after Mangope's refusal to give the necessary assurances. He said De Klerk had taken the initiative with his statement on Saturday morning in which he said he had given Meyer a mandate for the TEC to act against Mangope.

He added Foreign Minister Pik Botha and SADF head George Meiring "were in the driving seat" when a management committee team informed Mangope in Mmabatho on Saturday night his rule had ended

The TEC will finalise details of the replacement interim administration this week when interim leader and SA ambassador to the territory Prof Tjaart van der Walt meets the management committee today and the TEC tomorrow

Meyer said the ANC decision to hold a news conference at the TEC had been an attempt to "score party political points" and was "totally unacceptable"

Not so, argued a senior ANC negotiator yesterday. "There's no doubt about it. It was the ANC resolve which eventually prevailed. De Klerk made a half-hearted attempt to give Mangope a last chance to see if he would abide by the TEC ultimatum"

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# ANC-IFP tensions reach a new high

Star 18/3/92

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD  
and KAIZER NYATSUMBA

Ulundi — Tensions between the ANC and IFP appear to be at an all-time high following the calling off of today's meeting between Nelson Mandela and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini amid fears for the ANC leader's life.

The meeting was to have been held partly in front of the king's subjects in Ulundi, apparently giving rise to fears that Mandela might have become the victim of an assassination plot.

In a letter to IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki said his organisation had received "reports that an attempt will be made on our president's life if he visits Ulundi".

Mbeki said although IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose had given ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma assurances that additional security measures would be taken to protect Mandela, the organisation felt it would be unwise for the ANC leader to travel to Ulundi.

The security problem was exacerbated by "the format of

the meeting", about which the ANC had not been informed.

"It is only fair to indicate that our own expectation was that the president would be afforded an opportunity to discuss with the king in a closed meeting, to enable them to discuss — in depth — legal and constitutional matters of concern to the king.

"The president remains very concerned that he should pay his respects to His Majesty the king. He is also very interested to hear and understand the concerns of His Majesty, so that he and the ANC can do what is possible to address these concerns," Mbeki said.

He requested Buthelezi to use his "good offices" to communicate the ANC's regret to Zwelithini and assure him of Mandela's continuing wish to meet him.

The postponement of the long-awaited meeting — Mandela's first with Zwelithini since his release from prison four years ago — coincided with new moves by President de Klerk to woo Buthelezi into a constitutional settlement.

Speaking during his election roadshow in the PWV yesterday, De Klerk revealed he had

► To Page 3

## Small business agencies must go — ANC

CAPE TOWN — Government's small business agencies, including the Small Business Development Corporation, should be closed down, the ANC said yesterday.

They should be replaced with "a new agency with the sole aim of promoting the growth and expansion of small business enterprise", it said. "We have had 46 years with the NP masterminding economic policy and results have been disastrous."

The ANC's realistic model was not an anti-enterprise or an anti-business programme. "For its success, the ANC will require only that big business and the big corporations also change their focus and lend force to the national drive for jobs, homes, health and education."

But, the ANC said, business was not only for the big players

Its proposed new small business agency

### Political Staff

would be charged with:

- Ensuring that adequate finance and credit were available for the needs of small business; *15/2/94*
- Ensuring that properly serviced sites were available everywhere for small traders and informal markets;
- Providing facilities for the training of small businessmen and women in management, accounting, marketing and production skills; *(S) (IA)*
- Ensuring that priority in the allocation of all public supply and service contracts was given to small business, and
- Ensuring that equal access to loan capital, credit, licences and sites was available for existing and new small business.

Report by B Streak, TML, 122 St George's St, Cape Town

# THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS *Leader served eight-year sentence on Robben Island*

11A

**By Mzimasi Ngudle**  
Political Staff

## A daunting task for PAC's PRO

THE new information and publicity director for the Pan Africanist Congress will have to start from scratch in the organisation's election campaign

Interviewed by *Sowetan*, the 25-year-old Miss Siphwe Sithole, a Rhodes University journalism graduate, exuded confidence over the task that lies ahead

With only six weeks left, Sithole is facing the daunting task of co-ordinating not only the organisation's election campaign, but the nitty gritty of a public relations office

Sithole says the PAC's departments of election communication and publicity and information have been merged

"Although there is a management committee responsible for strategy and finance, my role is to make a creative input into the campaign. I am also responsible for the image of the organisation," Sithole notes with great concern the PAC's financial bankruptcy. She hopes the money to be allocated by the

Independent Electoral Commission to registered parties will boost the organisation's election campaign

Other sources have dried up and the organisation is in dire financial straits

"We are raising funds from local donors and from outside the country. We are also expecting money from the

IEC," she says. Sithole has to attend to compiling news material, working on T-shirts, posters, flags, cassettes, videos and so on. "So far all this has not been done," she says.

She also has the difficult task of grooming the leadership for interviews and media appearances. Having turned down lucrative job offers in favour of the PAC post, Sithole says:

"Maybe it is time that I should do my triple S — Serve, Suffer and Sacrifice."

# Love of the land is main motivation

**By Mathatha Tsedu**  
Political Editor

## ■ JOINED PAC Supportive of

### *Africanist viewpoint while in ANC:*

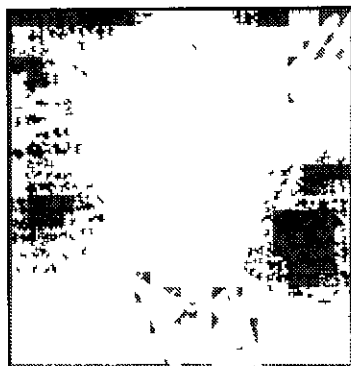
**C**LARENCE Mlamli Makwetu was born in the Cofimvaba district of Transkei in 1928. He joined the ANC as a member of the Youth League, strongly supportive of the Africanist viewpoint within the organisation.

It was no surprise that when the Africanists moved out of the ANC to form the PAC, he was among them. Makwetu continued with his PAC activities after the organisation was banned in 1960 and earned himself an eight-year prison term on Robben Island from 1968 to 1976.

An ardent farmer who is close to the land, he immediately resumed his farming activities at Cofimvaba after his release, using his presence there to continue to organise for the PAC.

Many believe that Makwetu's love for the land is his main motivation for leading the PAC, which advocates for the return of the land to the dispossessed.

A soft spoken and highly religious



**Clarence Mlamli Makwetu**

man, Makwetu was an unknown quantity when he became acting president of the PAC in October 1990, following the death of president Zeph Mothopeng. He was elected president of the PAC two months later.

Since his take over, Makwetu has united the PAC, which has been plagued by splits, and steered the organisation through the turbulent times

of negotiations.

He rode through the rough waters of the split led by a group known as Watchdogs, who opposed the organisation's entry into negotiations.

It was under his presidency that the military wing, Apla, rose from obscurity to prominence in a number of attacks in the Cape, Orange Free State and the Transvaal.

A difficult man to interview, Makwetu randomly gives one-line replies to probing questions of policy issues. He recently announced a unilateral decision to stop armed attacks, saying the bullet had secured the ballot and that the organisation's energies should be expended in securing an election victory.

Makwetu was shattered by the death last month of Apla commander Sabelo Phama Gqwetha, who died in a car accident. "It was a terrible thing, a loss that I personally cannot recover from," he said in an interview recently.

# PAC vision of the future

**By Mzimasi Ngudle**  
Political Staff

AFTER encountering problems with the views of the African National Congress, a breakaway group of Africanists formed the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania on April 5 and 6 1959.

By the end of 1959 the PAC membership of 25 000 exceeded that of the ANC.

The PAC's success was probably due to the fact that its message was simple and easily understood.

The PAC was banned in 1960 after the Sharpeville uprisings and the entire leadership was sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment.

The Africanists were primarily members of the ANC Youth League formed in 1944 under the leadership of Anton Lembede.

According to them, membership of the league was open to all who "lived like and with blacks".

They felt the ANC had made too many concessions in respect of oppression and was thus incapable of promoting black liberation.

The Africanists said blacks should be in control of their own liberation and should not be prompted by white liberals, including communists.

They rejected the Freedom Charter, mainly because of the guarantees it contained for minority rights. These guarantees, they said, would entrench minority domination.

The Africanists believed that the land which the white settlers had stolen from the indigenous people should be

returned to the latter.

This remains the basic claim and the backbone of the PAC's election manifesto.

Snippets from the PAC's election manifesto include:

### **Violence:**

Putting an immediate stop to the violence by "removing foreign mercenaries, disbanding counter-revolutionaries, abolishing migratory labour and rooting out rightwing violence".

### **Land:**

Taking every grain of soil in Azania to the Africans by expropriating land through legal means which will include a Land Reform Act and a Land Claims Commission working under the Constitutional Court. Abolition of gender discrimination in the ownership of land.

### **Economy:**

Rectifying economic imbalances through anti-trust legislation, abolition of monopolies, affirmative action programmes and job-creation schemes.

The unemployed, the aged and the disabled will be exempt from indirect taxes.

### **Affirmative Action:**

People disadvantaged by oppression will be uplifted to compete on equal terms with those who have enjoyed privileges under apartheid.

Quotas may be introduced in the workplace to correct racial and gender imbalances.

### **Labour:**

Collective bargaining rights of the workers shall be recognised.

Farm workers shall have the right to education, health, housing, land and all rights enjoyed by other citizens.

Top priority will be given to grievances of the workers rendering essential services.

### **Housing:**

The public and private sector shall be encouraged by way of incentives to provide housing.

Self-help schemes will be encouraged. Long-term leases may be converted into certificates of ownership.

### **Education:**

Free and compulsory education up to Standard 10. Emphasis will be put on pre-school education. English will be taught from pre-primary school education and will become a medium for basic post-primary education.

### **Health:**

A holistic public health service that will be directed towards family and community reconstruction. Training for health workers will be intensified and inequality in pay and working conditions will be abolished.

# focus on PAC

Sowetan 16/12/94

THE PAN Africanist Congress of Azama goes into this election fully confident that the oppressed masses will see through the fraud of the Kempton Park agreements and remember that the PAC opposed the deals

But even more, said president Clarence Mlamli Makwetu, the PAC hoped that Africans would vote for it because of the policies it espouses

Policies such as a "caring economy", land repossession, its stand on violence, housing provision, health and on privatisation

Plagued by internal dissent over its participation in the negotiations, Makwetu says the decision was right and the PAC has many gains to show for its participation

The chairing of the deliberations by judges had "given the regime an advantage as the judges are not neutral but State appointees. We said they should go, and they went", he said

To accusations that the PAC was "an also ran", a party that went into the talks but failed to get any of its points across, he said

"We opposed the division of the country into regions. We were against the entire package. We want the return of the land and opposed property rights given to settlers

"We did what we did but they were refused. But we got the vote for the African people. We fought for it and we got it and that is important," Makwetu said

## Trilateral talks

While the interim constitution provides for semi autonomous regions that are getting more powers through trilateral talks with the rightwing, the ANC and the Government, the PAC wanted a centralised country and was asking for a mandate to change the interim constitution and bring a more people-orientated system

"We rate our chances as very good. Opinion polls are not a factor, they do not worry us when they say we have very little support because they are never accurate

"In Britain they said the Labour Party would win the last election and it did not happen. In Zimbabwe they said the same thing about Zanu and Mugabe. In Lesotho recently, the BNP was given a big lead, only for the BCP to win all seats. We rely on the grassroots and our chances are good

"We do not have money. We are not a rich organisation and we shall cut our suit according to our cloth. We are not going to rely as much on the media advertisements as other rich parties but we will do the canvassing ourselves

"And it is in these campaigns that we see the support. When the PAC was formed in 1960, we had only six branches on the Cape Peninsula, and a few in Soweto, Natal and Pretoria

"But today for example, out of the 28 districts in Transkei, we have over 40 branches. We have

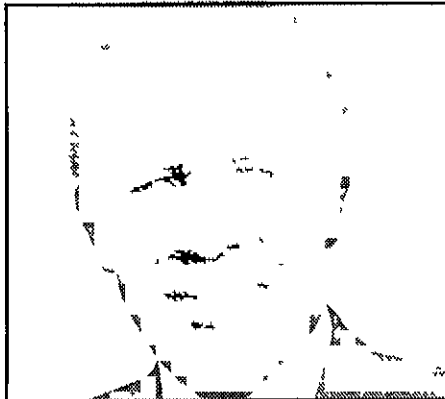
ability to farm will be needed before land is allocated for farming

"We will also give each squatter a piece of a plot to live on. There is enough land in our country to do that and there is no need for the congestion that we see in every town"

The PAC does not have all the answers to the housing problem, he said. It foresaw a co-operation between the State — which would provide land and infrastructure — and the private sector

The PAC saw the ongoing violence as a State orchestrated phenomenon and rejected the idea that it was black on black. The PAC would curb ownership of guns and change laws so that no one could own 27 weapons as presently allowed by the law

11A



Clarence Mlamli Makwetu

branches all over the Orange Free State, Transvaal and the Cape. Our strength is there," he said

Makwetu could not explain in detail what the caring economy promised by the PAC was. The PAC was opposed to capitalism and favoured socialism as a broad concept

"We want an economy that takes care of its people. Socialism itself as a word is meaningless and we believe that socialisation of economy, through the participation of workers in the process of ownership of industry will ensure that workers' interests are protected

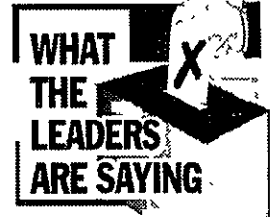
"Workers should be involved in decision making and also carry some of the responsibility that goes with that. Those who argue that socialism would fail, and that investors would flee should look at what is happening in China, where the entire Western world is flocking now," Makwetu said

## Cut-off point

The PAC rejects the cut-off point of 1913 for land claims as contained in the interim constitution. "We say 1652 is the start of the land dispossession and should be the cut-off point. We will not pay for land that was stolen from us when we take it back

"Compensation will only be considered for improvements made to the land," he added

The repossession of the land will however not mean that each and every African will be given a piece of land. "Africans will have to make up their minds whether they want to be workers or farmers. And in the case of the latter, proof of an



## Armed struggle

The violence had nothing to do with the armed struggle as the revolutionary forces were directing their energies against the regime, he said

His organisation cannot be specific about its health policy, except to say that one health care system will be in place. Whether the service will be free he could not yet say, he added

The same applied to privatised national state concerns such as Iscor, Telkom and the Railways. Nationalisation usually benefited the new elite and not the people

The PAC however supported affirmative action but this would have to be done in a way that did not result in the lowering of standards

Doors had to be opened and opportunities created for the development of entrepreneurs so that "Africans are not just a nation of workers and shop stewards"

The playing field was presently unequal for political campaigning despite talks of this being done. "The international community and big business are supporting one party and I am afraid that I may not be able to convince my colleagues in the event of losing that the process had been free and fair," he said

The PAC was however committed to the process and will honour and accept the outcome of the elections as it was convinced that despite all the hurdles, the African community would see through the process and vote for a party that will truly give them freedom and justice

(Tomorrow: the socialist option as seen by the Workers' List party)

# Campus rowdies irk ANC

Monday 16/3/94

Political Staff

UNIVERSITY and technician students would be wrong to exclude certain political parties and allow others on to their campuses, western Cape ANC leader Allan Boesak said yesterday

"Of course, there is a problem," he said at a news conference about free political campaigning on campuses.

"There is a problem when students say they will only allow certain political parties to campaign on their campus. That obviously is wrong. We are taking a very serious view of that.

"The campuses do not belong to the ANC. We will speak to SRCs and say to them that they must allow political parties to come on to the campus and put their political views."

DP PWV candidate Tony Leon told rowdy ANC hecklers at the Univers-

ity of Cape Town yesterday that SA could not be governed with freedom songs, Sapa reports (11A)

Yesterday's ANC disruption at UCT was the fifth in two days of Leon's campaign at western Cape educational institutions. (S)

Independent Electoral Commission chairman Judge Johann Kriegler said yesterday reports of DP meetings being disrupted in the western Cape would be investigated.

And an electoral tribunal set up in terms of the Electoral Act is to hear DP complaints about the University of the Western Cape Student Representative Council on Monday

Report by B Streek, TML 122 St George's St, Cape Town and CC de Villiers Sapa Nedbank Centre Strand St Cape Town



# Islamic Party targets Cape Muslim issues

DAVID GREYBE

THE Islamic Party was formed in 1990, but only recently reactivated to fight the April elections because it realised there was no other party that adequately served the interests of the Muslim community

Because the majority of Muslims live in the Western Cape, the party decided it would restrict its contest of the poll to this province, thereby better serving its constituents' interests.

Islamic Party leader Abdullah Gamieldien said the ANC was unable to serve the interests of the country's Muslims "Muslims do not accept legalised abortion, legalised prostitution, gambling, pornography, and countless other matters which the ANC will be supporting," he said.

Most Muslims were confused and did not know which party to vote for, Gamieldien said, claiming the Islamic Party had canvassed

"the entire Western Cape and the response (in support of our formation) was overwhelming . . . particularly in the township areas"

A spokesman said yesterday the Islamic Party expected to win two or maybe three seats in the 42-seat provincial legislature. He said there were an estimated 1.5-million Muslim voters in the region.

Gamieldien said the party had been in contact with foreign governments such as Indonesia, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, Libya, and Egypt, which he claimed had undertaken to assist with projects to eradicate the area's massive unemployment.

He said the party was promoting the Cape Flats, and was encouraging foreign visitors to look at it from an investment and job-creation viewpoint.

The Islamic Party supports multiparty democracy, regular elections, proportional representation, a double ballot, a constitutional state, a Bill of Rights, "a geographical federation", devolution of legislative and executive powers, an independent judiciary and an independent Press.

It also supports "a free, just and moral market economic system", the protection of property rights, private and public enterprise, equal opportunities, "responsible" affirmative action, and the "elimination of poverty".

Gamieldien said the Islamic Party endeavoured to promote socio-economic development in specific areas: education, housing, investments, job creation schemes, informal and small business development, and health and welfare.

Report by D Greybe TML, 11 Diagonal St Jhb

In this series we profile the lesser-known parties contesting the elections.



# Bop uprising sends message

CT 16/3/94

11A

MMABATHO — African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela sent a message to Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, saying free and fair political activity had arrived everywhere in South Africa.

At an impromptu press conference before his departure from Mmabatho yesterday, he said the events in Bophuthatswana would send a message to simmering areas

Although other regions may be "unique in themselves", the political upheavals might give certain leaders "a bridge over which they could retreat", Mr Mandela suggested

Earlier, addressing about 30 000 people at the Mmabatho Independence Stadium, he said opposition parties, whether they had the support or not, should be allowed to canvass and campaign for votes in the election without violence

No matter how enthusiastically people supported his organisation, they had to give the opposi-

## Nelson out to break Zulu deadlock

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — The long-awaited meeting between African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and Zulu king Goodwill Zwelethini will take place on Friday in the KwaZulu capital Ulundi

The meeting comes at the start of the 1994 session of the KwaZulu legislative assembly during which the monarch has threatened to promulgate a separate constitution for KwaZulu-Natal

Meanwhile a "major announcement" is expected to be made by KwaZulu chief minister and Inkatha president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi at the opening of the assembly tomorrow, a source in the government said

The encounter is the ANC's last chance to attempt to break the constitutional deadlock by assuring the king that his position and that of traditional Zulu leaders will be safe under an ANC majority government

tion a fair opportunity to have their say, otherwise the outcome of the poll could be voided, he said

The people had brought about the changes in Bophuthatswana, but should not take them for granted and had to work hard to maintain them, he said

The removal of the "tyrant" former president Mr Lucas Mangope was not accomplished by any one person or group of people, but through the unity of the Bophuthatswana population and he appealed for this unity to continue

● Paranoia reigned among ANC security staff yesterday as Mr Mandela was addressing an

audience of about 2 000 people in the Mmabatho national convention centre

Senior ANC security official Mr Dave van Wyk was particularly concerned with the presence of television cameramen on the high catwalk along the upper side of the large hall

"Ideal sniper positions," a worried Mr Van Wyk said

Midway through Mr Mandela's speech other ANC security officials patrolling the hall and entrances of the convention centre moved cameramen away from possible danger spots

## ANC to hold mock poll in eastern Cape

PORT ELIZABETH — A R250 000 mock election will be held in the ANC's six eastern Cape subregions this month, with the ANC's regional office and branches bearing the cost.

"This is a dress rehearsal for April 27. We want to reach out to all voters, including those on farms and in rural areas," said ANC voter education co-ordinator Benson Fihla (IA).

"The objective of the mock election is also to build a strong election fever and to provide clarity on the two-ballot system."

Fihla said 1,2-million ballot papers would be printed in full colour and in correct order for the March 19 and 20 mock election.

Asked if the Inkatha Freedom Party had been taken off the ballots, the ANC's regional negotiations head Mike Xego said: "It has taken itself off."

The ANC is setting up 246 voting booths around the region. A total of 2 460 volunteers are working on the project.

Fihla said prospective voters would need identity documents or other legal identification cards, and peace monitors and security personnel would observe the process.

"The results of the mock elections will be announced as soon as they are ready," he said. Sapa.

Report by J Saunders, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St. Jhb

## Mandela accuses NP of dirty tricks

DURBAN — ANC president Nelson Mandela accused the NP yesterday of using dirty tricks to gain support within the Indian community.

Speaking on the first day of his four-day election roadshow in Natal, Mandela told about 1 000 Indian leaders and businessmen that he had never doubted the support of the Indian community, Reuter reports.

"Because of the NP's dirty tricks, certain things are happening that are intended to frighten the Indian community into voting for the NP," he said.

He reassured the meeting that the ANC would not take away property rights and would maintain religious freedom.

"There is no foundation whatsoever to claims that your religion, your property rights, your pensions, are in danger," Mandela said.

Our Durban correspondent reports Mandela also visited the site of last week's train derailment near Mariannhill, in which 64 people died, and laid memorial wreaths next to the tracks.

Speaking to more than 20 000 people on the slopes of the valley near the site, he appealed to Spoornet to ensure that black people were appointed to the committee of inquiry into the disaster.

"In a situation like this, where the driver belonged to one group and the victims to another, it is essential if we are to satisfy the public that the members of the inquiry are men and women drawn from all races," he said.

Spoornet's head of public relations Mike Asefovitiz said the company supported Mandela's suggestion and it would make recommendations to the department.

Report by O Osborne, Reuter, 1 Park Rd, Richmond, Jhb, and S Matthewson, Natal Newspapers, 18 Osborne Street, Durban

# New look for humble champion of the poor

□ But Salie Manie still has workers' rights at heart

WITH one black glove, a pert black beret and selected ANC paraphernalia, Salie Manie captured the imagination of thousands of city council workers during a ground-breaking municipal strike in 1990.

Times have changed

Now on the threshold of a new political career, his sartorial preference is more sedate, the common-touch garb replaced by conventional suit-and-tie ensembles

From being a lowly union organiser, Salie Manie has moved to greater things

On the ANC's regional list for the National Assembly, he recently resigned from his SA Municipal Workers' Union post as Cape Town chairman, but still performs the function for the union at various negotiating forums

He is vice-chairman of the Local Government Negotiating Forum, which co-ordinates and oversees the implementation of the Local Government Transitional Act, and is a negotiator on the National Economic Forum

A slight, unassuming and humble man, he is also involved in restructuring the civil service and working on mechanisms and processes for creating administration for regional governments

It comes as no surprise that he has no time for his post as radio and closed-circuit TV technician at the council

"As the political process started unfolding around constitution-making and local government, the union's involvement started increasing, and my role as chairman started changing from dealing with day-to-day municipal issues to more general issues, linked to the broader issue of local government," he said

Dedicated to fighting for the rights of municipal workers, Mr Manie said that when he was employed by the council in 1984 he had the impression council workers had been "taken for granted" for many years

"I perceived workers in the lower categories to be at the receiving end of terrible abuse, physical and verbal, and facing the harshest form of discrimination from council management structures — they were treated like objects rather than human beings"

Approached by the union to join its ranks, Mr Manie was soon elected president

"Without putting a feather in my own cap, my achievements include making the council recognise it would have the union on its back if it discriminated against workers and that workers are now included in a process of consultation"

With characteristic humility, he added "There is

From union organiser to parliamentary candidate and key local government negotiator, Salie Manie — reeling from a city council row over his special paid leave — has undergone a transformation not unlike that of the country and the council. He talks to Labour Reporter SHARON SOROUR.

## PEOPLE IN THE NEWS

### SALIE MANIE

no way I am saying I have done it on my own. It was a joint thing and I played a part in it — some people say I played a major part but they can be the judge of that. The fact is, the union adopted a new approach when I was at the helm"

He conceded that he had clashed with "all the senior officials and council politicians" and it was an uphill battle to find an arrangement where the union could be heard and its ideas implemented

The reward was the developing, during the last year or two, of a "very co-operative relationship" between the council and the union, with both parties "listening to each others' views with an open mind"

But this did not apply to councillors and politicians "Many of them are so far removed from the realities of running the city that I fail to understand how they have done it without a major crisis erupting"

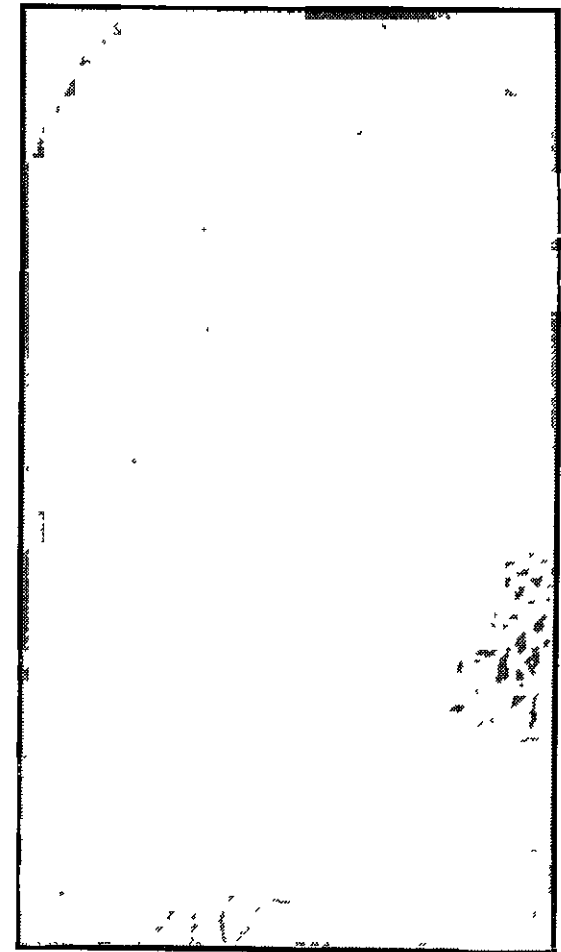
Mr Manie, 45, said he had never been tempted to take up a senior position on the council offered to him directly and "by way of subtle suggestion"

Undaunted by recent criticism of his being granted special paid leave by the council to attend to his union and other commitments, he said "I believe what I am doing is right. Many people have been disempowered, and have not acquired skills to enable them to take up issues and confront management"

Mr Manie, who often attends more than 12 meetings a month, said his family (wife Rugaya and children Carnita, 19, Rjaan, 16, and Thania, 13) had suffered because of his hectic schedule

His family also lived with the "unbearable tension" of constant threats against his life, which he said continued unabated

He entered the local government fray at a time of crisis, when people were calling for the dismantling of black councils and the resignations of white councillors, and municipal areas were crippled by major service boycotts with hundreds of millions of rands in arrears



Salie Manie ... in a rare moment of relaxation.

"I came in to help find a way to get us out of the crisis and to a point of stability. I say it with the greatest humility, but most people recognise that I played a very important role, being involved in several bilateral meetings with the Conservative Party to draw them into the negotiating process"

"Some of my security problems might stem from the fact that I am seen to be a central figure in these negotiations"

There was a race to finalise issues before May 2, the 90-day cut-off date since the promulgation of the Local Government Transition Act, but defining statutory and non-statutory groupings had become a major headache in setting up forums

"If we can get over that problem, forums will be set up quite easily and new councils will appear. In the Cape metropolitan area, the priority is to set them up and determine how they will function. The Cape Town city council is a structure which will have to change because it is not non-racial"

Pulling at his tie, Mr Manie conceded that he was getting used to his new form of dress, and that the glove-and-beret image was created unconsciously

"I had gloves on because I had pneumonia at the time. One glove was in my pocket. I never fancied formal wear, but meeting all sorts of people, from ambassadors to businessmen, necessitates it. The tie is still the most difficult"

(News by S Sorour 122 St George's Mall Cape Town)

# Kgosana back to aid PAC

FORMER PAC activist Mr Phillip Kgosana, who led the historic anti-pass law mass march on the city in March 1960, is due for a brief return to local politics on Saturday when he is scheduled to join PAC leaders for a campaign blitz.

The Botswana-based United Nations Childrens Emergency Fund (Unicef)

worker is scheduled to join PAC premiership candidate Mrs Patricia de Lille and Apla "Brigadier" Mpazamo Yonana on the campaign trail.

This was according to regional PAC campaign director, Mr Anda Ntsodo, who said an open campaign truck will tour Driftsands near Khayelitsha, moving to Old

Crossroads, Lower Crossroads and ending at Philippi Stadium.

Mr Ntsodo claimed "front organisations" set up to officially educate voters were doing a "poor grassroots job — especially with the double ballot system".

"However, our canvassers will do this job properly," he said.

# More ANC bodyguards trained by US experts

**PETER FABRICIUS**  
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON — The United States government has provided training for a second group of ANC bodyguards amid growing fears that the assassination of a top ANC leader could derail the transition to democracy.

The State Department confirmed yesterday that a second group of 20 ANC security personnel received training in the US from February 21 to March 3.

The training in protective and defensive security techniques was provided by the State Department's Bureau of Diplomatic Security, which guards foreign dignitaries in the US.

During August last year the same bureau provided training for ANC bodyguards responsible for the protection of ANC leader Nelson Mandela and other top ANC leaders.

It is understood the second group of bodyguards included the personal bodyguard of ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, who came under fire from a township hostel recently.

"As South Africa approaches its first non-racial elections, many opponents of change have threatened to derail the process," the State Department said.

"The ANC, for example, has been concerned that an attack against Nelson Mandela could not only upset the transition to democracy, but also throw the country into civil chaos.

"We share similar concerns, particularly following the assassination of ANC leader Chris Hanu."

Both training sessions were requested by the ANC. Asked if any other group was offered the same training, the State Department said none had asked.

**THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT OF AZANIA** *BCMA is keeping watch*

**Saso was the inspiration**

(11A)

MOSIBUDI Mangena was born in Tzaneen on August 7 1947, the youngest of the seven children of Tlodipjane and Rephard Mangena

He attended Wallmansthal Secondary School (1965-67) where he obtained his junior certificate with distinction. He then proceeded to Hebron Training Institute (1968-69) where he matriculated

He applied for admission to the University of the Witwatersrand to study mechanical engineering but was informed that the rules governing the entry of Africans into the engineering school required that they first obtain a BSc degree from a black university so that they would not have to attend lectures in science faculty departments

This meant that for Mangena and other black applicants, the engineering degree would take seven years of study instead of the usual four

He enrolled at the University of Zululand (Ngoye) for a BSc degree, where he linked up with the South African Students Organisation

Saso's message was that black people had been oppressed and brutalised by whites during three centuries of colonisation and racism which had led blacks to lose their dignity and inner sense of worth and self-esteem. Blacks needed to unite to counteract this

This appealed to him and together with other students — including Mthuli ka Shezi — who was killed in a train accident in Germiston — he identified with Saso and joined the organisation, becoming active in its local branch

In 1971 Mangena served in the SRC and ran into problems after writing an article which advocated economic sanctions

Mangena moved back to Pretoria, where he joined the Pretoria Saso branch (Preso) in 1972, becoming chairman the same year. While living in Mamelodi he took part in the Saso literacy campaign in the Winterveld area

In 1972 Mangena was convener of the interim structure of the Black People's Convention in the Pretoria area

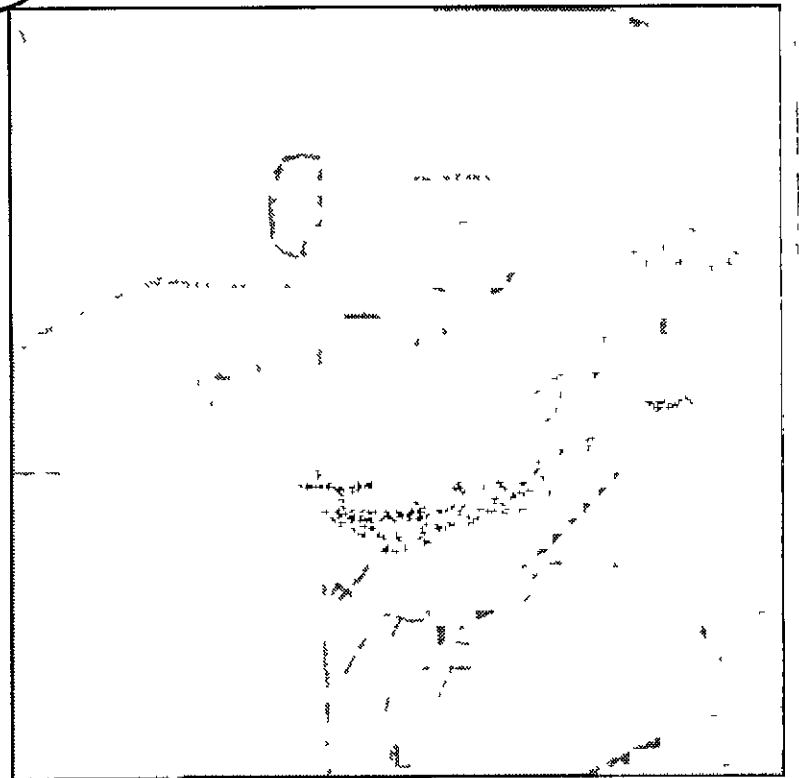
and was elected national organiser the same year

In June 1973 he was arrested and later brought to trial in the Eastern Cape Supreme Court, charged with attempting to recruit two policemen for military training while on a train trip to Port Elizabeth. Convicted, he was sentenced to five years' imprisonment on October 3 1973

He served his sentence on Robben Island and on his release was banned for five years and banished to Mahwelereng, near Potgietersrus, Northern Transvaal

He left the country in 1981 and went to Botswana, where he was later elected chairman of the BCMA, a position he still holds. He is also commander-in-chief of the Azanian National Liberation Army

Mangena completed a BSc degree in 1979, BSc honours in 1981 and an MSc degree in applied mathematics in 1986. He is married to Thabile Kubheka and they have two children



Mosibudi Mangena ... jailed on Robben Island for five years then banned and banished to Mahwelereng township, Potgietersrus

**Guardian angels watch from afar**

By Mathatha Tsedu  
Political Editor

It is not yet high noon for the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania

Stuck in the Zimbabwe capital of Harare, the organisation founded by Steve Bantu Biko is sticking it out

Its leaders and cadres are not packing their bags and preparing to go home, not yet. But the discussions are on and they may soon troop in to continue the struggle from within

That is the overall view one gets in discussions with BCMA leaders in Zimbabwe

The BCMA, sister organisation to the Azanian People's Organisation and mother body to the Azanian National Liberation Army, has so far refused to get into the multiparty talks and to campaign for votes in the country's first multiracial election

**Poor and hungry**

Chairman Mr Mosibudi Mangena said from humble offices in suburban Harare that the elections would neither bring anything good for most of the poor and hungry black people, nor would it mark the end of the struggle

"The election will merely produce a configuration that may require new strategies. The BCMA will find a way of taking part in the struggle of our people

"Whether we do that from outside Azania or inside will depend on several factors and an assessment of the complexion and attitudes of the new regime to black people and the BCM. This assessment will be done soon after the elections. We will then decide where to go," Mangena said

Together with Azapo, the BCMA is engaged in a low-key campaign against the elections, persuading people not to vote as a form of protest against "an illegitimate constitution loaded for whites' interest against blacks"

He said the campaign was gaining momentum, although activists were being detained and harassed in several parts of the country, notably the Eastern Cape

**Bound by outcome**

However, the organisation would consider itself bound by the outcome of a poll of over 50 percent. "This is despite our information that many of the people will be going for the novelty, while others think the new regime will bring jobs, houses, schools, clinics and the land

"We are convinced none of this will be delivered. Not because the ANC, for example, does not want to, but because they have tied themselves into deals that make delivery impossible

People will realise the hollowness of the vote and see that the regime they voted for was not worth the sacrifices of so many," Mangena said

The campaign would be peaceful, he said. He dismissed the views that the organisation was marginalising itself out of the political process, and that there were no alternative means of pursuing the struggle while outside the present process

**■ HIGH NOON** *Going the distance for a better political deal:*

"It is the same debate people used when arguing that bantustans were the only means of struggle, that liberation movements were too weak and the Boers too strong

"We rejected this view then and do so now, and say the struggle goes on to work for a better deal for the majority," he said

People who say the present setup is what blacks have always struggled for "never understood what the struggle was all about," he said

**'Weapon of our people'**

Turning to Azania, Mangena said the army was "an asset and weapon of our people that will always be available"

"How and when to be used will be dependent on the conditions of black people. Azania never harmed black people, even in missions where blacks were found, they were taken to safety before operations proceeded

The organisation was presently under no pressure from frontline states to relocate or scale down its activities as it had not been involved in any illegal activities in those countries, he said

But, should they find it necessary to go home, they would do so. "Azania is our home. We go there when we want. We do not see it as contradictory that we may go home after the elections because it is our country and we do not need permission from anyone," he said

**BCMA support role**

By Mathatha Tsedu  
Political Editor

THE Black Consciousness Movement of Azania was formed in exile by militants who fled South Africa during the repression following the nationwide upheavals of 1976

BC leaders, including Steve Biko and Mapetla Mohapi, died in detention and there were many held in jails across the country

The movement, through earlier structures, mobilised thousands of black people into dozens of organisations, which fought the Government. The organisations were banned in 1977

The BCMA was formed at a conference in London in 1980 and four years later, its military wing the Azanian National Liberation Army was launched

Operating without military assistance from any government or international organisation, from 1984 the movement was able to train, arm and send into combat a politicised fighting force under the command of former Sharpeville activist Mr Nkutsou Motsau

After the death of Azania combatant Mr Xolisile Mnyaka in the Eastern Cape in 1987, Azania was involved in several successful operations, including the raid on Dinokane police station for arms in 1989, skirmishes against combined units of the South African Defence Force and Mangope's army, and the defence of BCM activists and events inside the country

BCMA makes the following pro-

posals

**Industrialisation**

To ensure that blacks participate in senior management and administrative structures of industry. This will also ensure the localisation of the ownership structure of foreign firms

**Economy**

Will have a socialist bias

**Private Ownership**

The policy of socialist ownership allows co-existence of private and small-scale enterprises and other service industries. BCM recognises that small scale industries will increase the social efficiency in the provision of goods and services

**Right to work**

Measures by the firms to earn maximum profits, and then retrench in the name of rationalising, is rejected

**Equality**

Stands for a non-sexist society, at home, church, the Government, the economy and all other spheres of social life

**Tribalism**

Discourages the notion of tribalism

**Trade Unions**

BCM stands for a strong trade union movement, free of political control (On Monday: The ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa speaks)

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**FUNERALS**

**Khoee**

MR Lebohang Khoee (31) of 1939 Dube Village will be buried tomorrow in Maseru Transport leaves today at 6pm at the above address

**Monamodi**

MRS Maria Oumarie Monamodi (73) of 1260 Rockville will be buried at Avalon Cemetery on Sun-

day The service will be held at home at 9am and the cortege leaves at 11am

**Lekgetho**

MISS Dora Lekgetho (29) of 6263 Orlando East will be buried on Sunday at Kagiso Cemetery The service will be held at Plot 82 Nooirdgedacht, Honeydew, at 8am and the cortege leaves at 10am

# Community

Telephone (011) 474-0128 Fax (011) 474-0652  
Write to Sowetan, PO Box 6663, Johannesburg, 2000

**Nhlapho**

MR Simpson Nunu

Nhlapho (89) of 9957 Zone 7, Sebokeng, will be buried tomorrow at Evaton Cemetery The service will be held at the Reformed Apostolic Faith Mission at 8am, the cortege leaves at 2pm

**Banda**

MR James Themba Bahican Banda (48) of 1243 Orlando East, a former player of Orlando Highlanders and Orlando Pirates, will be buried tomorrow at Avalon Cemetery The service will be held at home at 9am and the cortege leaves at noon

**Tshabalala**

MR Ephraim Boy Tshabalala (58) of 7020 Zone 4, Diepkloof, will be buried tomorrow at Avalon Cemetery The service will be held at home at 8am and the cortege leaves at 10am

**Madibe**

MRS Mantoa Monare Madibe (91) of 119 Rockville, will be buried tomorrow at Avalon Cemetery The service will be held at St Francis Anglican Church, Rockville, at 8am

and the cortege leaves at 11am

**Moloi**

MR Moses Fanini Moloi (29) of 1136 Bohloling, Bethlehem, will be buried tomorrow at the local cemetery The service will be held at home at 9am and the cortege leaves at 11am

**Mazibuko**

MR Rueben Alfred Mazibuko (67) of 1989 Nokwe Street, Mohlakeng, will be buried tomorrow at the local cemetery The service will be held at Free Gospel Church at 9am and the cortege leaves at 11am

**Mokhahle**

MR Elias Mokhahle (62) of 74-4 Small Farms, Evaton, a former teacher at Wilberforce Training College and founder of Black Angels Football Club, will be buried tomorrow at the local cemetery The service will be at home at noon, the cortege leaves at 2pm

**Mposula**

MR Timothy Khethezi Mposula, of 5299 Zone 5,

Pimville, will be buried tomorrow at Avalon Cemetery The service will be held at home at 9 30am and the cortege leaves at 1pm

**Nkomo**

MR Teddy Amos Nkomo of 11661 Orlando West Ext, the Wits Great Temple GTT president, will be buried tomorrow at Avalon Cemetery The service will be held at the Methodist Church in Orlando West at noon and the cortege leaves at 3pm

**Malao**

MR David Tampi "Bra Tex" Malao (65) of 312 Bojang Street, Rockville, will be buried tomorrow at Avalon Cemetery The service will be held at home at 9am and the cortege leaves at noon

**Mthimkhulu**

MR Ludidi Walter Mthimkhulu (76) of 6962 Mapuru Street, Orlando West, will be buried at Avalon Cemetery tomorrow The service will be held at Orlando West Methodist Church at 8am and the cortege leaves at 10am

**Vukeya**

MR Johannes Kazamula Vukeya (83) of 3222 Zone 10, Meadowlands, will be buried tomorrow at Avalon Cemetery The service will be held at home at 9am and the cortege leaves at noon

**Buthelezi**

MR Boysie Alfred

Buthelezi of 242B White City Jabavu will be buried on Sunday at Avalon Cemetery The service will be held at home at 9am and the cortege leaves at 11am

**Kgatla**

MR Matome Julius (66) of 21 6th Street, Alexandra, will be buried tomorrow at Eisleben, GaRamokgopa, Pietersburg The service will be held at Eisleben GaKgatla at 8am and the cortege leaves at 10am Buses leave tonight at the above address

**Nonoise**

THE Reverend PR Nonoise (43) of 8003A Zone 6, Pimville, will be buried at Avalon Cemetery tomorrow The service will be held at the Presbyterian Church in Rockville at 9am and the cortege leaves at 1pm

**Van Vuuren**

MR Churchill van Vuuren (46) of 1120 Madeflek, Toekomsrus, will be buried tomorrow at the local cemetery The service will be held at the Anglican Church at 11am and the cortege leaves at 2pm

**Khuduga**

MR Ben Mmugaotlale Khuduga (79) of Mokgareng in Taung will be buried at the Roman Catholic Church Cemetery tomorrow The service will be held at home at 8am and the cortege leaves at 9am

To page 13



# WALL TILES

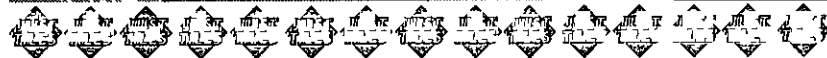
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# PAC in the red says Makwetu

*Sowetan 18/3/94*  
A CASH-STRAPPED PAC, the anti-apartheid Congress, was living a hand-to-mouth existence as it launched its election campaign, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said yesterday.

He accused Western governments and big business of withholding funding to the PAC to prevent its National Congress election victory.

Makwetu said PAC officials from the president down had not been paid for months.

"We are living from hand to mouth. Nobody from the president down has been paid. We need everything we can get," Makwetu told a media conference.

He said arrangements had been made to restore the PAC's telecommunication — disconnected this week after a R94 000 bill went unpaid — but that "we must live up to these arrangements" (WA)

"If we don't find the funds we might find ourselves in trouble," he said.

"Our members are donating amounts of between R5 to R50, with a few giving us a few hundreds," he said.

Big business and the overseas community is determined to ensure that these are one-sided elections.

He said the United States had given at least R35 million to the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

"The PAC and other organisations have been ignored and our efforts to get the same kind of assistance has fallen on deaf ears," he said.

"However, despite this, we are not pulling out of the elections. We are not throwing in the towel and already creating excuses in case we lose," he said. — Sapa

(Report by P. Bulger, 141 Commisstraat Str, Johannesburg)

Arg 18/3/74 (11A)

# PEOPLE IN THE NEWS

## HILDA NDUDE

# Fire survivor wants to help at grassroots

**DENNIS CRUYWAGEN**  
Political Staff

HILDA Ndude knows intimately the terror, blind panic and angst caused by fire and has twice escaped serious injury.

That was in the South Africa of the "total onslaught"

Today, as the new South Africa is gaining shape, Mrs Ndude, like many of her United Democratic Front contemporaries, is ready to make a contribution

Her terrain is local government, where, until last month, she was co-chairman of the Cape Metropolitan Negotiating Forum

Now the mother of five, including a set of twins, is one of a six-member provincial committee on local government

Mrs Ndude, the deputy chairman of the committee, and her colleagues will oversee the decisions

of the Administrator of the Cape Province during the local government transition process

"My interest has always been in local government. I started my career as an activist by working at grassroots level"

A former resident of KTC squatter camp, she has also lived, and still does, among ordinary people



Because of her commitment to improve their living conditions, the former deputy regional African National Congress leader turned down two nominations to be one of the movement's parliamentary candidates

"I believe I can make a bigger contribution at regional government level"

She does not feel bitter about helping to restructure local government in a region where she has lived as a squatter

"This is a process envisaged by the ANC. We are serious when we talk about a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa. Bitterness will not help us reach our goal"

She believes it is time for all Western Cape residents to open their hearts and minds and start rebuilding the region.

Courage, and a willingness to speak out, has always been part of her armoury.

In 1986 when the Witdoeke were laying waste the satellite squatter camps in the Nyanga area, KTC bore the brunt of these attacks.

she was on her way to work when the vigilantes headed for KTC. A neighbour alerted her

"I saw the witdoeke being briefed by policemen. We kept a low profile, but followed them as they made their way to KTC"

She called Jan van Eck, the then Progressive Federal Party for Claremont, urging him to witness the events

"At the time police denied they were siding with the witdoeke. But we saw them. So did Jan"

It is understood that their affidavits played a vital role in the decision by the Minister of Law and Order to agree to an out of court settlement when subsequently sued by KTC residents

Mrs Ndude lost her home in the Witdoek attack. Neighbours helped her salvage her furniture

"I saved my children and took them to safety"

Two years later, Mrs Ndude, the UDF's publicity secretary, was a high-profile activist

She lived alone at home because her husband Alpheus, one of the accused in the Tony Yengeni "terrorism trial", was in Pollsmoor prison

Sometime between February and March her home was petrol-bombed

"It was in the middle of the night. We were all asleep. I heard something crashing through a window. It sounded like a stone. I jumped off my bed and ran to the lounge. It was on fire"

She screamed for help. Passing activists and neighbours helped her save her children and douse the fire

"I saw the attacker, a young man, running off. I called him a coward for petrol-bombing a woman asleep with her children"

She was detained under the emergency regulations in June 1988 and took her youngest child Noluthu to prison with her

"Police told me I should have been detained earlier but they had laid off because of the petrol bomb attack"

After her release she was placed under house arrest at night and confined to Wynberg magisterial district

Angered at being turned into their own jailers, she and restricted UDF colleagues began a series of secret meetings

"At the time we were being threatened by the Wit Wolf. The struggle was also gaining momentum and there was no way in which we were prepared to stay indoors at night. We resolved to defy our restrictions"

They did. Some of them were arrested and charged

"We kept on breaking our restriction orders until the regime gave up"

(News by D Cruywagen, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)

# ANC-IFP Star 18/18/94 tensions at all-time high

◀ From Page 1

presented Buthelezi with yet another proposal which could lead to "a form of participation" by the IFP in the election

However, Government sources — including Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers — warned it was now almost impossible to accommodate this

Buthelezi warned yesterday that the Government's "partisan siding" with the ANC was "rapidly pushing the conflict to a point of no return".

Addressing the opening of this year's sitting of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly — probably its last ever — he said that if this point was passed, democracy and peace would be reached only after "a fight to the finish".

Buthelezi warned that the deployment of troops in KwaZulu could lead to a cauldron in the region.

Accusing "agitators" of attempting a Bophuthatswana-style destabilisation of the KwaZulu government, Buthelezi moved swiftly to reassure the territory's civil servants that their jobs and pensions were safe.

He appeared to suggest the ANC was behind the plan. There have been reports recently of concern among KwaZulu civil servants over job security and their pensions.

In another development, Zwelithini yesterday said he would not encourage his people to vote in next month's election under the current constitution, but stopped short of calling for a poll boycott.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

# Mandela's

# meetings with

# king called off

**THIS landmark summit between ANC President Nelson Mandela and Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini scheduled for today is off because of fears for Mandela's safety if he went to Umtata. A further attempt by government to gain a "forum of participation" for the Inkatha Freedom Party in the election was dismissed by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday.**

The ANC announced the postponement of the first meeting between the two called to discuss the king's demand for a Zulu kingdom and his fears of the new constitution — after Buthelezi invited "all the king's subjects" to attend.

ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki said in a letter to Buthelezi the ANC had received "firm reports that an attempt will be made on our president's life should he visit Umtata" and regretfully requested a postponement.

The postponement of the meeting — crucial to the constitutional process — and which would take a long time to set up again, could harden the attitudes of Buthelezi and the king in the proposed mediation.

Zwelithini yesterday said he would not encourage his people to vote in the April elections under the current constitution, but stopped short of calling for a poll boycott. He would do that only if and when mediation had failed.

Speaking in Umtata at a lunch in honour of Land and Regional Affairs Minister André Fourie, who had opened a session of the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly, he referred to meetings with President F.W. de Klerk at the Union Buildings and at the

BILLY PARDOCK

Durban City Hall. When the crowds became excited, all I had to do was to go out to a place where I could be seen and hold a microphone up my hand and command the dignity of a queen, and a great pleasure indeed.

What I am now saying when I speak as king of the Zulus is that I urge you to convey to the president the rank foolishness of believing that you can have a free and fair election in KwaZulu, when the election is being foisted on people without their approval," he said.

ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma had sought to shift the meeting to Durban after the ANC heard that it would take place amid a mass meeting. Buthelezi had refused.

Mbeki said the ANC appreciated assurances given by Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose that additional security measures would be instituted, as well as the invitation to the ANC to send an advance team of its own security staff to Umtata.

"We are, however, of the view that, given the nature of the threat as it has been communicated to us, the time is insufficient to make satisfactory security arrangements."

ANC and police spokesmen said last night they had no knowledge of the threat having been reported to the authorities.

Mbeki added that "it is only fair to indicate that our own expectation was that the president would be afforded an opportunity to discuss, in depth, with the king in a closed meeting, legal and constitutional

To Page 2

## Meeting

matters of concern to the king"

De Klerk told a news conference during an electioneering visit to Soweto that he had spoken to Buthelezi on Wednesday night to make specific proposals that would lead to "a forum of participation" for Inkatha.

He would not specify what the proposal was, but said it would not upset any of the time frames Buthelezi had undertaken to discuss the proposal with his ministers.

It was speculated that the proposal would entail a kind of election alliance between Inkatha and the NP.

De Klerk said he found a suggested negative response from Buthelezi at the assembly "upsetting".

In the assembly yesterday, Buthelezi warned of unparalleled resistance should action be taken against opposition to the April election. "If the current election does actually run its course, and is finally declared a free and fair election, it will be because democratic opposition has been stifled by the might of the state."

There would no peace or democratic settlement until there was a settlement of KwaZulu issues.

18/3/94

From Page 1

He warned of an "uncontrolled and unorchestrated internal political spontaneous combustion" in KwaZulu.

He claimed government was party to the violence which ousted Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope, and questioned whether it was government's intention to do the same in KwaZulu.

He repeated that Inkatha and the KwaZulu government would participate in the April poll if mediation could take place swiftly, certain amendments could be made to the constitution, and the party registration deadline and election date reconsidered.

De Klerk also responded to speculation that the Goldstone commission was about to release a report about a senior SADF member supplying arms to a political party.

He said he had been informed about an investigation which, if the allegations were found to be true, would result in a situation "that will be fairly serious".

De Klerk said he had spoken to Judge Richard Goldstone yesterday and had requested that the investigation be carried out in the shortest possible time

# Makwetu says PAC broke but unbowed

81004 1813 194

BILLY PADDOCK

PAC president Clarence Makwetu yesterday said his party was broke and officials were living from hand to mouth on donations of R5 to R50 from supporters

He said arrangements had been made to restore the PAC's telecommunications, disconnected this week after a R94 000 bill went unpaid. The lack of funds plus the effort to meet these arrangements was going to seriously hamper its chances in the elections.

Makwetu said PAC officials from the president down had not been paid for nine months. "If we don't find the funds we

might find ourselves in trouble

"Some of our posters are handwritten on cheap paper and done in townships and squatter camps"

He blamed the PAC's problems on the business and international communities, accusing them of withholding funding to the PAC to ensure an ANC election victory

"Big business and the overseas community is determined to ensure that these are one-sided elections"

He said the US had given at least \$10m to

the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party. The Scandinavian countries had donated R25m to the ANC. The French had also donated to the ANC. "The PAC and other organisations have been ignored and our efforts to get the same kind of assistance has fallen on deaf ears," he said (IA)

He argued that all international funds should be placed in a common pool for all parties to use in proportion to their support. "But we are not pulling out of the elections. We are not throwing in the towel and creating excuses in case we lose"

Report by W Paddock TML 11 Diagonal St Jhb

# Soweto lends FW a sympathetic ear

31 Day 18/3/94

TIM COHEN

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's visit to Soweto went off without incident yesterday, with residents offering the NP leader a sympathetic hearing during his low-key tour of the township.

Speaking at a news conference during his one-day roadshow of the Johannesburg region, De Klerk said the openness and friendliness shown by Soweto "gives me hope for the future"

De Klerk said if his visit to Soweto was an example of what the country could expect in the future, then it was a very good omen.

"It proves once again that we can have free and fair elections provided party leaders discipline their followers"

De Klerk said he hoped SA had seen the end of disruptions, but his confidence was not borne out at his next meeting in the coloured community of Toekomsrus where about 400 evenly matched ANC and NP supporters came close to drowning him out during his address

Despite the rowdiness, the mood was one of friendly competition in contrast to his walkabouts in Soweto, where most residents were more intrigued than enthusiastic

Both meetings were in sharp contrast to his reception earlier in the day at RAU university,

where he was rapturously applauded and politely listened to by students, who gave him a huge cake for his birthday today.

He told RAU students that far from helping the situation, AWB leader Eugene Terre Blanche's intervention in Bophuthatswana had been the last straw for wavering police and army factions.

The events in Bophuthatswana demonstrated how reviled the AWB was by blacks and how futile it was to attempt change by violent means

He traced Afrikaner history, pointing out that major constitutional changes were the result of negotiation. When rebellion was attempted by Afrikaners during the previous century and the Second World War it had ended in failure.

Addressing businessmen in Johannesburg yesterday, De Klerk stressed the importance of ensuring a balance of power in the new government if sound economic policies were to be applied.

For the first time, the current election was not about constitutional issues which had dominated the SA political scene for decades, he said.

Report by T Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb

## NP campaigns to woo domestic workers

PRETORIA — The NP has begun a campaign to get domestic workers to vote for it in the elections

"Are you going to vote against the ANC/SACP . . . are you going to vote for the NP?" the party asks householders and their servants in 160 000 pamphlets

distributed in Pretoria, Verwoerdburg and Bronkhorstspuit *Biday*

"Please approach your neighbours, friends and employees to vote for the NP," it says *1813194*

It adds that intimidation could be prevented if employers enabled their work-

ers to vote at polling stations nearest to their homes or businesses.

ANC spokesman Baleka Kgositsile described the campaign as "disgusting"

"Here you have a party calling itself the new NP, but this just shows up their old, arrogant, racist approach . . . blacks are simply included in the baggage." *(IA)*

The DP's Rob Harper said he did not see anything unethical in the approach.

Carel Swanepoel, of the NP's Pretoria election office, said the party had not had any feedback yet

— Reuter

Report by O Osborne, Reuter, 1 Park Rd, Richmond, Jhb

## ANC small business loan guarantee plan

GAVIN DU VENAGE

THE ANC wanted to establish a "national enabling fund" that would guarantee loans for small and medium enterprises, ANC deputy economics head Tito Mboweni said last night. **Biday 18/3/94**

Speaking in Johannesburg at a conference to put the ANC position on small business, Mboweni said collateral for loans was the single biggest factor preventing blacks from raising capital for businesses.

The enabling fund would provide lending institutions with a certificate of guarantee after the applicant had been screened.

Legislation would have to be introduced penalising discriminating lending practices which, although they were not the policy of lending institutions, still resided "in the guts" of many bankers. **(S)**

He said institutions were hesitant to lend to black entrepreneurs despite claims that criteria were the same for all races. Legislation would ensure banks' lending practices were based on economics only. **(IA)**

It would also be necessary to provide training Mboweni said although most entrepreneurs flourished without formal qualifications, they should have access to skills upgrading programmes.

Responding to a question, he said tax breaks for small and medium enterprises would have to be negotiated. Taxation on small businesses "would not be left up to bureaucrats in Pretoria".

Cosatu general secretary Sam Shilowa

□ To Page 2

## Small business

**Biday 18/3/94** From Page 1

told the conference it was not true that small business and labour were in conflict. He said the trade unions, although for the most part active in big business, recognised the value of small businesses in creating employment. **(S) (IA)**

However, it was important that employees in all sectors of the economy be protected. He said Cosatu rejected following

the Asian route to economic growth, which depended on cheap labour.

Shilowa said legislation encouraging small businesses, and active participation by this sector were necessary for growth. "Big business claims to speak for all business. Small business must not stand back even under a new government, and allow others to make decisions for it," he said.



PARTY POLICIES

# Checklist for April 1995

Fun 18/3/94

(IIA) (IB) (BHA)

**How do the main parties in the general election intend dealing with some of the basic questions — such as violence, housing, tax — on the minds of most people anxious**

about what the future holds? *Democracy in Action*, journal of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in SA (Idasa), recently published the following re-

plies from four parties (including Inkatha, which now seems out of contention), looking at the situation a year after the election and assuming their party was in power



*Will we have seen a drop in the unemployment rate?*

The NP's economic policy, based on a free market and private enterprise, will have created investor confidence both locally and overseas, bringing in local and foreign capital. This will have enabled the economy to grow and, as a result, the unemployment rate will have dropped.

An ANC government will start a national public works programme which will aim to provide employment and training for about 2.5 million people over the next 10 years. The ANC will also develop South Africa's massive tourist industry which will provide jobs but in a way that will preserve our environment.

Under the IFP's economic policy, the constraint of strict monetary and fiscal policy, we hope to develop by stimulating exports and business growth, peasant agriculture, tourism, human resources, especially skills training and mass job creation programmes.

The DP's economic policy — based on a free market system coupled with a social conscience — will inspire investor confidence. State funds will be invested in labour intensive reconstruction schemes to build roads, houses, schools and health care facilities. The DP will create jobs and provide training.

*Will you have succeeded in restoring stability to violence-ravaged townships?*

This will take some time. Township people, tired of instability, would have voted for the NP to indicate to those who had participated in and encouraged violence that this was unacceptable. However, a government victory may not have been accepted by all, and some might still "continue the struggle".

Together with communities, an ANC government will ensure that criminals are dealt with to the full extent of the law. Security forces will be non-partisan, professional and respect human rights and they will be reformed to reflect the national and gender character of our country. A new volunteer army will deal with defence and not internal politics.

Though it will be very difficult, we will manage to do so. A combination of strict, impartial community policing, democratic and therefore respected local government, township upgrading, an improving economy, as well as a focus upon the future rather than the past, will all contribute meaningfully towards peace.

The DP believes that a democratic and inclusive political settlement, coupled with socio-economic upliftment, will create a stable environment in which more effective policing can occur. The benefits of a growing economy will be felt throughout society, but political parties which raise unrealistic expectations could delay progress towards stability.

*Will squatters have proper housing?*

Billions of rand, some of which have been available for a few years but not spent because of the ANC's delaying tactics, will be used to purchase land. Infrastructure to provide services for squatter communities will be in place. Many houses will have been built.

The ANC will eliminate racially based housing institutions and install one national housing department which is non-racial, non-sexist, legitimate and accountable. An ANC government aims to spend five percent of the budget on providing 1.2 million housing units within five years.

To eradicate homelessness, or even a few years, is impossible. But what we will have done is to make a significant start in implementing a housing delivery policy that the economy, the fiscus and the land are capable of.

The DP will begin massive site and service schemes which will enable people to build homes. Squatter and established communities, local and provincial authorities and the state housing authorities, will have to work together with private and non-governmental organisations to solve our housing crisis.

*Will the crime rate have dropped?*

There will have been economic growth, so there will be less unemployment and improved social conditions. The NP plan for community-involved policing will be in place, and as a consequence, the crime rate would have dropped.

When a government of national unity succeeds in stimulating the economy, creating jobs and building a non-partisan police force, the crime rate will drop. The new police force must emphasise community policing and police resources must be directed at prevention.

Existing levels of crime are a function of political violence and a culture of anarchy, unemployment and inadequate policing. We would address all of these and certainly reduce the crime rate. Reducing it to an "acceptable" level, however, will take years.

Under a DP government tensions will be defused. As the economy recovers, jobs will be created and the desperate need that has driven people to crime will be alleviated. Tough sentencing will be imposed on criminals and no political amnesties will be allowed.

*Will we have seen an improvement in the matric pass rate of black students?*

A single, just and equitable educational policy will be in place and there will be no point in a call for 'liberation before education' once liberation had been achieved. Hopefully, teachers will have adopted a more responsible attitude. All these factors will help students pay attention to their studies.

The ANC links economic, social and educational development. We plan one education system with compulsory education for all for 10 years based on a more learner-centered approach. We believe that reducing violence in the townships, and providing books, more science equipment etc. will in the short-term help improve matric results.

Education bettering can be fast that it will take a decade to lift "black" education to existing "white" levels. In the short term, the pass rate can best be improved by pupils and educators recognising both the constraints and the programme being implemented, and dedicating themselves to working within these guidelines.

A DP government will do all it can to bring pupils and teachers together. Education will be the responsibility of provincial governments. The emphasis will be on involving the community and depoliticising education. Teachers will be properly paid and suitable channels of communication implemented between teachers and education departments.

*Will South Africans pay more tax than they do at present?*

The economy will have been growing. The tax base will have expanded. The income of the state from the expanding tax base will have increased and a lowering of the tax rate could be a possibility.

An ANC government will ensure that South Africans will not lose income through unfair taxes. We will end VAT on basic foods, reduce taxes on people earning below R4 000 a month, and unfair taxation of women, and ensure that every business pays its fair share.

Not if we can help it. If we all accept the need to live within our means, balancing the books in terms of fiscal discipline and sustainable growth, then tax rates will not increase. A fairer distribution of social services will be underpinned by a rising tax base.

Under a DP government the system of taxation will be streamlined, discrimination against married women and middle income earners will be abolished. Nominal company tax rates will be reduced through reducing the myriad of deductions and exemptions.

*Will people receive proper treatment in state hospitals?*

The alleged reasons for strikes by hospital workers' unions will have diminished after successful negotiations between the state and the trade unions. Thus the NP's health plan for sound community-based health care and hospital services will be functioning efficiently.

We will draw up a single national health system which will include public and private services and will be organised at national, district and community levels. All health care workers must be accountable to their communities and our reconstruction strategies will include a charter of patients' rights and a code of conduct for health workers.

State hospitals are but one facet of a health delivery system requiring restructuring. Our initial emphasis will be on expanding primary health care and hospital-based community health wards. Everyone should have access to decent and affordable health care, and the state should aid those who do not have access to private health care.

A DP government will develop a comprehensive network of primary health facilities, including mobile clinics for remote areas. The emphasis will be on preventative health care and education. Doctors and nurses will be expected to perform their jobs professionally as patients should not become the victims of politically inspired industrial action.

**Ramodike for ANC** (119)  
#CT 18/3/94

PRETORIA — United People's Front secretary-general and chief minister of Lebowa Mr Nelson Ramodike has resigned to contest the election as an African National Congress candidate

## FW's 'IFP initiative' may break deadlock

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk said he was working on an "Inkatha Freedom Party initiative" which might signify a breakthrough in the constitutional deadlock and the IFP's non-participation in the April election.

He said it raised a "slight hope", adding the negotiation remains on the responsible route.

The IFP missed the final deadline to submit its candidates list on Wednesday.

Mr De Klerk's comments came as Chief Buthelezi yesterday laid down what appears to be the IFP's final word on the election, that it will boycott unless the poll is delayed.

● Chief warns of freedom struggle — Page 2

CT 18/3/94

18



South African opening batsman celebrated his 29th birthday yesterday against Australia

Picture ANNE LAING

## Makwetu says PAC is broke

(117) CT 18/3/94  
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Pan-Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu said yesterday his party was "broke" and officials were living on donations from supporters.

He said arrangements had been made to restore the PAC's telecommunications, disconnected this week after a R94 000 bill went unpaid.

The lack of funds would seriously hamper the PAC's chances in the election, he said.

"Some of our posters are handwritten on cheap paper and done in townships and squatter camps because this is where the struggle starts," he said.

He blamed the PAC's financial problems on the business and overseas communities, accusing Western governments and big business of withholding funding to the PAC so as to ensure an ANC election victory.

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# PAC loses vote-catcher

## In 1995 he is set to give full support to the movement, says Langa

**(117) march hero**  
**Arg 19/3/94**

■ Phillip Kgosana, famous for leading an historic anti-pass law march from Langa to Cape Town in 1960, has declined to be one of the Pan Africanist Congress candidates — and this has denied the beleaguered movement of another trump card to lure more votes.

**VUYO BAVUMA**  
Weekend Argus Reporter

PHILIP Kgosana may be famous for leading a defiant anti-pass law march on Cape Town in 1960, but today he does not allow politics to interfere with his 21-year marriage with the United Nations.

In fact, Mr Kgosana, who joined the UN in 1973, has declined to be a Pan Africanist Congress candidate because he is an international civil servant.

As a civil servant, he believes, it is improper to campaign and engage openly with the PAC for this would be in conflict with his status — "just like Cape Town's town clerk cannot campaign for the Nats".

Mr Kgosana's uncompromising stance has robbed the beleaguered PAC of a stalwart who could have been an important element in procuring votes



□ PHILIP KGOSANA: No more bad old days ...

Picture: WILLIE de KLERK, Weekend Argus.

— especially those of the previous generation who were active during the 1960s

Earlier this year, the PAC lost a popular leader of Azanian People's Liberation Army, Sabelo Phama, who died in a car crash in Tanzania

But, Mr Kgosana — "I am still a PAC member at heart" — hopes to throw his full weight behind the PAC after the expiry of his UN contract in 1995

Speaking from Botswana, Mr Kgosana told Weekend Argus the PAC officials at the movement's headquarters appreciated his stance.



□ SHOULDER-HIGH HERO: Set to join PAC in 1995

black peoples' freedom. Penalties were very stiff.

"But, today almost any leader can phone President De Klerk's office and say 'I saw your police beating up people in the streets. Can't you do something to stop this?'"

Mr Kgosana also recalled how the march was organised.

"Thousands of people stayed at home in protest against the Sharpeville and Langa massacres nine days earlier. On the morning of the march, we heard that the police were going door to door hitting people for not going to work.

"We sent our signals to the

young boys to mobilise the people so that we could march to parliament, not to the police station for the police did nothing to stop the beatings."

"About 7am on March 30 thousands of people — they used to call us natives in those days — assembled in Langa for the march," he said

After about five hours, the crowd reached De Waal Drive and saw hordes of soldiers rushing to the centre of the city.

"We stopped outside a prison because we weren't sure what we would come across in town. We sent our young boys to survey the situation and they told

"I told the crowd to disperse in line with instructions from the PAC leader, Robert Sobukwe. But when I came back at 2pm, I was arrested and charged with inciting the public."

In December, Mr Kgosana was granted bail and skipped the country, beginning a 31-year exile.

He now holds three degrees, including a masters in management economics and honours in economics from Uganda's well-known Makerere University.

Commenting on the future, Mr Kgosana said he was optimistic that South Africa wouldn't go back to the bad days.

"He said, 'Oppression has to end. It's about time the people's basic aspiration be met. But, it's up to the people to make sure their basic dreams of having houses, education and decent jobs are met.'"

Mr Kgosana also said the culture of violence had to be uprooted.

In 1995, Phillip Ata Kgosana is set to rejoin the struggle in PAC colours

(News by V Bavuma, 122 St. George's Mall, Cape Town)

# FW pops into Soweto to press a bit of flesh

SITWES 2013/14

Washington correspondent SIMON BARBER joined F W de Klerk's roadshow this week and found it was very different from a US political campaign

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk took his bid to build the NP as a credible opposition into Soweto for the first time on Wednesday. An American-style campaign blitz this was not. More a magical mystery tour.

Had it been Bill Clinton on the stump, the campaign staff would have been staggering under piles of backstage papers laying out the candidate's every move and its significance.

The candidate would have had a carefully researched message for each community he visited. Every venue would have been scouted by advance teams looking to script the evening's newscasts.

Not here. Three years after his decision to open his ranks to all races, the mighty NP election machine was still treating Soweto as terra incognita, a place to plant a flag, have a photograph taken, and flee.

The only noticeable preparation as the De Klerk caravan roared into the shopping precincts of Dube and Moroto had been made by the ANC, which had cleared the streets of troublemakers.

All but invisible behind a wall of photographers and security men, Mr de Klerk entered a few shops and pressed a little flesh. Presented with a golden opportunity to kiss a baby, he picked up a chicken.

Over a loudspeaker, he asked curious passers-by to believe that whatever the ANC could do to improve the quality of their lives, the NP could do better. He begged them to forget the past and not to let themselves be intimidated into voting ANC.

The latter plea might have been reinforced by having a few intimidatory types on hand. There was none. Answering Mr de Klerk's challenge in Pietersburg the previous week to control its followers, the ANC was detaining them at a rally at the Jaburani amphitheatre.

The rally had a second purpose: to make a mockery of Mr de Klerk's final appearance in the township, a lurch for the NP's Soweto candidates behind the safety of a barbed-wire fence in Oppenheimer Park.

It was a festive affair under a tent. There was some toyi-toying, but of a distinctly languid kind. Soweto's answer to a New Orleans marching jazz band escorted Mr de Klerk to his car.

How many of the 200-

strong crowd in NP T-shirts and eyeshades were partisans rather than party-goers? A coloured contingent, bussed in, clearly fell into the former category.

"De Klerk is bringing us together as one family," declared Christeo Claasen.

Her friend, Lucille Maritz, agreed: "We are not colour-conscious and we love all nations. Unfortunately, some people want this country to be black — and we don't want that."

Attempts to gauge the loyalties of the rest of the crowd had mixed results.

Venerable Mary Chanyane, mother of David, head of the NP's Soweto branch, said she had always been an NP supporter, but she did not have a membership card. "Where do I get one?" she asked.

The afternoon-produced some nice images. At the family compound on JCI's Randfontein mine, a choir of neatly uniformed schoolgirls sang touchingly in the candidate's honour, moistening his eye.

Less happily, someone thought it a good idea to line up a row of retarded children and have Mr de Klerk shake their hands. This was not a moment for the squeamish; even hardened photographers sheathed their cameras.

And at a rally at Tokomstus, two women — one an ANC supporter, the other a Nat — biffed each other with their placards, then stood back and laughed uproariously.

If they were typical, next month's election surely would be free and fair.



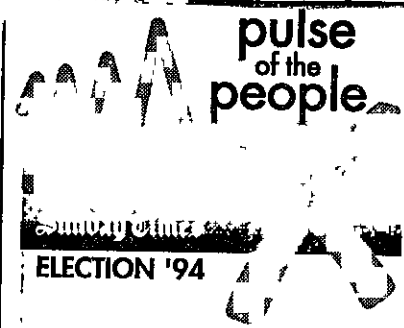
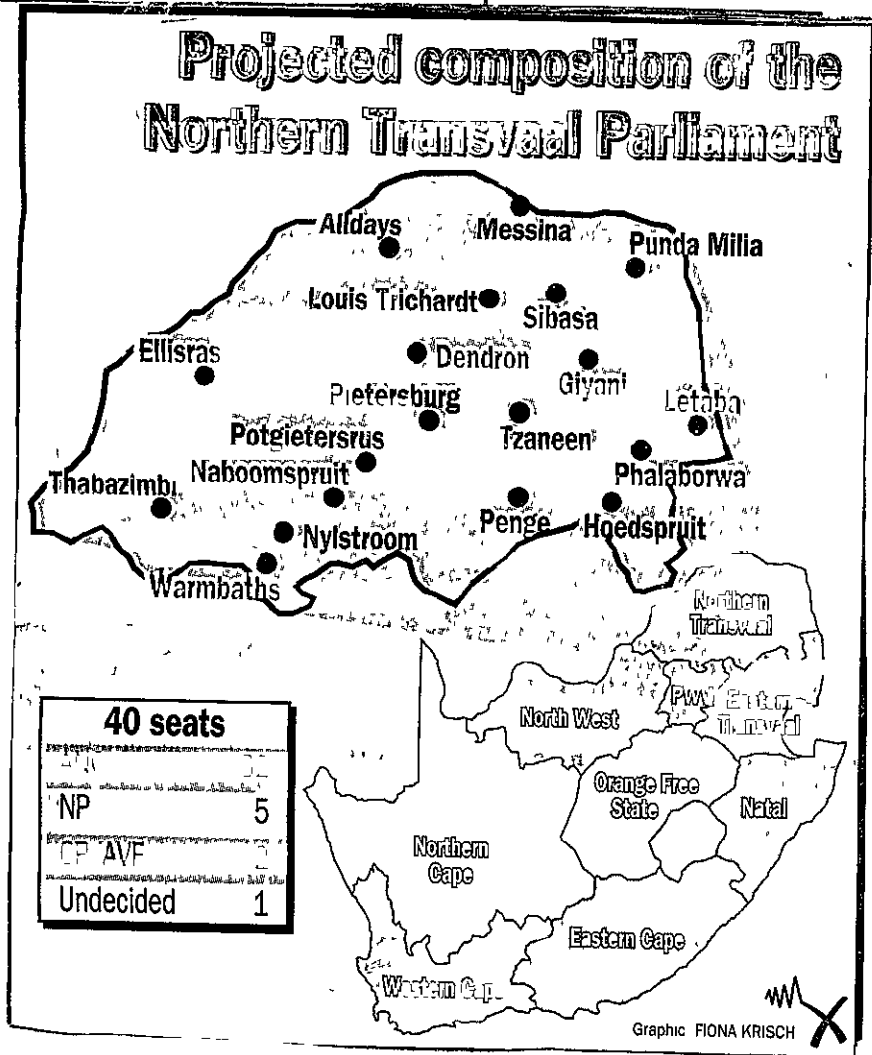
FOWL ENCOUNTER... election candidates usually kiss babies, but here F.W. de Klerk meets a chicken in Soweto. Picture: JIHAN KUUS



REACHING OUT... Nelson Mandela has the support of Lebowa Chief Jennifer Sekgopo, who regards him as 'a Messiah' Pictures: CECIL SOLS

# Mandela and FW target chiefs in quest for votes

ST Times 20/3/94



By BRIAN SOKUTU

WHEN it comes to gunning for votes in the villages, ANC president Nelson Mandela and National Party leader FW de Klerk — the main political contenders in South Africa's first non-racial elections — know exactly who should be the first to be won over: the royal family.

On separate campaign trails — hot on each other's heels — Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk paid courtesy visits to royal kraals in the Northern Transvaal province, where they met chiefs before addressing supporters.

The young and militant black youths in urban areas may not have much respect for traditional leaders but, in rural areas, chiefs are still held in high esteem. And if campaigning political parties want rural votes, chiefs should be the first targets.

As in rural Transkei, the peasant vote in the Northern Transvaal will be a decisive factor in determining which party wins in the provincial and national elections.

Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk recently made pilgrimages to the underdeveloped and dusty villages of Ga-Sekgopo and Sekororo in Lebowa, and Nzhelele in Venda.

For a villager to get a plot or more land for grazing in Ga-Sekgopo, in the Northern Transvaal province, he should consult Chief Jennifer Sekgopo, whose decision is final on such matters.

The royal widow wields power in her district: she mediates when there are tribal disputes and presides over decision-making meetings of the Balobedu tribe.

Mrs Sekgopo's district consists of 10 villages, with a population estimated at more than 34 000 people.

She took over on a caretaker basis in 1990 after the

death of her husband, Chief Mochochi Sekgopo, whose son, Koma, nine, is still too young to become chief.

The Sekgopo royal kraal — a cluster of rondavels, some sporting Mandela posters on the walls — made it clear which way Mrs Sekgopo would influence her people to vote. She regards Mr Mandela, with whom she shared a platform for the first time in an open field at Mocheudi High School last week, as "a Messiah".

Asked about the concerns of her people, she said: "We're a neglected community. There is one

clinic. We need at least five. There are three primary schools and seven secondary schools. Most people work for neighbouring farmers."

Mocheudi High School vice-principal Naledi Nogale described his school as "a shack". "There are no facilities, no lab and no electricity."

Mr Mandela, who was greeted by crowds at Ga-Sekgopo shortly after landing on an open field at the school, urged his followers to respect the royal family.

Much as the elections are dominated by politics because of the country's apartheid past, economic questions from the floor feature prominently in the ANC election forums.

Almost 90 percent of questions posed to Mr Mandela at Ga-Sekgopo related to social welfare.

"The payment of pensions will be honoured by the new democratic government. People will not lose their pensions because of corruption in homelands," Mr Mandela assured a Lebowa civil servant.

Lebowa's senior policeman, Major Michael Maleka, summed up the feelings of civil servants in the homeland: "We're not happy. We demand salary increases and a guarantee

the National Peace-Keeping Force) in Venda was rocked by demonstrations following a pension scandal

But civil servants halted mass action after Brigadier Ramushwana and other government officials started returning the huge pension payouts paid to them

The revolt was sparked by the discovery that there were gross discrepancies in the distribution of the pension benefits among fund members

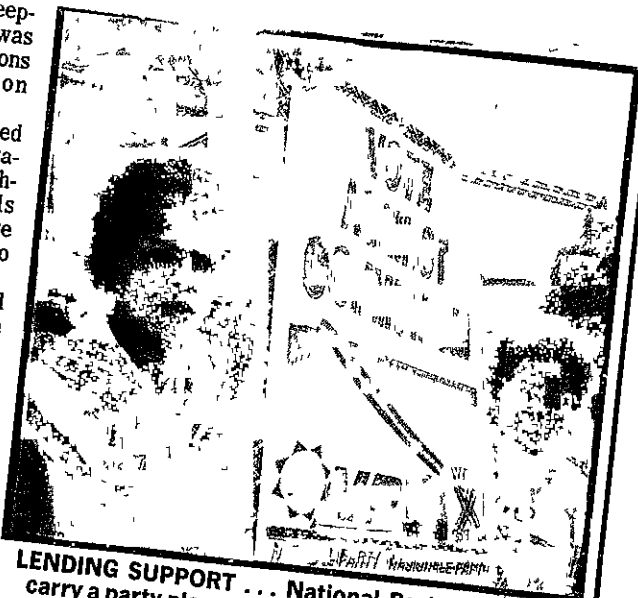
Brigadier Ramushwana's finance department had grossly mismanaged and irresponsibly handled the pension fund

According to a document in possession of the Sunday Times, Brigadier Ramushwana was among state officials who paid back their pension money to the homeland last week. The "brigadier" paid back R72 834 15

Said Venda Public Workers' Coalition Committee vice-chairman Simon Ramovha "When we discovered the government had decided unilaterally to privatise pensions without consulting contributors, we challenged it. We knew there were expatriates working in Venda who were not contributing to the pension fund

"When the government did not respond to our demands, we embarked on mass action, calling on them to pay back the money they gave themselves"

The ANC claims to be enjoying majority support in the Northern Transvaal province, but Mr Fourie, who heads the NP's campaign in the province, said his party was well-placed to challenge its rival



**LENDING SUPPORT . . . National Party supporters carry a party placard through the streets in Venda**

"The ANC is in for a surprise. It is over-estimating its support

"The reception we're getting from new voters is very encouraging. I challenge the ANC to compare its candidates' list with ours. We have prominent chiefs and civil servants

"The ANC has put on its list all those who are discredited in this province, people like Ramodike and Ramushwana"

ANC northern Transvaal spokesman Ian Madikoto disagreed. "We have very good relations with traditional leaders. We're well-prepared for these elections because we've been conducting voter education on a large scale

"We have a signed-up membership of 65 000."

The NP's campaigning has not gone smoothly in the northern Transvaal villages, where Mr de Klerk has been dogged by placard-carrying and slogan-chanting ANC supporters

While he held a conversation with King Dimanyika Mphephu at the royal kraal in Nzhelele, ANC and NP supporters chanted at each other outside

Yet some blacks remain loyal to the NP

"I joined the NP because I like it. The ANC cannot just come here and disrupt our meetings," said University of Venda student George Rapulu

Venda teacher Vincent Muthambe sees things differently. "The people of this region have been oppressed for too long

"The NP-installed Patrick Mphephu regime did not allow any free political activity in the homeland"

That may be true but it is clear that, when the dust settles after the April elections, the challenges facing the new provincial government in the Northern Transvaal will be economic rather than political

(News by Brian Sokutu, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

BASED

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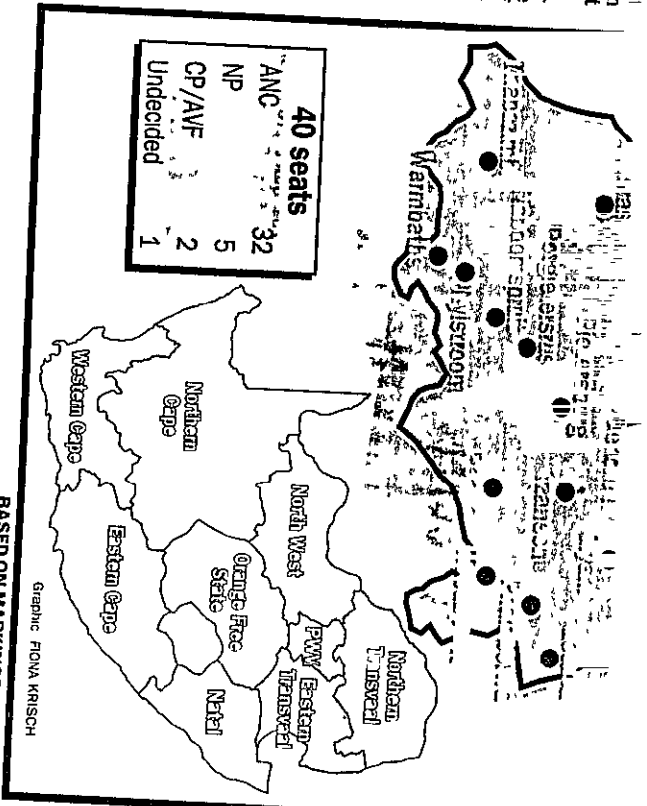
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|             |
|-------------|
| 40 seats    |
| ANC 32      |
| NP 5        |
| CP/AF 2     |
| Undecided 1 |



Graphic: FLOVA KRISCH

**BASED ON MARKINOR RESEARCH**

that we're going to get our pensions." Citing concerns about the squandering of taxpayer money by the Nelson Mandela government, South African Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie took over the running of the homelands' finances last year.

"If we did not interfere in Lebowa there would have been a R1 000-million deficit. Now there is a R330-million shortage — a problem I have submitted to the TEC sub-council on finance."

"The money is finished in the homeland," said Mr Fourie. With the advent of democracy not far off in South Africa, homelands facing reincorporation after the April elections, have been rocked by popular uprisings led by civil servants concerned about losing their pensions and fearing a bleak future.

This has led to Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo joining the Transitional Executive Council and Lucas Mangope being deposed in Bophuthatswana. In Venda, the Public Workers' Coalition Committee has spearheaded the civil servants' struggle, operating from what were once government buildings.

The then administration of Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana (now head of

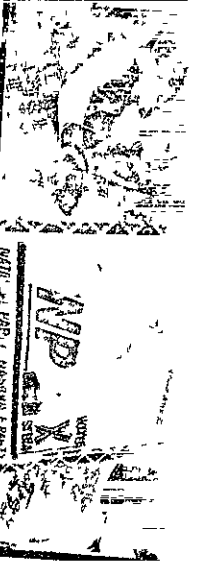
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(News by Brian Sakhum, 11 Durgowal Street, Johannesburg.)



**pulse**  
of the  
people

**ELECTION '94**

By BRIAN SOKUTU

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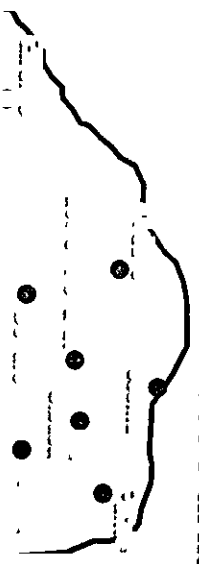
REACHING OUT Nelson Mandela has the support of Lebowa Chief Jennifer Sekgopo, who regards him as 'a Messiah'

Pictures: CECIL SOLS

# Mandela and FW target chiefs in quest for votes

STIMES 20/3/94

Projected composition of the Northern Transvaal Parliament



the National Peace-Keeping Force) in Venda was rocked by demonstrations following a pension scandal. But civil servants halted mass action after Brigadier Ramushwana and other government officials started returning the huge pension payouts paid to them.

The revolt was sparked by the discovery that there



# PAC's anti-pass hero visits old Langa home

21/3/64

Arg. (11A)

**Staff Reporter**  
PAN Africanist Congress stalwart Philip Kgosana made an emotional return to the single-sex hostel in Langa where he stayed while he was a student at the University of the Cape Town in 1960

Accompanied by several regional PAC officials and camouflage-clad bodyguards, Mr Kgosana — who now works for the United Nations in Botswana — knocked at Room No 3, Flat C, in Washington Street yesterday

A smiling Mr Kgosana spoke briefly with the occupants of the room

Mr Kgosana, then 21, achieved international fame for leading a PAC-organised anti-pass law march from Langa to Cape Town in 1960

He persuaded the crowd to disperse after being promised an interview with then justice minister Frans Erasmus. But when he arrived for the interview he was arrested

Mr Kgosana was a second-year BA student at the University of Cape Town at the time and skipped the country in December 1960 after being tried for incitement

Recently, Mr Kgosana refused to be a PAC candidate in the election because he was an international civil servant who could not support a specific political party

But, at the weekend, he took part in the PAC's election campaign. Today he is expected to be involved in the movement's 34th Sharpeville commemoration march from District Six to Cape Town.

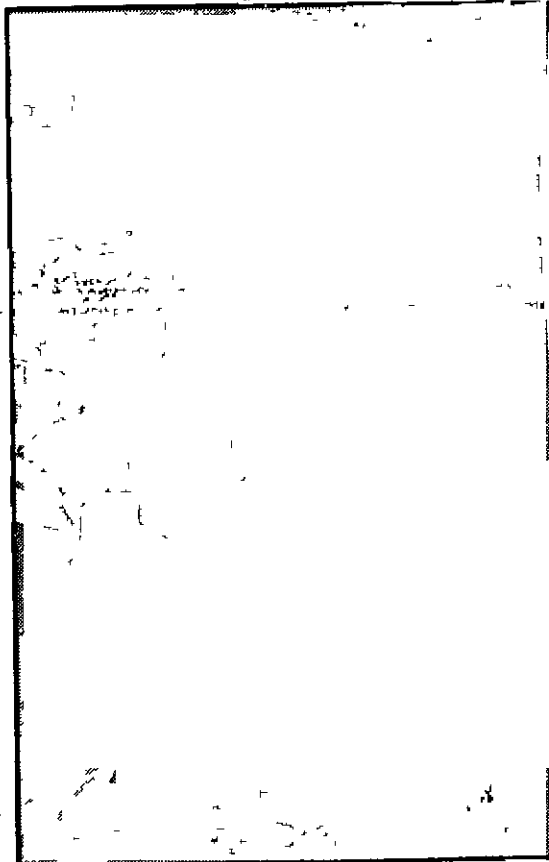
Yesterday, thousands of ululating people blocked the streets as they tried to catch a glimpse of Mr Kgosana outside his former residence.

Addressing the crowd from the back of a van, Mr Kgosana urged the people to continue what "we started in 1960, because the business isn't finished yet"

"It doesn't matter what the elections bring, we should continue the struggle for our land as heroes," he said to applause

Mr Kgosana joined in dance with the crowd and sang his favourite freedom song — The cries of the young men remind me of Sharpeville and Langa

(News by V Bavuma 122 St George's Mall Cape Town)



Picture OBED ZILWA, The Argus

**VIVA:** PAC folk hero Philip Kgosana greets the crowd that turned out to greet him on his pilgrimage back to Langa yesterday

Steer 2113194

## NP crowd stone Mandela party

**Cape Town** — Stone-throwing and tense confrontations between National Party supporters and ANC members marred ANC president Nelson Mandela's Cape Peninsula campaign at Mannenberg yesterday.

His stop in the heart of Cape Town's infamous gangland was his third appearance on a tour which took him through the Cape flats townships.

Economics department head Trevor Manuel instructed MK men with shotguns to guard the fence surrounding The Greens sportsfield in Mannenberg when NP supporters became abusive.

Protesters threw stones when Mandela's entourage arrived. A rock struck a car in which the wife of Dr Allan Boesak, the ANC's Western Cape leader, was travelling.

Outside the fence, police with shotguns and a Nyala armoured vehicle kept back about 800 NP supporters insisting on being admitted to the meeting.

United Nations and peace monitors pointed out that it was against the Electoral Act to prohibit NP supporters from entering the meeting.

### Jammed (11A)

Mandela, reassured the "coloured" people that their homes and jobs would not be taken by blacks as the NP was claiming.

Afterwards, he had difficulty in leaving the sports field. Crowds jammed the gates waving NP flags and posters, shouting abuse and throwing rocks over the fence. Some ANC followers retaliated in kind.

When Mandela's car eventual-

ly forced its way through the crowd, MK men in camouflage uniforms shielded the entire vehicle with their bodies until he was clear of the crowd.

Later, at Kleinveer sports stadium, Mandela was greeted with his largest crowd — estimated at more than 5 000 — without a single protester in sight.

He had started his day with a visit to the Lion's Club and to Camp's Bay Children's Day where he was presented with the Children's Charter.

He then addressed his first rally at Perivale Primary School in Grassy Park, disrupted by about 200 rowdy NP supporters standing outside.

At Mannenberg, his meeting was attended by about 2 500 supporters — Sapa.

(P Classen, Nedbank Centre, Strand St, Cape Town)

*Thousands will gather countrywide*

# Sharpeville deaths commemorated

Star 2/13/94

■ BY MONTSHIWA MOROKE

Today marks the 34th anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre. Thousands of people will gather at various venues to commemorate the killing of 69 people in Sharpeville, near Vereeniging, during anti-pass protests.

On March 21 1960 about 20 000 unarmed people marched to the Sharpeville police station to implement the PAC's "positive action campaign". A line of policemen stood waiting. No order

to disperse was given nor were warning shots fired (IIA)

After a burst of gunfire by the police, 69 people lay dead and another 178 were wounded.

The PAC founder-president, the late Robert Sobukwe, was arrested and was to remain in prison "until this side of eternity", in the words of the then Justice Minister John Vorster.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu will speak at George Thabe stadium, Sharpeville, at 10 am today. ANC president Nelson

Mandela and PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale will speak at Sharpeville's Palm Beach stadium at 2 pm. Mandela will speak at the Odi stadium, Moretele, Bophuthatswana, at 11 am.

Azapo deputy president Pandelani Nefolovhodwe will speak at the Kopanong Community Centre, Dobsonville, at noon.

■ President de Klerk yesterday described March 21 as "a dark page in our nation's history, symbolising an era of racial and political conflict."

# focus on

Sowetan 21/3/94

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS IS set for a devastating and momentous victory in the coming elections. This assertion was made by ANC secretary-general and chief negotiator Mr Cyril Ramaphosa in an exclusive interview at his office.

Ramaphosa said the prediction of victory was not merely based on attendance at rallies and polls by independent scientific groups, but on the determination of the organisation's supporters to vote the party into power.

While the constitution brokered at the World Trade Centre contained most of the bottom lines the ANC had set for itself, it also contained elements insisted upon by other parties participating in the talks.

The constitution was therefore not a reflection of ANC policy, but of the compromises that were reached.

It represented, however, a mechanism to assume power and thereby start the process of redressing the deprivations fostered by centuries of white racist rule.

Ramaphosa said "the huge vote awaiting the ANC was due to its Reconstruction and Development Programme which, he asserted, remained the only viable policy so far put forward by any party.

People are going to vote for the ANC and its policies, and not simply because they like Mandela due to his imprisonment," he said.

## Major challenge

Ramaphosa saw Natal as the major challenge that faced the ANC. Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi was bent on "using the king to safeguard his own political position by having a Zulu state declared." And this was setting the scene for a challenge to the democratic process throughout the country.

"In Natal we are faced with a situation where Buthelezi has decided that Natal is his last stand. He wants to ensure that elections do not take place.

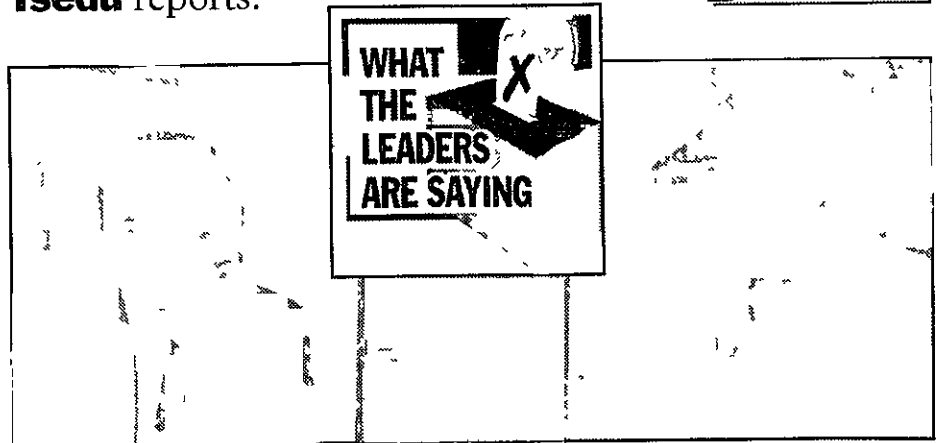
"He wants to drown democracy in a sea of blood. It is a challenge in that our success or failure to install democracy in our country will be put to a test there.

"We must develop clear strategies to deal with the threat as Buthelezi is essentially spoiling for a fight. He has chosen a terrain where he thinks he can engage forces of democracy through violence.

"For our part we prefer a political solution to this problem, rather than a military solution. This is why we are engaging the IFP in talks on mediation to ensure their problems are resolved and they can subject themselves to the will of the people like any other party," Ramaphosa said.

While the ANC was prepared to discuss the future of the Zulu monarch, "Buthelezi will

The ANC is confident of a landslide victory in the coming elections, even though IFP leaders are apparently threatening to drown the country in a sea of blood. Political Editor **Mathatha Tsedu** reports:



In conversation . . Cyril Ramaphosa with Mathatha Tsedu.

have to fight his own battles as a political leader and cannot ride piggyback on the king", Ramaphosa said.

He said he could not rule out a repeat of the Bophuthatswana uprisings in KwaZulu as civil servants there were disgruntled about their jobs and pensions.

"We as the TEC have said all civil service jobs are guaranteed, but there will be a need for rationalisation as administrations merge.

"This necessitates consultations and we have a task force that will meet all civil servants in all bantustans, including KwaZulu. We are calling on the KwaZulu civil servants to come forward and consult, because come April 27, Buthelezi will cease to be their master.

"They will have new masters and they must grab the lifeline that the IEC is throwing to them. Buthelezi cannot secure their jobs," Ramaphosa said.

Ramaphosa said the upheaval in Bophuthatswana could have been avoided if the leaders there had been prepared to subject themselves to the will of the people.

He saw the election as one in which people would be electing a constituent assembly (CA) that would have unfettered powers to draw up a constitution based on the will of the people, regardless of present agreements in multilateral talks. He rejected allegations that the entrenchment of clauses meant the CA was hamstrung by the interim constitution.

He saw the entrenchment of clauses on pow-

ers of regions as only a temporary safeguard against the "significant diminishing" of powers as contained in the schedule.

The CA will also still be empowered to draw up a more complete Bill of Rights as well as new structures of local government.

He was sure people understood this and this was why support for the ANC was growing daily, he asserted.

Turning to complaints by other organisations that ANC supporters harassed them and disrupted their meetings, Ramaphosa said the NP in particular was faced with a problem in that they were a party "deeply hated by people because of what they did to black people."

This presented a problem as emotions ran high against the NP. ANC president Nelson Mandela had, however, called for all parties to be allowed to campaign.

Ramaphosa felt that free and fair elections would be possible in the greater part of the country, including the East Rand, where, he added, recent measures to oust the police and increase the SADF presence had led to significant calming of the situation.

This augured well for the ANC and its alliance partners, he said, although the inclusion of some of the discredited alliance partners had brought problems within the organisation.

Tomorrow Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi talks about his party's future.

(Mathatha Tsedu, 61 Commando Road, Industria)

# No compensation for land, says PAC

Bethlehem — A Pan Africanist Congress government would expropriate all land without compensation, PAC president Clarence Makwetu, told about 1 000 supporters in Bethlehem's Bohlakong township yesterday.

Speaking at the end of a three-day election swing through the Free State, he said the land would be restored to the people or held in trust by

the State  
"All people have equal claim to the land," he said.

Makwetu told the crowd that fears that the PAC's land policy spelt economic disaster were unfounded. A vote for any party except the PAC was a vote for disaster as other parties promised houses but not land, he said. — Sapa.

(J Rees 141 Commissioner St, Jhb)

Star 21/3/94  
**'Inauguration  
on May 10'**

East London — ANC leader Nelson Mandela is to be inaugurated as South Africa's new State President on May 10 in Pretoria, according to ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki

He made the announcement in East London on Saturday. He said the ANC had been receiving numerous queries from heads of government in other countries concerning the inauguration of the new president.

Sapa (11A)  
(Report by Ben MacLennan, 26 Caxton Street, East London)

TEC set to issue its own report

# KZP to come under intensive scrutiny

Star 21/3/94

BY ESTHER WAUGH  
POLITICAL  
CORRESPONDENT

The KwaZulu Police can now expect to come under intensive scrutiny following the release of the Goldstone Third Force report

The report, made public by President de Klerk and Mr Justice Richard Goldstone on Friday, contains chilling testimony suggesting the existence of one or more hit squads in the KZP. The report strongly implies that investigations undertaken up until now have been wholly inadequate

The Star understands that, independently, the Transitional Executive Council is due to release a report tomorrow on these alleged hit squads. This report is the result of an investigation by a specially appointed task group which began its work in December

The Goldstone Commission's report said there was also evidence indicating the involvement of members of SAP security police in hit squad activities

## COMMISSION'S report strongly implies that investigations undertaken so far have been wholly inadequate

in Natal

The judge said in his report that the possibility of the existence of KZP hit squads had not been properly investigated

"The commission is satisfied that the KZP is presently dragging its feet — probably a generous description — in investigating the presence of other hit squads within its ranks"

The judge said he had met De Klerk, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee in December to brief them on "at least one hit squad operating in the KZP"

At the meeting Brigadier E du Preez was appointed to investigate the possibility of other hit squads in KZP ranks

"Little or no progress" had been made in the investigation,

as KZP Commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During told the TEC last month

The judge said he was "unhappy with the apparent lack of progress" and asked the two police officers, appointed by Du Preez, to meet him in Johannesburg. One of the police officers, a Captain Scholtz, informed the meeting that he had about 100 dockets relevant to the KZP hit squad investigation

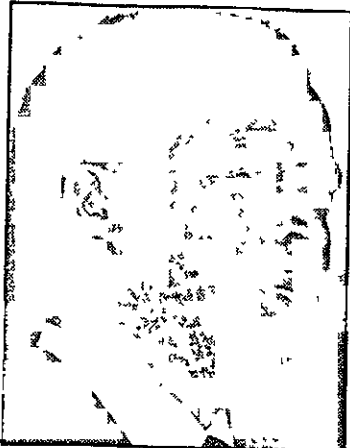
"At about the end of November or beginning of December 1993 it was made clear to both Major van Aswegen and Scholtz by Du Preez that they were not to continue with any further investigations"

Judge Goldstone said in the report that the blocking of the investigation by Du Preez was in direct contradiction with the decision reached at the meeting with De Klerk.

"According to Captain Scholtz there is convincing evidence that elements in the KZP have been and are still involved in hit squad activities in Natal and also in the Transvaal"

## 'Terrorists must be punished'

Star 21/3/94



Mbeki . it never was black-on-black violence.

King William's Town — The ANC would ensure that those guilty of fomenting violence were brought to book no matter what political positions they held, ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki said yesterday

Speaking at an ANC rally, he said the Goldstone report had identified senior police officers as having been involved in a campaign of violence and death

"I am certain that the ANC is going to pursue this matter no matter how high it reaches"

"It doesn't matter how high people are, it does not matter how big their titles, it doesn't matter where they are within the politics of South Africa. The ter-

rorists must be punished"

Mbeki said the commission's report gave the lie to the belief that what had been happening in South Africa was black-on-black violence

"What is Goldstone saying? It's not black-on-black violence. It's people who are opposed to change, people who like apartheid, people who want to maintain apartheid (who were responsible)"

"It was the violence of the apartheid system against our people. It was a violence carried out over many decades to ensure that our oppression continued," he said — Sapa.

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# ANC: The full lowdown

THE ANC was formed in 1912 and was then known as the South African Native National Congress. Its formation was precipitated by the exclusion of black people from the 1910 Union constitution.

Its stated aim was the achievement of universal adult franchise and the creation of a united democratic South Africa. Today, on the eve of the first multiracial elections, the ANC can justifiably claim that it has achieved its founding aims.

It became the ANC in 1923 when its cooperation with the Communist Party started.

The organisation formed alliances with the labour movement and in 1952 embarked on the famous defiance campaign in which people were encouraged to defy racist laws that dictated where black people could go and designated facilities that they could use.

Arrests followed the campaign and with growing militancy, the Youth League became the major force of the organisation. The adoption of the Freedom Charter in June 1955 led to differences with the Africanist factions within the organisation culminating in their walkout and the formation of the PAC in 1959.

The ANC was banned in 1960 after the Sharpeville shootings which has anniversary today. Following the banning the ANC formed Umkhonto we Sizwe in December 1961 to wage a military campaign that resulted in the bombing of missions throughout the country until 1990.

The organisation established a worldwide network of support groups that helped to popularise the South African struggles. Even now support groups can still be found

all over the world helping to raise funds and awareness of racist rule crimes against black people.

A full followed the banning of the ANC within the country, and its military operations had dwindled to almost nothing until the 1976 uprisings which infused spirit into a new generation of recruits geared to fighting the regime.

These fighters resurrected the movement's profile and led to mass movements emerging within the country to promote its image. Chief among these was the United Democratic Front and Cosatu.

The organisation was unbanned in 1990, but by then its flags had become a regular feature at funerals and rallies. It immediately went into negotiations with the Government, negotiations that culminated in the election campaign presently under way.

Led by Mr Nelson Mandela, the organisation is undoubtedly the richest in the race. It has gone into partnership with a myriad of organisations, including hitherto puppet organisations, a move that has raised the ire of more grounded members.

The ANC campaign hinges on its Reconstruction and Development Plan, which states the following:

- The creation of a government of the people through
  - A constitution and Bill of Rights which guarantee human rights for all, including the right to a minimum standard of life.
  - The right of all people to elect a government of their choice in regular free and fair elections in a multi party democracy.
  - Democratic government at provincial and local levels with the powers and sources

to meet people's needs.

● An independent judiciary and constitutional court protected from any government or party political interference

● Freedom from discrimination based on racial gender or any other ground

● Freedom of association and the right to worship.

## Socioeconomy

● The creation of an open society that encourages vigorous debate

● People must be free to express their views without fear including criticising the government of the day

● Freedom of the media will be essential for a flourishing democracy and

21/12/1994

● All South African languages will have equal status and no culture will be promoted over another and traditional leaders will be accorded the status they deserve

● Improvement of quality of life through a growing economy by

● Creating an environment of peace and stability boosting investor confidence.

● A new trade and industry policy which will focus mainly on job creation, strengthening the manufacturing capacity and those in Economic programmes that take into account the need for sustainable development which does not destroy natural resources

● Tighter controls will be introduced to preserve the environment for future generations

● Massive public work programme

● This will create 2.5 million employment and training opportunities over 10 years, building roads, houses, clinics, schools and providing water and electricity

● Small business

● Simplify procedures and controls for starting new businesses by changing licensing laws, provide training and access to loans. Small business will also be given preference in government contracts

● Workers' Rights

● Committed to full rights for all workers

in both the public and private sectors including the domestic and farm workers to organise and bargain collectively and be represented by trade unions. These will entail outlawing all discrimination, protection of hard won employment standards and maternity and child care rights, guarantee the right to strike and raise and enforce the standards of health and safety

Efficient and just tax systems:

- End Value Added Tax on basic foods like flour, milk and sugar.
- Reduce income tax on people earning under R4 000 a month.
- End unfair taxation of women, married and single.
- Ensure thorough efficient collection that every business pays its fair share of tax.
- Encourage large scale farming and ensure security of tenure and all basic rights for farm workers
- Guarantee victims of forced removals restitution through a Land Claims Court, and
- Utilise state land in land reform

Education

- Introduce a single system providing 10 years of free and compulsory education for all children.
- Utilise all existing school facilities,
- Provide more classrooms and repair and modernise inadequate facilities,
- Double the number of free text books within one year.
- Allow mother tongue instruction and provide a national bursary and loan system.
- Provide adult literacy programmes.
- Assist youths who have dropped out of school, and
- Focus on ways of providing pre-school

care and special assistance to women

Housing

● A roof over one's head is not a privilege but a right, thus the ANC promises in first five years to

- Build one million houses
- Provide running water and flush toilets to over a million families,
- Electrify 2.5 million rural and urban homes and
- Upgrade hostels to meet needs of residents and in the process eliminate migratory labour system. Houses will be built near where people work and efficient transport provided

Health

● Promote safe motherhood and provide care for the children through immunisation, nutrition and free health care for children under five.

- Make medicine more affordable.
- Combat TB, Aids, cancer, sexually transmitted diseases and other plagues and
- Facilitate integration of traditional medicine

Affirmative action.

● Opportunities must be opened to all who were discriminated against, including disabled people and rural communities. This will not be at the expense of others nor lead to lowering of standards. More training and upgrading will be done

Security forces

● All security forces will be reformed to reflect the national and gender character of the nation

They will be non-partisan, professional, uphold the constitution and respect human rights

● A new volunteer army will defend the country's borders and also be used to upgrade skills for youths

● Equality before the law

### Unrest could slow Eskom

WILSON ZWANE

ESKOM expects its programme for the electrification of hundreds of thousands of homes this year to be slowed by unrest in parts of the country in the run-up to elections

Eskom electricity distribution executive director Jac Messerschmidt said at the weekend the utility would not endanger its personnel by sending them into volatile areas

He was optimistic that Eskom would make up for lost ground from May

Eskom is aiming at spending R850m this year to electrify 250 000 homes, as part of its programme to bring electricity to 900 000 homes by 1998. Last year, the utility spent R584,4m on more than 294 000 connections. Eskom has 900 000 customers

Messerschmidt also disclosed that the thrust of the electrification programme was the installation of prepaid electricity meters. But this, he said, was not due to fears of non-payment by township residents

He said about half of the utility's customers had prepaid meters.

Report by W Zwane, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb

# ANC and Inkatha to study mediation plan

B1 Day 21/3/94

DAVID GREYBE

RICHARDS BAY — Inkatha Freedom Party and ANC leaders were scheduled to study detailed proposals for international mediation at the weekend which, if accepted, would be likely to begin within three weeks.

The proposals included the names of a team of international mediators, as well as the terms of reference of such mediation, ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki said at a fundraising dinner in Richards Bay at the weekend.

"Hopefully the mediation process can then start in two or three weeks," he said. But he warned that there were "serious problems" in KwaZulu concerning a climate for free political activity.

"Clearly the Transitional Executive Council and government must act," Mbeki said.

He warned the ANC would have to reconsider the agreement brokered between Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi that supporters would be free to campaign for or against the elections. Recent Inkatha violations of the agreement, such as the occupation of stadiums booked by the ANC for political rallies, had necessitated this.

He announced the ANC had effectively dumped the Afrikaner Volksfront in negotiations on a volkstaat, in favour of Gen Constand Viljoen's newly formed Freedom Front. The ANC was "interested" in negotiating directly with the Freedom Front, Mbeki said. Viljoen had led the Volksfront team in volkstaat negotiations with the ANC on a bilateral accord.

Discussions between the ANC and the Volks-

front began at the end of last year, and a 12th draft of a possible accord is being studied.

"We have said to them (the Freedom Front) that if indeed an agreement were to be reached between us, we would be willing to pursue whatever we have agreed in terms of such constitution-making... after the elections," he said.

Mbeki said he expected government "to join in later", effectively to adopt a trilateral accord. He said volkstaat issues that needed to be clarified included where it would be; its constitution; what would happen to the civil and political rights of non-Afrikaners within such a volkstaat; what would happen to Afrikaners resident outside the volkstaat; and how to establish it.

According to the proponents of a volkstaat the majority of the population in the territory would be Afrikaners, with an exclusive right to elect its government, Mbeki said.

"But how do you achieve that result without discriminating against other people? How do you achieve that result while keeping true to principles of nonracialism and democracy?"

Sapa reports Mbeki also told a fundraising dinner in East London on Saturday that ANC leader Nelson Mandela would be inaugurated as SA's new President on May 10 in Pretoria.

"It is planned that the new president, Nelson Mandela I think, will be installed, inaugurated, on May 10, a big occasion in Pretoria."

Report by D Greybe, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb, and S MacLennan, Sapa, 26 Cannon Street, East London.

# ANC declares Zwelithini a foe after he proclaims Zulu sovereignty

ELECTION prospects in KwaZulu were dealt a blow at the weekend with the ANC declaring that Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini was now a political opponent.

"The king will now have to deal with the ANC Zulus," the ANC Northern Natal region said after Zwelithini's proclamation of Zulu "sovereignty".

Yesterday KwaMashu north of Durban, was tense after about 1 500 people, calling themselves "the Zulus" and saying they refused to recognise the Electoral Act, occupied the Princess Magogo Stadium booked for an ANC rally, Sapa reports.

After negotiations between the occupiers, ANC officials and the police, the ANC

switched venues for the rally "to avoid a bloodbath". Earlier in the day at least two people were reported injured.

Inkatha Freedom Party supporters have warned that the ANC would not be allowed to hold any more rallies in KwaZulu because of Zwelithini's declaration.

On Saturday, the ANC Sonke cultural festival was held at Zululand University without scheduled appearances by ANC president Nelson Mandela and ANC Natal premier candidate Jacob Zuma after reports of threats to their lives.

Only about 5 000 ANC supporters attended the rally in a stadium "secured" nearly a day earlier by ANC marshals and SAP

DAVID GREYBE

members to prevent Inkatha supporters from occupying it. Last week, armed men prevented an ANC rally in Umlazi by occupying the stadium.

The hardening of attitudes coincided with the cancellation of Friday's planned peace meeting between Zwelithini and Mandela in Umlazi. Instead, it turned into an Inkatha show of force, with supporters brandishing assault rifles, shotguns and handguns.

ANC regional secretary Senzo Mchunu said "The king has chosen the Inkatha Freedom Party's political position."

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Inkatha Midlands leader David Ntombela warned that Inkatha would put a stop to "all forms of disloyalty and treachery" to the Zulu king, while another regional Inkatha leader vowed that Inkatha would never allow the elections to go ahead in April.

Midlands SACP general secretary Dennis Nkosi said "It is clear these elections will be declared null and void." He claimed Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's strategy was "to wreak maximum havoc and ensure there are no elections."

ANC northern Natal chairman Bhekini Ntuli said on Saturday "Zwelithini's declaration of a sovereign Zulu kingdom is a

declaration of war on our members. While negotiations are still continuing we can't fight — we agreed we would bury our firearms. But if the negotiations break down totally we will be forced to go back to the bush."

Buthelezi said in an interview after Friday's gathering of Zulus, at which Zwelithini proclaimed Zulu sovereignty. "I'm very, very concerned about the prospects for peace in this region. I'm really very depressed because I can see no peace arising out of this."

He said he expected the Transitional

□ To Page 2

Zwelithini

Blow

2/13/194

□ From Page 1

Executive Council and government to send in the SADF and SAP to ensure the elections went ahead. But this would only increase tensions.

"I can't see peace at the end of the day," Buthelezi said. "There is no way that the TEC and government can impose their will on us through the barrel of the gun."

The negotiations door had not been shut, he said. "One can't say the time for talks has ended" while the ANC and Inkatha were pursuing international mediation.

The ANC dismissed Buthelezi's public assurance to Zwelithini that he had the support of more than 8-million Zulus for his proclamation. The ANC announced a

campaign of "rolling mass action" which it said would clearly show the organisation had the support of the majority of Zulus.

The SACP's Nkosi said that "at most" a third of all Zulus would support secession. But he admitted: "A majority of Zulus in traditional areas still respect Zwelithini."

A government spokesman warned that any attempt by KwaZulu to secede would be illegal under the present constitution. A KwaZulu government source said although Zwelithini's proclamation had no legal force, the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly might promulgate a constitution for KwaZulu/Natal during its current session.

Reports by D Greybe, TML, 11 Diegenal St., Jhb., and C Doornik, Sapp 350 Vvent St., Dbn.

# PAC vows to return land

Sowetan 22/3/94

**Sowetan Reporters and Sapa**

A VOTE for the Pan Africanist Congress would mandate the organisation to make sure that the land was returned to Africans, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said yesterday.

Makwetu warned hundreds of PAC supporters at the 34th commemoration service of the March 21 1960 Sharpeville shootings — in which 69 people were killed — not to vote for organisations that promised them cosmetic changes.

He told a large crowd at George Thabe Stadium in Sharpeville that the PAC was the only organisation that would "liberate the Africans if voted to power."

Makwetu, however, conceded that the PAC faced an uphill struggle to win the April 27 election.

"The odds are heavily stacked against us because the playing field has not been levelled to put us on the same footing as other parties contesting the election.

"The PAC has no money, because influential white businessmen and international donors were pumping money to an organisation they want to be the next government.

"The Independent Electoral Commission is also dragging its feet when it has to give the PAC money promised to parties contesting the election," he said.

## Colonial rule

Makwetu said he wondered why Afrikaners were demanding self-determination. "What I know about self-determination is that this is normally asked by people who are fighting colonial rule and power. The Afrikaners are not under such rule and their demand for a *volkstaat* is therefore null and void."

About 3km away, also in Sharpeville, African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela spoke to about 50 000 people in conditions of near chaos and lashed at ANC organisers.

"I must condemn in the strongest terms their lack of organisation, their inability to anticipate the crowd and

their inability to take protective steps beforehand. It's luck that nobody has died," Mandela said.

"Sharpeville will never happen again in our country," he said. (119)

He spoke at length about the interim Goldstone Commission report and said an international team would investigate the matter.

Earlier in the day, addressing thousands of people at Odi Stadium in Mabopane, Mandela said leaders should consider giving indemnity to all police and army personnel wishing to confess criminal activities.

## Recent revelations

He said he had met President FW de Klerk, IEC chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegel and his deputy Advocate Dikgang Moseneke in Pretoria yesterday morning to discuss the recent revelations of alleged involvement by top-ranking police officers in violence.

Regarding the alleged involvement of three senior police officers in the current violence, Mandela said the ANC had always said there was a "third force" in the country.

At Uitenhage in the Cape, more than 6 000 people attended a Sharpeville commemoration day addressed by Labour Party leader the Reverend Allan Hendrickse, former Popcru president Mr Gregory Rockman and Cosatu national president Mr John Gomomo.

A procession was led to the graves of those killed in the Langa, Cape Town, massacre.

More than 10 000 people under the Pan Africanist Congress banner attended Langa and Sharpeville commemoration services in Langa.

The ANC held a service at Langa Stadium and the PAC at Langa Cemetery.

Among leaders at the PAC service were Western Cape premiership candidate Mrs Patricia de Lille and Mr Philip Kgosana, who led a PAC march from Langa to Cape Town 34 years ago.

(Reports by I Motsapi and M Kotlolo, 61 Com-mando Road, Industria, Johannesburg, and R Norton 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)

NEWS Bullet more effective than ballot • Police spokesman

Sowetan 22/3/94

# Free Appla cadres call

**A** AZANIAN People's Liberation Army cadres serving sentences in South African jails or awaiting trial must be released unconditionally, Appla's senior officer, Brigadier Mpozamo Yonana, has said

Addressing about 3 000 Pan Africanist Congress members in Langa Stadium, Yonana said Appla could not talk with the SADF while its cadres were incarcerated in "enemy" prisons. Appla had agreed to lay down arms because it had wanted to "talk through the ballot rather than the bullets". He said "The more you kill a thief the more you get your freedom. We have seen that the thieves are cowards who can't take pain. But now we have decided to use the ballot.

## THIRD FORCE De Lille says PAC

vindicated by evidence of township violence:

but if this doesn't bring our land back, Appla will go back to the bush — and use the bullet which is more effective." (11/9)

Regional PAC premier candidate Ms Patricia de Lille said the PAC favoured the return of land that was stolen from the Africans since 1652, not 1913 as the interim constitution suggested.

De Lille blamed the ANC and South African Communist Party of necklacing people. "Once the PAC comes into power, it will fight

those who kill black people. The ANC and SACP are called major parties because they kill black people."

The latest revelations about the Third Force that fomented violence in the black townships vindicated the PAC's view that President FW de Klerk's Government was involved in the conflict, she said. (News by V. Bavuma, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town.)



**OVERCOME:** An ANC marshal carries a supporter after she was overcome by heat and a crushing crowd of tens of thousands who attended a rally in Sharpeville yesterday to commemorate Sharpeville Day and to hear ANC President Nelson Mandela address supporters. The Sharpeville massacre happened 30 years ago when police fired on protesters killing 69.

## FW 'prostitute in new dress', crowd is told

(11A) ARG 22/3/94  
The Argus Correspondent

UITENHAGE — The commemoration of the Sharpeville and Langa massacres served as an electioneering platform for tripartite alliance heavyweights at a rally at Kwanobuhle Stadium here

They criticised President De Klerk, saying it was his policemen who shot dead 29 people commemorating Sharpeville Day at Langa, Uitenhage, in 1985

Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse said the oppressor could not become the liberator.

"De Klerk cannot come to us and say he is the new National Party. A prostitute in a new dress is still a prostitute. De Klerk has no right to exist," he said.

African National Congress election candidate and founder of the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union, Gregory Rockman, said Mr De Klerk was a devil calling himself a champion of democracy.

"He cannot be a champion of democracy if he has oppressed us for so many years."

Turning to law and order, Mr Rockman stressed the need for community policing, saying township residents could not trust policemen who drove in armoured vehicles, wore bullet-proof vests and kicked down doors.

"Casspirs will be deployed on the borders of South Africa, and (the ANC's military wing) Umkhonto we Sizwe will use them," he said, adding that bullet-proof vests would be put in storage.

Referring to the Goldstone preliminary inquiry into alleged gun-running by police generals, Mr Rockman said Popcru had known since last year that 30 000 guns had been sold to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Congress of South African Trade Unions president John Gomomo and ANC Women's League secretary-general Nosiviwe Mapisa also addressed the crowd at the township stadium before moving on to the nearby cemetery to lay wreaths — Sapa

(News by J Saunders and D Isaacson, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

# PAC 'not prepared to share'

11A ARG 22/3/94  
 Whites 'free to leave'

**EDWARD MOLOINYANE, Staff Reporter and DENNIS CRUYWAGEN, Political Staff**

THE PAC was not prepared to share power with the white minority and those whites fearing black majority rule were free to leave the country, said the organisation's regional candidate premier Patricia De Lille

Mrs De Lille was speaking at a 1960 Sharpeville commemoration service at the Grand Parade. She shared the platform with temporarily indemnified Azanian People's Liberation Army commander Mpazamo "Brigadier" Yonana, Achmat Cassiem of the radical Muslim group Qibla and Philip Kgosana, who led an anti-pass march from Langa to the city in 1960

Mrs De Lille, who was given a standing ovation by about 4 000 supporters bussed from Langa, said the PAC was fighting to reclaim land — which belonged to the African people — 'inch by inch'

"The PAC wants to destroy white domination and is not prepared to share power with the white minority. Those leaving the country because they fear African majority are free to do so," she said.

The message for the organisation's supporters from PAC president Clarence Makwetu, she said was that supporters should start "measuring the land inch by inch"

In his brief address, Mr Kgosana paid tribute to the heroes who fell in 1960, saying their blood had not been "spilled in vain"

Condemning the violence among black political groups, Mr Kgosana said he led more than 60 000 people during the 1960 march from Langa to the Grand Parade but they did not break a window

"People today are necklacing others in the name of the struggle. The PAC does not do that as there has always been discipline in the organisation," he said.

Mr Yonana, who succeeded Sabelo Phama as Apla commander, said there were complaints from some organisations when the PAC launched its anti-pass campaign that it was sending people to the slaughterhouse

"But today the same organisations take part in commemorations because it's election time," he said.

He claimed Apla was the only organisation that "forced the regime to the negotiation table"

Meanwhile, Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Tony Yengeni has repeated his call for a Truth Commission "because there can be no reconciliation if the truth about our past is not known"

He made his call before an African National Congress Sharpeville Day commemoration rally at Langa stadium yesterday

He said a new government could not identify people involved in hit squad activities until "we know who did what, where and when"

He said "Those who murdered, maimed and massacred our people should come out and apologise. Then we can have national reconciliation. We don't want vengeance"

His previous calls for Nuremburg-style trials should have been seen in this context, he said

A new government should erect a national memorial bearing the names of those South Africans killed in dirty tricks operations

"We must never forget our past. Even the comrades killed overseas must be reburied in South Africa"

Although yesterday's rally started two hours late, hundreds of people poured into the ground by lunchtime

Their presence was an indication that the majority of Langa residents supported the ANC and not the Pan Africanist Congress, he said

It also showed that blacks rejected the National Party's notion of forgetting the past

He said blacks were also demonstrating they would vote for the ANC and not for the NP

"This is a significant time in our history because Judge Goldstone has said police generals were involved in third force activities. We've always claimed this, but (President) De Klerk said 'where's the evidence?' Now he's got it"

Mr Goldstone's disclosures had been a blow to Mr De Klerk and the NP

"His police force worked hard to destabilise the ANC. De Klerk and the NP can't be trusted to govern South Africa again"

(News by D Cruywagen and E Moloinyane, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)



Pictures ROY WIGLEY, The Argus

**PAC SPEAKERS:** Western Cape premier candidate Patricia de Lille, centre, with veteran activist Philip Kgosana alongside her at right, at the Pan Africanist Congress rally on the Grand Parade yesterday



**COMMUTERS:** PAC members, not sure which train is supposed to take them home, jump from train to train on Cape Town station. The PAC arranged special trains to bring its supporters to the city



**THE AZANIAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION** *Azapo waits for disillusionment after elections*

(11A)

# Influenced by Biko

**By Mathatha Tsedu**  
Political Editor

**ITUMLENG JERRY Mosala** was born in the Orange Free State township of ThabaNchu outside Bloemfontein in 1950

The son of a domestic worker and a migrant father employed as a petrol attendant, he attended primary and secondary school in Bloemfontein

Mosala vividly remembers and traces his political awareness to 1960, when, as a 10-year-old boy, he woke up one day to find the township teeming with soldiers

Sharpeville had happened and a state of emergency had been declared

His actual involvement in resistance politics was, however, precipitated by his experiences at the Strydom Teacher Training College, which was run on military lines, with strict discipline and open-ended manual work

Students and their black teacher brothers were treated as second best and this generated animosity within the young Mosala towards whites in general

He also found that all the white teachers had some form of deformity, such as missing fingers, or lumped

This on its own became a source of

much banter, as black students felt these were rejects from the white community who were found to be only fit to teach black students

The unequal relationship of the black and white teachers did not escape Mosala, who noted that none of the black teachers had cars and depended on their white counterparts for lifts

**Leave class**

"The black teachers would leave the class midway through the last period to go and stand next to the cars of their supposed colleagues to make sure they were not left behind

If they did not wait next to the cars, they were automatically left behind," Mosala reminisced during an interview recently

This was at the height of the Black Consciousness philosophy which taught black pride and assertiveness

Black Consciousness maintained that a mental liberation in which one refused to degrade himself or herself for favours from whites was a necessary prerequisite to physical liberation

It said black people were made in the image of God, that black was beautiful and that blacks had to stand up to fight for their land and their dignity as a people

Student leaders from other institutions, already imbued with this liberat-

ing philosophy, used to visit the college and found Mosala more than ready to accept the message of BC

He was later to meet Steve Biko, credited as the founder of BC, in Umtata at a seminar for theologians, while serving as a probation minister

When he returned to Bloemfontein, the BC bug had bit him and he joined Bloemso, the South African Students Organisation branch in the area

When he later went to Fort Hare, he liaised closely with Biko and Mapetla Mohapi, both of whom were killed by police while in custody

**Several universities**

A minister of the Methodist Church, Mosala has taught at several universities, including Botswana and the University of Cape Town

A doctor of divinity, Mosala has also written several books and published numerous articles on religion and politics

He is presently based at the University of Cape Town, where he is teaching theology

Married with two children, Mosala was first regional chairman of the Western Cape region of Azapo and later became head of Azapo's religious secretariat

He was elected president of Azapo in 1990 and again in 1993



Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala ... April elections legitimise the dispossession of blacks.

# Boycott empowers the dispossessed

**By Mathatha Tsedu**  
Political Editor

**T**HE INTERIM constitution on which the coming elections are based are formulated with European and American influence and do not represent anything African

Consequently, it entrenches white power, legalises the dispossession of black people of their land, and criminalises the victims of white plunder who have to prove that they were robbed

For these reasons, black people will reject it in their millions and will boycott the elections either in support of the call by the Azanian People's Organisation or simply out of a general feeling that voting would not bring change

Making this assertions in an exclusive interview with *Sowetan* last week, Azapo president professor Itumeleng Mosala said his organisation has decided to boycott the elections to provide black people with an avenue to show their rejection of attempts to hoodwink them into a system that has no benefits for them

"Our people are being lied to about the constituent assembly because the one elected on April 27 will not have the power to draw up a new constitution. Key elements of that new constitution have already been entrenched by a non-representative body composed of parts of the liberation movement, the oppressors and puppets

"Land dispossession is being resolved in a manner that whites would want it done

"Property rights have been entrenched and capitalism is upheld, which makes our land a commodity that can then be sold and traded

"The victims of land-grabbing by

**WHITE PLUNDER** *New*

*constitution criminalises the victims*

*of land dispossession:*

whites are criminalised with evidence demanded from them instead of whites having to prove that they were entitled to the land they call their own

"The fact that even these claims can only be entertained if they happened this side of 1913 is proof that the intention was never to redress the matter

"The year 1913 represents the final consolidation of the plunder that started with Jan van Riebeck in 1652," Mosala said

He said the entrenchment of power sharing negates majority rule and guarantees that the results will be a "classical neo-colonial settlement that makes a mockery of the elections themselves"

**Emancipation**

It would have been futile therefore for Azapo to enter the fray and hope that it would win and bring results of genuine freedom and economic emancipation to the oppressed as the new government would be hamstrung by the constraints of the interim constitution

These reasons, he said, do not emanate from a fear of contesting the elections as alleged in the media

"Elections are not won on huge support by own members but on effective electioneering strategies that cast the net wider. Imagination, strategy and an abundance of manpower are determining factors and Azapo has all these," he said

He said Azapo was aware that the high hopes being drummed up through electoral promises would not be met as capitalism did not have the capacity to

meet people's needs but was only designed to enrich the rich

"Azapo is therefore positioning itself to mobilise around the impediments placed by white power as the struggle will have to continue beyond the elections in April to dislodge the lease of life given to white power"

He said the organisation has had internal differences of opinion on "responses and tactics to deal with the unfolding scenarios but there is absolute unanimity that the negotiations have been a sellout of black aspirations

"The concessions given to the ultra right in bilateral talks have convinced even the most hardened supporters of this process that the concern of blacks were being negated even further

"Hence the dwindling masses at election rallies and the large undecided mass as shown by recent research," he added

Mosala said there was, however, "no hope in this world of teaming up with Inkatha or any rightwing grouping that is opposing the elections

"We are doing it for a revolutionary purpose and they are doing it for reactionary reasons to enhance white power even more"

The fact that Azapo was being grouped with these forces as the no vote grouping does not bother the organisation because black people know what Azapo stands for

"We cannot discard the fight for democracy because the strategy we opt for is usurped by forces of darkness who are arguing for tribal and racist clan interests," he said

# Azapo kept the flame burning

**By Mathatha Tsedu**  
Political Editor

THE AZANIAN People's Organisation was formed in 1978 after the banning of 17 organisations and three newspapers on October 19 1977

Founded on the philosophy of Black Consciousness, the organisation believes in the unity of black people as the major driving force that will bring liberation to the oppressed black majority. BC argues that only black people who are themselves victims of settler colonialism and racist capitalism are properly equipped to fight white domination and subjugation. The philosophy itself grew out of frustration that student activists such as Steve Bantu Biko, Harry Nengwekhulu, Strini Moodley and others felt at being a minority within a white dominated student organisation such as the then National Union of South African Students

The activities of these students finally led to the formation of the Black People's Convention, which together with other black organisations were credited with raising the level of consciousness of black people that led to the national uprisings of 1976

Azapo replaced the BPC and continued to argue that liberation of black people needed the organisation to reject white values and be proud of black history and black culture

Led by young activists, Azapo fell victim to state harassment immediately after it was formed, and its leaders, including present assistant secretary-general Lybon Mabasa, and National Housing Forum leader Ishmael Mkhabela, were banned for five years

The leaders were replaced immediately and thus became the norm throughout until the unbanning of all organisations in 1990

Azapo produced many of the leaders in various liberation movements today and has been credited with keeping the

flame of freedom burning in the days of harsh oppression

A stickler for principles, Azapo has been called a purist organisation for refusing to link up with discredited bantustan politicians and was kicked out of the patriotic front conference held in Durban in 1991 for insisting that only the forces that had genuinely fought against oppression should be part of the front

When negotiations with the Government started, Azapo accepted the principle but insisted that to disarm the Government, such talks should be held outside the country under a neutral convener. It also called for the liberation movements to go into the negotiations as a block and called for a transitional authority composed of international people backed by an international force to oversee the transitional process. All these were rejected and Azapo remained outside the talks, making verbal attacks on those involved

Azapo is not contesting the elections, maintaining that the interim constitution was designed to keep whites rich and happy at the expense of the deprived black majority. Poorly funded and relying almost solely on members' donations, the organisation's profile has diminished over the past four to six years as the other liberation movements asserted themselves openly inside the country

It has a working relationship with its sister organisation, The Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, which also boasts a military wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army. Azapo believes in a socialist economic policy and that South Africa should be a unitary state. It also stands for

- State provision of free and compulsory education,
- State provision of free health care,
- A just legal system, and
- A foreign policy that respects national independence and international friendship



# Mandela upset by chaos at Vaal rally

Star 22/3/94

■ BY JUSTICE MALALA  
and CHRISTINA STUCKY

At two contrasting rallies, the PAC and ANC leadership addressed crowds of supporters in Sharpeville near Vereeniging yesterday to commemorate the massacre of 69 people in 1960.

ANC president Nelson Mandela's arrival at the Miami Beach Stadium, where a vast crowd of supporters had gathered to hear him speak, was marred by a barely-in-control crowd of supporters who blocked his path to the stage for more than 30 minutes. ANC marshals struggled to keep the crowd in line.

Only the intervention of a group of former Umkhonto we Sizwe combatants brought the crowd under control.

Mandela said the lack of control was "totally unacceptable".

In contrast, the PAC rally of about 5 000 supporters on the other side of the township was comparatively small and subdued.

The PAC service began early in the day with a visit to the old Sharpeville cemetery, where PAC president Clarence Makwetu cleaned the graves of those who died in the massacre.

Makwetu later told the gathered PAC supporters that his organisation was concerned that while parties with outside funding continued campaigning, cash-strapped organisations had to wait, while the Independent Electoral Commission dithered about election funding.

During a 40-minute stop in Sharpeville, Mandela said an event like the Sharpeville massacre must not happen again.

He said the Goldstone Commission's report implicating high-ranking members of the SAP in violence, was a landmark. "However, I know that despite these allegations, the force has honest and devoted men and women. It is a force of this nature that we are going to use in the new government."

## Mandela berates rally organisers

SHARPEVILLE Day commemoration rallies were held around the country yesterday, mostly without incident and with only a small percentage of workers observing a stayaway. B/Day 22/3/94

A heavily armed crowd of about 75 000 waited much of the day for ANC president Nelson Mandela in the Vaal Triangle township of Sharpeville, where police shot dead 69 protesters 34 years ago. (IA)

Sapa reports that Mandela berated party organisers for the chaotic conditions at the rally. Marshals battled to control the crowd as it pushed forward to get a glimpse of Mandela when he arrived. Nobody appeared to be injured.

Sporadic gunfire was heard and stones were thrown at people who refused to sit when Mandela began his address.

JOHANNESBURG reports that Mandela said more than 18 000 people had died and government and the NP should take the blame as they were responsible for the loss of lives. Courageous policemen of all races had displayed their willingness to serve the community. After his speech, he released four doves into the air.

Earlier, PAC president Clarence Makwetu addressed about 3 000 people at the nearby George Thabe stadium. He said the ANC had not wanted to become involved when the PAC launched the pass protests that led to the Sharpeville killings. Only the PAC had stuck to its principles and only the PAC could ensure real liberation.

In Cape Town Philip Kgosana appealed to thousands of PAC supporters to strive for peace. Kgosana, who now works for the UN in Botswana, led a march of 60 000 on Parliament protesting against the pass laws 34 years ago.

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## Sharpeville

B/Day

22/3/94

From Page 1

"We must keep it up," he said. "We did nothing wrong. We don't 'necklace'."

Our Durban correspondent reports that businesses were not seriously affected by the stayaway, although several townships had little or no transport as buses were withdrawn due to road blockades and incidents of shooting. (IA)

Durban Chamber of Business spokesman Basil Smit said some companies reported that an average of 85% of staff had reported for work. Some companies took the day as a public holiday.

Eight people were arrested at Madadeni near Newcastle when pupils went on the rampage. Tear gas was used to disperse a mob who were stoning cars and buses.

Our Port Elizabeth correspondent re-

ports that most major industries in the area came to a standstill after an agreement declaring yesterday a paid holiday.

GAVIN DU VENAGE reports that at least six schools in Lenasia South were closed early yesterday after groups of youths carrying ANC banners demanded that classes stop in remembrance of Sharpeville Day. Witnesses said some teachers and pupils were beaten up.

Entrances to Daveyton were barricaded and residents stayed indoors.

Schools in Pretoria townships were empty with class boycotts in Mamelodi and Atteridgeville.

Reports by J Ngcobo and G du Venage TML 11 Diagonal St, Jhb and P Bulger and D van Zyl Sapa 141 Commissioner St, Jhb

● Picture, Page 3

# Natal tense as ANC starts mass action

B/Day 22/3/94

(11A)

STEPHANE BOTHMA  
and LLOYD COUTTS

NATAL is bracing itself for a weekend of violence as the ANC's rolling mass action campaign to press for free political activity gets under way in Durban today

Last night President FW de Klerk met ANC president Nelson Mandela in Pretoria to discuss the volatile situation

Mandela said political and military initiatives had been discussed in a bid to find a political solution to break the election deadlock and ensure free and fair elections in the region

De Klerk said government had drawn up contingency plans, including increasing the deployment of SA security forces.

"But I stress, I am not contemplating toppling the KwaZulu government," De Klerk said, adding that several possible solutions existed. These included government's authority to take over some powers, as had happened in Lebowa when SA took charge of that homeland's financial administration. Only threats to the maintenance of administration and the holding of a free and fair election in self-governing territories would make government consider taking steps to interfere.

"I want to prevent painful action being taken in KwaZulu," he said

De Klerk said discussions with Independent Electoral Commission chairman Judge Johann Kriegler had shown that the situation in KwaZulu was "more negative than initially believed"

However De Klerk planned to meet KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi again soon.

Mandela said he had asked for a "closed and private" meeting with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini as soon as possible. The ANC was committed to doing everything in its power to ensure Zwelithini took his legitimate place in the new SA as the monarch of the Zulu people.

The ANC postponed last week's meeting between Zwelithini and Mandela, after receiving threats to Mandela's life

ANC southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe said today's march in Durban would "dispel the myth that Zulus do not support elections". Fears of confrontation grew with rumours that a counter-march was being planned

Sapa reports that about 2 000 public servants, pupils and traditional leaders marched through Ulundi yesterday to reject the TEC and display support for the KwaZulu administration

Inkatha Youth Brigade national publicity secretary Zenzele Phakati said "bloodshed" would follow any ANC and government attempt to dismantle KwaZulu.

Meanwhile, De Klerk became embroiled in a war of words on the handling of the situation in Natal with ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday.

He said Ramaphosa's call for the appointment of administrators could raise temperatures and mistrust, and create unnecessary polarisation. Ramaphosa's statements were "a callous and reckless"

□ To Page 2

## Natal

B/Day 25/3/94

From Page 1

approach to the sensitive situation

"This is not the conduct of responsible leadership that should contribute to the defusing of a complex situation. It would be far better if Mr Ramaphosa used his energy to ensure that the ANC's supporters will refrain from actions which add to the violence and tension"

Ramaphosa described De Klerk's "personal attack" on him as "unseemly, petty and misleading". The ANC's motivation in addressing the situation in Natal was to save lives, bring all organisations into the process of transition and the election, and resolve the escalating conflict.

In the past six weeks alone, nearly 350

people had died in Natal, nearly 90 since last Friday

"The President clearly has no regard for black lives, nor for the maintenance of any semblance of legality," Ramaphosa said.

De Klerk said government's approach to assessing circumstances in every self-governing territory was based on two goals that good administration be maintained and that free and fair elections be possible. "Only when these goals are threatened will the government consider steps to enter the situation."

Report by L Courts, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb; and C Doonan and C Govender, Saps, West St, Dbn.

● See Page 6

23/3/94 Arg.

## ANC marshals on trains: (11A) Police warn of 'timebomb'

### Staff Reporters

**POLICE** have warned that trains would become travelling timebombs if armed African National Congress marshals were allowed to patrol Cape Flats trains and stations "to safeguard" passengers.

But the ANC is determined to go ahead with the scheme

Yesterday members of the police mobile unit, responsible for policing on trains and stations, prevented a contingent of marshals armed with heavy calibre pistols and shotguns from boarding a tram at Nyanga station.

ANC regional executive committee member Garth Strachan said: "The marshals will be used as a peace-keeping force. They are not replacing the police and will be used to stabilise the situation."

They would be withdrawn once this was achieved.

Marshals would be identifiable and had been instructed "to co-operate with the police and to ensure any citizen's arrests were done in a manner to avoid any confrontation with police".

The decision to employ 100 marshals armed with side-arms at flash-points and at Bonteheuwel, Nyanga and Philippi stations had been a "reluctant one".

But it was necessary to combat what appeared to be orchestrated attacks against commuters.

Major Loekie Jordaan of the police mobile unit said he had been approached by the ANC with a request to allow armed marshals on the trains.

"It would create a precedent to allow one armed group on the train for instance, the MK, and then have to refuse the AWB or perhaps the PAC.

"A coach filled with armed gangsters on one side and various armed peacekeepers in civilian clothes in the other corner, with terrified passengers in between, would be a travelling timebomb," said Major Jordaan.

News by D Cruywagen, V Bayuma and J Schronen, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town

# 'ANC plan to subdue KwaZulu'

B. Nany 23/13/1974

THE recent period has seen further dramatic shifts in the balance of power towards the people's camp. The collapse of the Mangope regime in the Bophuthatswana bantustan is a signal achievement in this regard.

The most significant outstanding obstacle which confronts the people's movement is the problem of Buthelez and the IFP. Events in Bop, combined with the deteriorating situation in Natal now urge the accelerated implementation of a strategy for the destruction of the KwaZulu bantustan and its reincorporation within SA.

Though conditions in KwaZulu and Bop differ materially, and strategy towards the Mangope regime cannot be mechanically applied, our strategy towards KwaZulu includes important common elements.

Sufficient consensus now exists within the TEC for using maximum firmness for dealing with threats to a democratic transition. But we must first create conditions, primarily through mass action, heightened public awareness and work among KwaZulu civil servants, for decisive state intervention. We must prepare the anvil for the coming hammer.

Efforts to isolate Buthelez and separate Inkatha from its constituency and potential constituencies have unfortunately been offset by serious and unexpected reverses in the Natal region. Principally this is evident in the growth of dangerous ethnic chauvinism under the banner of King Goodwill Zwelithini. This expanding chauvinist mobilisation is combined with increasing militarisation, assisted by former members of the apartheid security forces.

These dangers counsel for accelerated implementation of a strategy which has as its objective the destruction of the KwaZulu bantustan. Apart from the need to create conditions in which free and fair elections can be held, it is only through the destruction of the KwaZulu bantustan and its reincorporation that tribal chauvinism can be finally cut down.

First, the Natal situation should be more closely monitored by a task force of the TEC, and decisive practical steps recommended.

Second, parts of Natal should be declared disaster areas and similar steps taken here as on the East Rand. Security force functions car-

## Inkatha yesterday published a discussion document, allegedly prepared by elements in the ANC, dealing with the future of KwaZulu. These are edited extracts.

ried out by the ISD should be assumed by the SADF and NPKF. Those units which proved themselves most reliable in Bophuthatswana, should be considered for priority deployment in crisis areas of Natal. The SAP in Natal may well prove unreliable in any such TEC initiative. With a view to future military intervention in KwaZulu, the SAP leadership in Natal must be firmly subordinated to the TEC.

Third, the military training and deployment of IFP members in Natal also requires re-strengthening of an effective MK's presence, and more active implementation of self-defence measures. In any event, any security action considered by the TEC should be supplemented by informal MK deployments.

About 5 000 IFP members have been trained in a relatively short space of time. Counterposed to this private army are about 2 000 MK members deployed in a self-defence capacity throughout Natal, several thousand informally trained SDU members, and some members of the Transkei Defence Force.

The development of what is by all accounts a disciplined IFP military capability — an important factor in political violence in the Natal region and beyond — is deeply disturbing and requires urgent TEC attention. This training and the murderous activities of its products need to be suppressed as a matter of urgency.

Fourth, the TEC also needs to assume the payment of salaries of Amakhosi (chiefs). Subordinating reactionary institutions to the control of the TEC and a new democratic order is necessary not only (as) a prelude to their transformation, but it (also) removes an important instrument of social control from the hands of Buthelez and the IFP.

Fifth, the TEC needs to assume a far more

active role in Natal;

Sixth, this must be combined with the organisation of a broad front of forces against any disruption of elections or attempts to Balkanise the country;

Finally, and most critical, is work among the KwaZulu civil service, and efforts to win over the Zulu king. In this regard (ANC deputy secretary-general Jacobo) Zuma's diplomacy should be understood as a means to an end — the destruction of Buthelez's political and social base. Apart from Zuma's sympathy for the incarnations and institutions of tribal consciousness, he may confuse the means as an end in itself. Approaches to the king therefore must be carefully considered and assessed and continuously oriented within the purposeful strategic framework of the liberation movement.

Organisation among civil servants must be stepped up. Though advances have been made in this regard, and important sectors of the KwaZulu civil service are organised by the ANC and allied formations, efforts must be made to persuade civil servants that job security and their pensions can only be secured by a people's government and not by tribal despots.

Though the KwaZulu administration differs from its Bophuthatswana counterpart in that it has a social base, a number of civil servants do not identify with this base.

Combined with mass action, and stepped up organisation within the KwaZulu government, a situation of ungovernability could reproduce itself fairly rapidly in the areas it administers. Though the consequences will be more extensive than in Bop, this should not deter us from the political correctness of such a strategy. It is important, however, for this crunch moment to have an appearance of spontaneity and popular support. Direct ANC involvement must be played down.

Emerging instability within KwaZulu should provide a persuasive argument for TEC intervention in KwaZulu.

Comrades within the TEC have made it clear that, in conditions of growing instability or ungovernability, and partial or general uprisings, or organised resistance to the imperial order, a new democratic order, that as in Bop, decisive military steps will be taken.

# ANC vows mass action campaign in KwaZulu will go ahead today

THE ANC vowed yesterday that its rolling mass action campaign in the KwaZulu public service would go ahead today despite the Inkatha Freedom Party's release of a "fake" ANC document outlining a plan to overthrow Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Public sector unions said their campaign to demand free political activity and the security of their pensions would start today with a march by Umlazi teachers.

Inkatha called on the Goldstone commission to urgently subpoena senior SACP official and Transitional Executive Council co-chairman Pravin Gordhan, "to ask him to reveal the author of the ANC/SACP document". It also demanded that the TEC

explain its plans

It said Gordhan had seen the document titled "Prepare the Anvil for the Coming Hammer", which sets out steps to make KwaZulu ungovernable and secure the intervention of the TEC and the military to assume control of the region.

ANC Natal officials dismissed as cheap propaganda Inkatha's claim that it was responsible for the document. But they said mass action was necessary to ensure free political activity.

"Inkatha's revelation of the fake document is a clear attempt to prevent the ANC's rolling mass action campaign," ANC southern Natal regional secretary

DAVID GREYBE  
and LLOYD COUTTS

Shu Ndebele said

ANC Midlands chairman Harry Gwala said he would provide proof within the next few days that the document was a fake drafted by Inkatha.

Inkatha officials are due to meet the Goldstone commission on Friday to discuss the document, which Inkatha said was provided by an informant.

Judge Richard Goldstone said he wanted "sufficient detail" from Inkatha to enable the commission to launch a "meaningful inquiry into the allegations".

Ndebele said the ANC's campaign would involve government and non-government sectors including public servants, trade-

national leaders, civic organisations, academics and sports bodies.

"Our rolling mass action campaign will involve all those people whose lives have been thrown in disarray because of Inkatha's opposition to the elections the TEC and the new government," Ndebele said.

Meanwhile, Natal Cosatu officials confirmed that four public sector unions had formed a forum to investigate "forms of action" around issues such as job security for KwaZulu public servants and free poli-

## Mass action

law into their own hands. Cosatu and its allies cannot be held responsible for that, Cosatu national assistant secretary-general Al Zwehizima Vavi said.

He appealed to the Independent Electoral Commission, the TEC and the Inkatha national community to act quickly before the Natal situation spiralled out of control.

Rapid security force deployment was necessary, or people would be forced to take the law into their hands to protect themselves. "We are concerned that unless the TEC's programme of measures to stabilise the situation is taken in the next week, it will become impossible to hold

elections in the region. Meanwhile, Sapa reports that more than 60 people have died in the political violence that has swept through Natal since Friday, with reports of hundreds of people fleeing their homes.

The toll rose steadily yesterday as reports of killings streamed in from rural areas and townships throughout Natal and KwaZulu. Worst affected were areas north of Durban, with the KwaZulu Police reporting at least 11 killings in the Sonkondo area of Ndwedwe since Sunday. At least three people died in KwaMashu.

Support by D. Greybe and L. Coutts, TML, 11 Disposal St, Job  
See Page 10

tical activity in the province

Cosatu said that what was perceived as an attempt to topple the KwaZulu government was in fact its members' concern about their jobs and pensions and the fate of those who want to vote in the election.

The KwaZulu government had issued a circular explaining that the interim constitution made provision for KwaZulu public servants. However, the constitution had been rejected by KwaZulu.

"It is important that we warn as we did with Mangope that the KwaZulu government's intransigence provides the possibility that people and workers could take the

To Page 2

## Talks held with World Bank, says Mandela

*BIDay 24/3/94*  
THE ANC has already negotiated with the IMF, the World Bank and commercial banks around the world, especially in Asia, to obtain the funds necessary for economic reconstruction in SA, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday, Sapa reports. (11A)

He was addressing several hundred readers of Tribute-magazine at a Johannesburg hotel.

"We have arranged to have the necessary resources once a new government is installed," he said.

The NP government had no idea of the huge sums needed to serve the population of the country, as it had always been "a government of the whites".

Mandela said there would have to be a link between economic growth and the redistribution of wealth.

The ANC would ensure redistribution in the next period of growth.

EDWARD WEST reports from Cape Town that ANC economics head Trevor Manuel said yesterday the ANC planned to adopt a draft reconstruction and development programme document for the western Cape following a conference on Saturday.

Manuel said the Western Cape would be the first province to present a regional programme in line with the national reconstruction plan.

He told an Independent Business Forum meeting the programme would be funded by more efficient government budgetary allocations, more efficient delivery of government funds and by cutting most of the R4bn spent a year supporting apartheid.

Improving public sector productivity and an anticipated inflow of development funds for some years after the elections would also contribute to the programme.

Report by A Thomson, 141 Commissioner Street Jhb and E West TML, 122 St George's St, Cape Town

# Gang war: Mandela blames the Mats

By Shannon Neill and Quentin Wilson

(11A)

25/3 - 29/3/94

**M**ANENBERG'S gang war stems from National Party policy, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela told supporters in the township on Sunday.

He said NP policy had caused unemployment and cramped living conditions, and was the cause of the miserable lives people led.

He told the crowd the ANC would provide recreation places for children so they would not have to walk the streets.

"I know that in Manenberg the serious issue of crime and the question of gangs prevent an environment of peace," he said.

His message of hope was cheered the 3 000-strong crowd.

A seven-year-old victim of recent Manenberg gang violence, Roshana Deme, hung a garland of flowers around Mandela's neck.

When asked how the ANC would deal with gangsters, Mandela told SOUTH: "Our people have met the various gangs and asked them to lay down arms."

He said this was only a temporary solution, and gangsterism and crime could only be dealt with when the ANC was in government.

Crowds began to gather on the soccer field hours before his scheduled 3 15pm visit. Children screamed with delight when four people parachuted into the field waving ANC flags.

About 200 NP supporters armed with knives, planks and stones harassed the crowd while Mandela and others spoke. Independent Electoral (IEC) Commission officials

They stoned Mandela's car when he left for Klenvel where a 5000-strong crowd greeted him with Ranga star Shabba Ranks.

Ranks told SOUTH that meeting Mandela was the greatest day of his life. He said a man who sacrificed 27 years of his life for his people could only make a great leader.

Earlier in Grassy Park, growing tension between ANC and NP supporters exploded when NP supporters kicked in the entrance gate to Pervale primary school.

While ANC marshalls inside battled to padlock the gate, they were pelted with stones as 15 NP supporters stormed the entrance.

Mayhem broke out when ANC supporters retaliated with rocks of their own. Klip Road lived up to its name as stones were thrown in all directions.

The battle took a different turn when an NP supporter was spotted hitting his political opponents with a plank. ANC followers chased the man as he fled. ANC member Mr Christopher Williams caught him and handed him to the police — who promptly released him.

"I was stunned. Here was this guy hitting people with a plank and then the police just let him go," Williams said.

Police spokespersons said during the day was averted, however Monitors from the IEC, peace observers and the Network for Independent Monitors (NIM), formed a human chain between the opposing groups.

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**SCOT FREE: Police released this NP supporter who was seen hitting opponents with a plank**

## Peace at last for Manenberg?

By Shannon Neill

The gang war which has devastated the Manenberg community appeared to have come to an end on Friday when the local ANC office negotiated a ceasefire between the feuding gangs in the area.

Manenberg ANC chairperson Mr Marnie Wanza said: "We met the Americans, the Hard Livings, the Clever Kids and the Jesters on Friday and reached an agreement to

end all hostilities

"The gang fights have had a detrimental effect on our community and the gangs have realised this. Their action is also damaging the already tarnished image of Manenberg and they agreed after three days of meetings that hostilities would end."

Wanza said a decision would be taken on April 7 whether the Internal Stability Unit of the South African Police would be brought

into the area or not

"We hope the peace lasts and the question of the ISU will be a non-issue on the seventh."

On Monday night a crowd wanted outside the Manenberg People's Centre for hours after Shabba Ranks promised to come and talk about gangsterism.

Ranks's manager told a SOUTH reporter at an earlier press conference he believed the star would be going out for supper instead.



# Fear, the beloved country

W/M 25-30/3/94 (11A) ~~157~~  
The lovely hills of East Griqualand were the setting for Alan Paton's famous novel. Now fear and uncertainty colour the landscape, reports **Laura Yeatman**

WHEN Alan Paton wrote *Cry, the Beloved Country*, he began it by saying "There is a lovely road that runs from Ixopo into the hills. These hills are grass-covered and rolling, and they are lovely and beyond and behind the river, great hill after great hill, and beyond and behind them, the mountains of Ingeli and East Griqualand." The hills are still grass-covered and lovely but behind the serene beauty lies a brooding fear. Fear of the present and fear of the future.

Paton was writing in the days of grand apartheid. Now apartheid is dead and the April elections bring the end of white rule — but racism persists.

It's the kind of racism determined by the colour of your skin, the language you speak and the tribe you belong to. And it's induced by the fear of the uncertainty of the future.

"No, I'm not going to vote," said farmworker Sibusiso Dlamini. Why not? "Because I'm afraid." But your vote is secret. "No, there will be trouble and I'm a Zulu. I'm afraid of the Xhosas. I lived in Alex, I saw a neck-lacing, I came here for peace. Now there's this voting thing. I heard about it on the radio."

It's the unknown the farm labourers fear, fuelled by ignorance, an incomprehension of what the elections and voting mean and how government functions.

Nomsa Mthimkhulu said she didn't "want anything to do with this voting. I'm going to wait and see what

happens. Perhaps I'll vote in the next elections."

But the next elections are in five years' time. "I'll wait. And anyway, what is this new government going to do for us? Are they really going to help us?"

But the dividing lines of fear are blurred. "We told the baas that he mustn't help us herd the cows across the main road. He will be shot — we don't want him to die," said Themba Radebe.

The tension is made all the more palpable by the apparent quietness and calm. But listen a little and you'll hear more than the low of cows and bird songs. You'll hear the harsh crackle of CB radios in farmers' vehicles and in farm houses.

"Calling Silver Stream, calling Silver Stream."

"Receiving you."

"Turn to Delta."

It's the morning call of the radio network set up to keep the farming community in constant contact. It's effective. Recently a child went missing and the community was alerted via radio. As they travelled the district they were able to monitor the situation.

The local commando is also on alert and random police roadblocks check the flow of people.

Farm houses which once stood open are now barred and bright security lights pierce the darkness at night. The farmers have reason to be afraid. They are receiving anonymous death threats, their homes are attacked by people in search of weapons, people have been murdered. Many farmers choose not to carry weapons as this is seen as an invitation for attack.

Recently a vehicle was seen driving from one farm to another, ostensibly on a shopping spree for sheep. When those in the vehicle were finally confronted by the security forces, it was

discovered the vehicle was stolen and the men were suspected by the farmers of being Apla members on a reconnaissance mission.

They may have been common criminals — but fear may have sparked a conspiracy twist to the tale.

Transkei, which borders this part of the Southern Natal interior, is regarded as unsafe to travel through as cars are stopped in roadblocks by people posing as policemen. Travellers lose their vehicles and sometimes their lives.

The uncertainty of the people living in the area extends to not knowing which region East Griqualand will fall under — Eastern Cape or KwaZulu/Natal. The decision has been put on hold for now.

It's the unknown the farmers fear. The community is waiting — waiting to see what happens after the elections. A farmer and his family have postponed their holiday plans "till after the elections. We're waiting to see what happens."

"I'll send my daughter, Nomasonto, to look for a job in Egoli after the elections," said Mthimkhulu.

The rolling, green hills may not be the killing fields of Creighton and the stereotyped image of farmers bristling with guns may not exist. Labourers still plough the fields and children are ferried to and from school, but the rural community is learning to live the way city people do, watching their backs.

The brooding mood is all the more jarring because fear is not expected in the tranquillity of the countryside.

When Paton wrote his book he ended by saying "The sun tips with light the mountains of Ingeli and East Griqualand. For it is the dawn that has come. But when that dawn will come, of our emancipation, from the fear of bondage and the bondage of fear, why, that is a secret."

Star 25/3/94

## NP names 25 communists on ANC list

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

There are 25 SA Communist Party members among the top 50 ANC National Assembly candidates — not 16 as the SACP has stated, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said at a press conference yesterday.

Botha was responding to a challenge by SACP member Jeremy Cronin to the NP to produce proof that there were more than 16 SACP members among the top 50 ANC candidates.

Those identified as SACP members include Joe Slovo, Ronnie Kasrils, Sydney Mufamadi, Thozamile Botha, Steve Tshwete, Jeff Radebe, Dullah Omar, Moses Mayekiso, Chris Dlamini, Gertrude Shope, Mohammed Valh Moosa, Peter Mokaba, John Nkadameng, Essop Pahad, Raymond Suttner, Thenjwe Mthintso, Blade Nzimande, Aziz Pahad, Penuell Maduna, Billy Nair, Philip Dexter, Alfred Nzo, Alec Erwin, Gill Marcus and Shepard Mdladlana.

Botha said proof of their membership was obtained from local and international publications.

The Freedom Front said yesterday it was ironic that the NP was concerned about the matter when it was the NP that had declared communism dead when it unbanned the SACP in 1990.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

(11A)

## ANC, IFP youth draw closer

Vuyo Mvoko

WJM 25/30/94

**W**HILE relations between the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party continue to simmer, a bond between the youths of the two organisations is strengthening. But fears are mounting that the current tense situation in Natal might thwart the process.

Senior members of the ANC Youth League and Inkatha Youth Brigade were supposed to meet this week to discuss how to deal with violence and political intolerance and, more broadly, on a year-long joint programme of action.

The first meeting between the two organisations took place on March 4, two days after the meeting between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and his IFP counterpart, Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

In a joint statement after that meeting, the two youth movements said they "recognised the history of the two organisations has marks of distrust, enmity and hatred", and pledged "to refrain from bellicose and unfounded utterances" against each other.

They established joint working committees that were due to make recommendations to the executive committees of the two organisations this week.

Their second meeting was scheduled to take place after a meeting between Mandela and King Goodwill Zwelithini last Friday. The Mandela-Zwelithini talks did not take place.

An ANCYL spokesman said the aim of this pattern was to "augment and strengthen" the talks between their leaders, and to act as an "implementing channel" of agreements reached by their leaders. The failure of the two leaders to meet derailed the process.

According to an ANCYL proposal, the start of the "Peace and Tolerance Programme" would be marked by a "Youth Sports Festival For Peace" to be held in the Durban township of Umlazi on April 4. The festival would comprise a marathon and football and netball matches between the two organisations, with prizes to be presented by the Zulu royal family. The ANCYL has also proposed a joint commemoration of June 16, as well as a huge musical bash featuring a "prominent international artist".

A Youth Brigade executive member said he could not comment on the issue. However, he said, the two youth movements were "closer than people can imagine".

# Red connection poses no threat

ARG 26/3/94

(11A)

**A** FRIKANERS should not assume that they are alone in tracing their history further back than the empowerment of apartheid in 1948. That empowerment drew part of its impulse from a form of volk or national socialism which combined with racism to such devastating effect.

There is a comic irony in the denunciations of nationalisation from the remnants of a regime which nationalised so much of the economy, as there is a tragic one in the reappearance of poor whites, mainly Afrikaners, now in the streets of South Africa's cities

The volk is moving house and discarding much of the furniture as out of keeping with the new neighbourhood. The double-bed, however, is being kept serviceable still, if somewhat battered and distinctly old-fashioned. The ANC must continue to be depicted as ultimately subservient to the Communist Party

Adding Red to the electoral contest may have some immediate effect, but disappears in the first intellectual wash. Such influence — never dominance — as the Communist Party exercised over the ANC was largely dependent on the existence of a Soviet system from which assistance of various kinds might be sought

For critics of that relationship, it should perhaps be recalled that Britain's rebellious North American colonies found nothing repugnant in seeking and acquiring assistance from the oppressive regime of monarchical France. It may even be relevantly recalled that a rebellious Afrikanerdom sought support from successive German regimes that were hardly models of democratic functioning

History is not a film which can be cut only to provide a particular frame

The collapse of the Soviet system in political and economic disrepute has led communist parties in various parts of the

■ There is nothing sinister about the alliance between the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party, writes returned exile **RONALD SEGAL**.

world to change their names and policies in search of some credible social relevance. The South African Communist Party has kept its name, but is having otherwise to adapt. I am not privy, though, to its internal discussions and disputes

If there are unreconstructed Stalinists among its members, there are more of those endeavouring to find for socialism a new application, outside the crypt of the "command economies" which denied democracy and productivity together. The National Party should sympathise with their predicament. It has kept its name and many of its personnel, while seeking a new application for its principles.

There is nothing mysterious, let alone sinister, about the alliance between the ANC and the SACP. It developed from a shared commitment against a common enemy, as a kind of cohabitation rather than marriage

It has succeeded because the ANC has been a national movement of struggle, accordingly accommodating those of otherwise differing views within an allegiance to the development of a nonracial democracy. Corresponding economic policies have been more inclusive in their calls for social justice than exclusive in the precision of their details

Government is likely to be more precise in its policies. The SACP, whatever the form that its restatement of socialism takes, may well continue to favour a tighter state direction over the free market that an ANC, answerable to a much wider constituency, would accept

A difference of emphasis is not necessarily a clash of principles. If it becomes so, the SACP will have little choice but to abandon the alliance for an independent existence

In a democratic system, such differ-

ences or developments are difficult to disguise. The politics of the underground is not the politics of the open society to which the ANC has repeatedly committed itself. The claim of conspiracies in or under the bed is not one which belongs to serious political discourse in the new South Africa

It, nonetheless, dominates the propaganda of the National Party and the editorial columns of supportive newspapers. It is also a recurrent chord in the composition of alarm and advice that issues from the business community, whose very pretensions to sophistication and realism it denies

Insofar as the advice can be identified at such a distance from the heights it inhabits, this seems to be that doctrine of "trickle-down economics" by which the encouragement of the rich promotes economic growth to the general benefit

The difficulty is that in the two countries where this doctrine held sway for more than a decade the supposed economic miracle turned out to be a trick with smoke and mirrors. Now that the litter on the stage can be examined, neither Britain nor the United States experienced rapid economic growth

The rich certainly grew richer. The poor grew in numbers and in plight. The incidence of unemployment, crime and violence grew. So, in due course, did the deficit in public finances

That such a socially divisive doctrine, with no references but those of failure in all previous employment, should be favoured by the business community in the much more explosive context of South Africa, passes all understanding

Were the ANC to adopt the doctrine, for how long could it count on retaining the allegiance of the constituency which

elected it? Nothing, indeed, would be more calculated to discourage the foreign investment for which the business community so hopefully looks. Such investment is at least as concerned with the political stability that secures its capital as it is on the rate of return

The real danger to the development of a nonracial democracy in South Africa lies not in some fictional conspiracy by communists to create a command economy

It lies in the failure to persuade the mass of those whom racism has for so long victimised that the new South Africa is making some measurable difference to the condition of their lives

This does not mean satisfying extravagant expectations, which are often merely desires expressed as such. A new government will need to counsel patience and may successfully do so, provided there is evidence enough that what has been authoritatively promised is, indeed, being delivered

Even the business community may find that "trickle-up" economics produces the very growth that the "trickle-down" form so signally failed elsewhere to do

The new South Africa will have many problems. Dealing with them will be difficult enough without obscuring their nature. That is not the way to escape the past, but to run the risk of repeating it, albeit in some updated form

Defictionalising politics is less risky and may prove to be more rewarding

■ Ronald Segal was the editor of *Africa South* from 1956 to 1960, when he went into exile, the founding editor of the *Penguin African Library* from 1962 to 1987; convener of the *International Conference for Sanctions against South Africa* at London in 1964 and of the *international conference on South-West Africa* at Oxford in 1966. He has written 14 books and was continuously banned by the South African government from 1959 until 1992. While he has been invited by the ANC to help in its Western Cape campaign, this article represents his personal views

erable showing by Shabba Ranks

# War talk from Gwala

Sowetan 28/3/94  
■ **WITHOUT DELAY** ANC leader  
warns of wasteland from election delay:

**T**HE Natal Midlands branch of the African National Congress has warned that if drastic measures are not taken in Natal the province will be on the brink of full-scale war (11A)

In a memorandum to the Transitional Executive Council — delivered by up to 10 000 ANC supporters who marched to Loop Street police station on Saturday — the ANC also said it rejected any postponement of the April elections

“We, the people of Natal, want to make it clear that any postponement of the elections (nationally or in Natal) would plunge this country into a disaster and turn it into a wasteland”

The ANC condemned the Government for “continued sponsorship of the war in Natal by the South African Police through its very top generals”

The memorandum was referring to recent disclosures made before the Goldstone Commission on political violence. The memorandum included a number of demands aimed at creating a climate for free politicking in KwaZulu-Natal.

The organisation called for, among other things, the takeover of the KwaZulu police by the SAP and an end to KwaZulu government paramilitary training camps.

Addressing supporters before the march, ANC Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala warned Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi that his days were numbered

“Gatsha should try to read events because he’s only got 31 days to breathe and KwaZulu will be finished.”

Gwala also lashed out at the Democratic Party in Natal, which on Friday called for a postponement of the elections because of the volatile climate in the province. He said the DP had “become spoilers like the IFP”.

Gwala warned of escalating violence if the elections were postponed, saying “there will be more violence because no one can stop us from going forward to elections”. He also called on King Goodwill Zwelithini not to act as “the king of Inkatha” but as a Zulu monarch

— Sapa  
(Report by G Arde, 330 West Street, Durban)

# The gentle art of riding a political horse

By Mzimasi Ngudle  
Political Staff

TRADITIONAL chiefs will have to ride a political horse to fulfil their otherwise apolitical mission

To achieve this, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa decided to throw its weight behind the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress in the coming elections

In an interview with *Sowetan*, Contraleza president Chief Phathekile Holomusa said the congress supported all liberation movements

However, Holomusa said Contraleza did not support the anti-election stance of the Azanian People's Organisation. Holomusa warned, however, that its

*Sowetan 28/12/14*

support for the two organisations should not be seen to be partisan but merely a transitory phase through which Contraleza hopes to extract significant powers for traditional chiefs

But Holomusa ruled out any possibility of legal instructions to the people to vote for particular parties

"Some chiefs belong to the Black Consciousness Movement, the PAC, and others like me belong to the ANC. However, we won't tell our people to vote for individual political parties

"What our members will do is to open space for all political parties to canvass for elections. Obviously, our members who are also candidates will canvass for their political parties," he said.

Holomusa said the bulk of the at least 15 000-member Contraleza belonged to the ANC

**①** Nobody will be

**coerced to vote for a**

**particular party**

**simply because the**

**chief is a member of**

**the party**

He said Contraleza supported the ANC and the PAC to enable traditional leaders to have a meaningful say in the drafting of the final constitution

"We want a house of chiefs with powers over the social, economic and

political interests of their communities, and not only those matters relating to custom and tradition

"The interim constitution does not allow the chief to take the initiative in the legislative process

"In terms of this constitution, the chiefs will only exercise residual powers granted by the elected houses

"The involvement of traditional leaders in law-making will be limited to their right to express their view on laws emanating from the relevant legislature which have a bearing on indigenous law, customs and traditions

"We shall have no say in matters pertaining to land. This is a serious matter. Unlike in America, the native people have never been decimated to near extinction and are still in the majority. Traditional leaders will strive to get

their land back," he said

Holomusa noted with concern that traditional leaders were not included in discussions which culminated in the adoption of the Local Government Transitional Bill

He said local government councils were bound to encroach into the traditional leaders' areas of jurisdiction

For whom will ANC supporters, for example, whose traditional loyalty resides in a chief who is a PAC candidate, cast their vote? we asked

"That's a tricky one. But I can assure you nobody will be coerced to vote for a particular party simply because the chief is a member or even a candidate of the party

"Our members will not trample on free political activity," Holomusa said

# West Cape a 'worry' to ANC

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE ANC has publicly admitted that its leader, Mr Nelson Mandela, is "worried" about the outcome of the election in the Western Cape

Its secretary-general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said in Cape Town over the weekend that the ANC faced its hardest battle against the NP in the Western Cape

"This region is daily in the mind of Nelson Mandela. He worries about what is going to happen here," he said

"President Mandela is worried about the Western Cape because he does not want it to be governed by a 'policeman' (Mr Hernus Kriel), who will mess up the economy in this region"

Mr Ramaphosa was opening a conference on the ANC's draft "reconstruction and development programme"

## Deep fears

Poll predictions that the National Party's Western Cape premier-designate, Mr Kriel, could win, should act as an impetus for ANC supporters to work harder, he said

Mr Ramaphosa's openly expressed concern reflects deep fears in ANC ranks that on the basis of current trends it will not win the Western Cape outright and worries that the Democratic Party could hold the balance of power in the region

He said ANC supporters should "take on the Nationalists and expose them for what they are — the same racists of the past who shouted 'swart gevaar'"

"The NP is now falsely claiming that the ANC is using racist slogans such as 'kill a coloured and kill a farmer'" He was, however, confident the ANC would win in the rest of the country

The ANC would implement its reconstruction and development plans to give better lives to all people

Mr Ramaphosa also said the ANC would call the shots in Natal after the election, just as it would call the shots in the rest of South Africa



ANC RALLY . . . The main hall of Hewat College by ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Rama

# Socio-economic plan 'workable'

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE ANC's comprehensive socio-economic plan had been scrutinised by the world's top financiers and investors and declared "workable".

This was said by ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa in speeches to crowds of 700 and 900 at Kraaifontein and Athlone respectively yesterday.

A small throng of NP supporters used a loudspeaker to taunt ANC supporters leaving the Hewat College hall in Athlone, but both rallies went off peacefully. A police presence in Kraaifontein was larger than that in Athlone.

Promising a "ground up" inclusive democracy which would rebuild "from the ashes of apartheid", Mr Ramaphosa said the World Bank, IMF and international governments had all encouraged the ANC to "proceed full speed to implement this plan"

He said unlike the NP, which was canvassing on bankrupt racist policies, the ANC believed in nation-building to ensure the diverse richness of the country made all South Africans proud

● W Cape poverty shocker — Page 5

● Measures mooted to limit media monopoly — Page 5

● Economic plan is unveiled — Page 5

● Spotlight falls on education disparity — Page 5

# following a war between factions of the African National Congress Youth league

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## COMRADES FIGHT

### Defence plan turns sour:

people This was the mission of the youths Alarmed by the large scale massacres which had plagued the Vaal townships then, these actions were hailed as acts of heroism by residents

However, this took a nasty turn when youths from some of the sections refused to take orders from their leaders Informed sources told Sowetan that these youths called for street patrols even when attacks on residents where not expected

These sources also said senior ANC officials (Sharpeville branch) accompanied by MK cadres went to their homes to disarm them

Things turned nasty when a member of the Youth League, Mr Aupa Manele, died mysteriously in the township last year He was killed in the area bordering the Slovo Camp

### Youths disarmed

Some of the Youth League members blamed MK for his death as relations had soured after youths from the Castro camp were disarmed

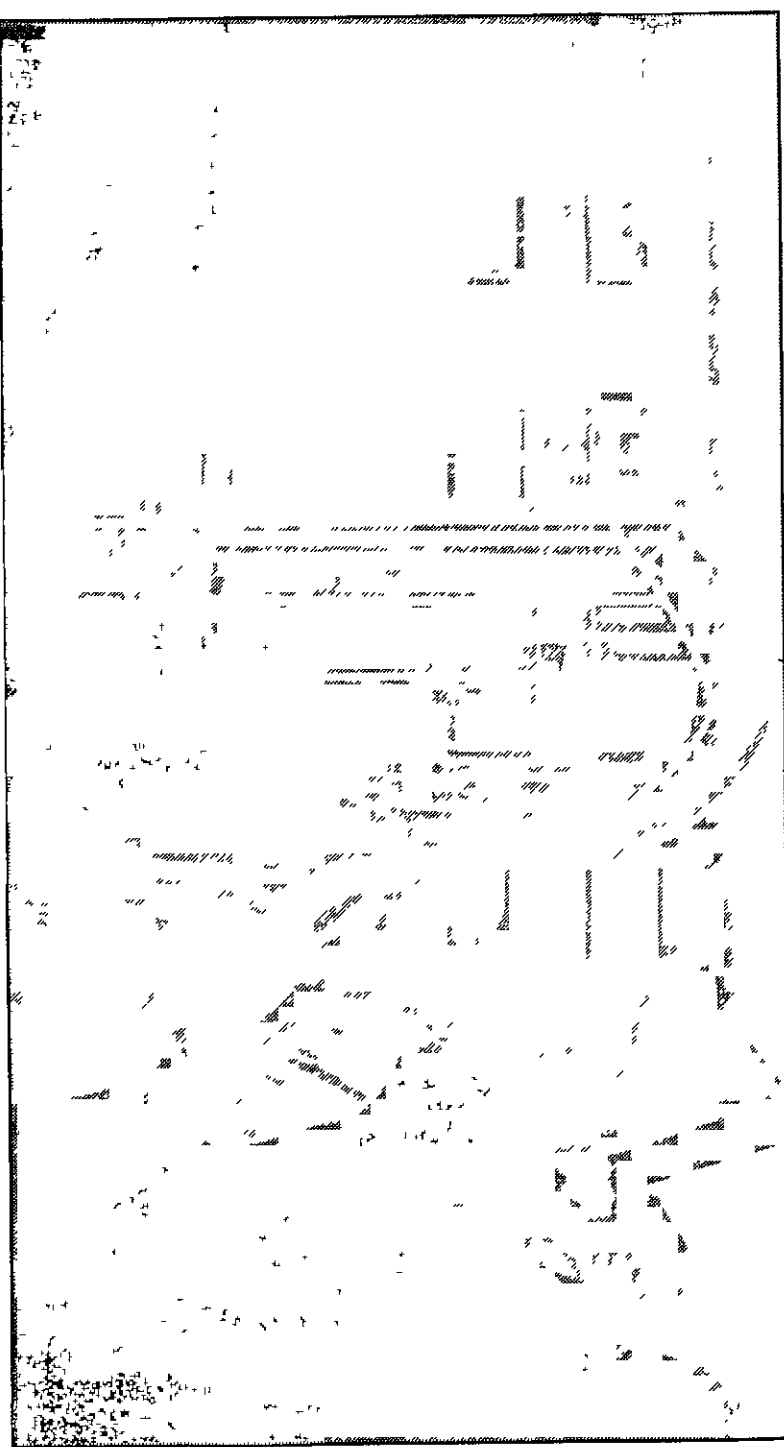
Castro and Slovo camps were then locked in serious dispute, each blaming the other for his death

Late last year, two pupils from Mohlodi High School, who were members of the ANCYL, were killed by unknown gunmen

These pupils were residents of the section known as Germany This section is presently at war with Slovo and Samora I It is in alliance with Castro.

According to an Anglican Church minister, the Reverend David Dinkebogile, who is in contact with the youths from all the sections, the reason behind the violence is not known He gets different stories from the groups

He told Sowetan that the Sharpeville Civic Association, African National Congress and religious organisations in the townships attempted to bring the factions together but to no avail



Relatives and friends of the Lifhedi family leave after a visit to the house where a family was wiped out by gunmen.

"This violence is taking a nasty turn now because these groups are going to end up attacking us and robbing us," said one businessman who runs a retail shop in Samora section

Mostly affected by this violence is the attendance at Mohlodi High School which experiences disruptions because it is situated right in the middle of the war zone

The school is bordered by Castro in the north, Samora I in south-east and Dorothy Nyembe in the east Slovo and Samora I are both involved in fierce battles with Castro Pupils who live in Slovo find it difficult to attend classes because they have to go through Castro A teacher at Mohlodi High said the school had 1376 registered pupils and only 800 were attending classes

**Suspected IFP members had their homes burned**

"In an attempt to bring the factions together we had agreed to find a neutral place where we would go and iron out their problems

"They had agreed to this only if police would not be allowed to be part of the meeting We then all agreed to go to Viljoensdrift near Sasolburg for this meeting

"On the day that we were supposed to go there, some factions did not come," Dinkebogile said

### Church leader

A respected church leader in the area, Dinkebogile said the leaders of the factions were young men who showed serious concern at the ongoing violence but he could not understand why they did not agree to the idea of finding a neutral place to discuss their problems

Following the deaths of David Skelm and Elias Lifhedi, both pupils at Mohlodi High School, four weeks ago, residents have had to live in fear as the sound of gunfire is heard the whole night

Major Piet van Deventer of the Vaal police said the killings in Sharpeville were a result of gang warfare and political infighting in the area

They seemed to have specific targets and did not kill randomly, Van Deventer said.

Also living in fear in the township are the business people after a shootout between a businessman and a group of gun-toting youths where one youth was shot dead and another seriously wounded



ensation ● Supporters urged to work hard

*Sowetan 28/3/94*

# PAC in race to win

By McKeed Kotlolo

■ **SCARCE RESOURCES** Lack of money will not hold back the party:

**P**AN Africanist Congress deputy president Mr Johnson Mlambo has warned that in spite of his party being financially disadvantaged, it is still in the race to win the forthcoming general elections (11A)

Mlambo was addressing a rally at the University of Bophuthatswana's Great Hall on Saturday evening. He said the PAC was disadvantaged because business and the international governments did not make resources available to it.

He claimed that the reason his organisation was denied financial resources was that people and governments with money "feared that once we come to power, we will bring genuine change to

this country"

Mlambo said when PAC president Mr Mlamli Makwethu recently addressed a media conference about the issue of resources, "he did not mean to make an excuse should the PAC not do well in the elections"

He said he did so to show the world that there was a plot to deny the organisation resources during the election campaign

Mlambo added that despite the existing disadvantages, his party was geared to make an impact during the elections

He urged the applauding crowd to

work hard and recruit more members, adding that he knew they could achieve their goal by going to the masses

He also encouraged members to embark on house-to-house campaigning. He commended Bophuthatswana citizens for having brought former President Lucas Mangope's government to its knees, but warned that they now have to crumble the De Klerk Government

Earlier in the day the PAC entourage visited the home of the exiled Chief Lebone Molotlegi of the Bafokeng tribe at Phokeng in honour of his brave stand against the Mangope government

# ANC insists on freedom, or else...

Sowetan 28/3/94

THE African National Congress will escalate its rolling mass action until it has attained its demand for free political activity in Natal-KwaZulu, ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday (11A)

He told a media briefing in Cape Town the Natal issue would be taken up by the management committee of the TEC today. He welcomed political initiatives which he said had been agreed at a meeting between President FW de Klerk and Mr Nelson Mandela.

De Klerk then met KwaZulu Chief Minister Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi at the weekend. Political initiatives, however, were not enough. Security forces had to be deployed to protect people from roving bands of armed killers. —

Sapa

(Report by P Claasen, Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town)

# THE PWV REGION *Major battlefield of big political guns in shaping nation's future*



Zach de Beer ... DP



Benny Alexander ... PAC



Olaus van Zyl ... NP



Tokyo Sexwale ... ANC

## Key Points

**Composition** The PWV province comprises Alberton, Benoni, Boksburg, Brakpan, Germiston, Heidelberg, Johannesburg, Kempton Park, Krugersdorp, Nigel, Oberholzer, Randburg, Randfontein, Roodepoort, Springs, Vanderbijlpark, Vereeniging, Westonaria, Bronkhorstspuit, Cullinan, Pretoria, Soshanguve, Wonderboom.

**Population** as at June 1993 Total (of persons 18 years and older): 6,7 million Whites — 2,1 million, Coloureds — 273 000, Asians — 159 000, Blacks — 4,2 million

● Figures supplied by Development Information. Government There will be 86 seats in the provincial legislature, a 10-member senate and a premier. The PWV provincial government will have considerable powers to make laws

# Bidding for biggest region

By Themba Molefe  
Political Correspondent

## ■ DAGGERS DRAWN *Four parties battle for control of South*

*Africa's industrial heartland and economic nerve centre:*

**D**AGGERS have been drawn in the biggest electoral region in South Africa, the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal, where the most important players each hope to win the biggest number of the over six million potential votes

The PWV is the most densely populated area in South Africa, with more than nine million people. It is home to 23 percent of South Africa's population.

The parties bidding for control of the nerve centre of South Africa's economy are the African National Congress, National Party, Democratic Party and Pan Africanist Congress.

With only 30 days left to election day the four most prominent parties in the province — one of the nine regions on the country's new map — are campaigning on the issues closest to the heart and are targeting the black vote.

Although the April poll is not necessarily an issues campaign but a constitutional exercise, the four parties are focusing on violence, jobs and the much-needed houses.

Figures show that the PWV has a potential labour force of 4,5 million and a participation of 70 percent.

At least 200 000 houses will have to be built in the next 10 years to beat the backlog.

The campaigns of the ANC and the NP are much the same.

NP premier candidate for the PWV Mr Olaus van Zyl said in a radio interview yesterday that his party would provide 500 000 houses in the next five years. The ANC's Mr Obed Bapela said in the same talk show that the organisation wanted to eliminate the housing shortage which he said stood at 40 percent.

The PAC's campaign is for what it says is the return of the land to indigenous Africans and as such does not focus on the same issues as the ANC and NP.

The PAC thus has a common strategy in both its provincial and national election drive.

The DP's campaign is pointed at human rights rather than material issues.

One of its slogans is "We never killed people, only apartheid."

The PWV is an industrial complex where the illiteracy rate as a percentage of the economically active population of 12,5 percent is much lower than in other provinces (with the exception of the Western Cape).

This suggests that the PWV province has adequate human resource potential to sustain development. Also, it has a strong sense of identity as a highly urbanised region with a high level of language heterogeneity.

The PWV contributes 40 percent of the Gross Domestic Product with economic activity centring on manufacturing, finance, commerce and mining.

It has historically formed the backbone of other economic sectors.

Politically, the PWV is where it's happening, as the saying goes, because it is where the most important electioneering takes place.

For instance, the position of Pretoria caused some heated debates at the Multiparty Negotiating Council sessions at Kempton Park. Argument was that it was in the national interest to create as many economically viable provinces as possible and inclusion of Pretoria in the Eastern Transvaal would help in that regard.

Apart from the fact that the Independent Electoral Commission has allocated more provincial parliamentary seats (86) to the PWV than other provinces, the four contending parties have also fielded "giants" for their PWV premier candidates.

The ANC's man is Tokyo Sexwale, the organisation's PWV firebrand chairman who is popular among followers and non-members alike.

The ANC has fielded 86 candidates and should it win, it will fill all the seats in the provincial parliament plus the 10-member senate.

The NP has an experienced government administrator in Olaus van Zyl. As a former MEC in the Transvaal and leading NP campaigner, Van Zyl is also in the party's election team that advises leader FW de Klerk.

The DP has chosen youthful and flamboyant MP for Houghton Tony Leon. His slogan is "The Tony Leon team fights for you."

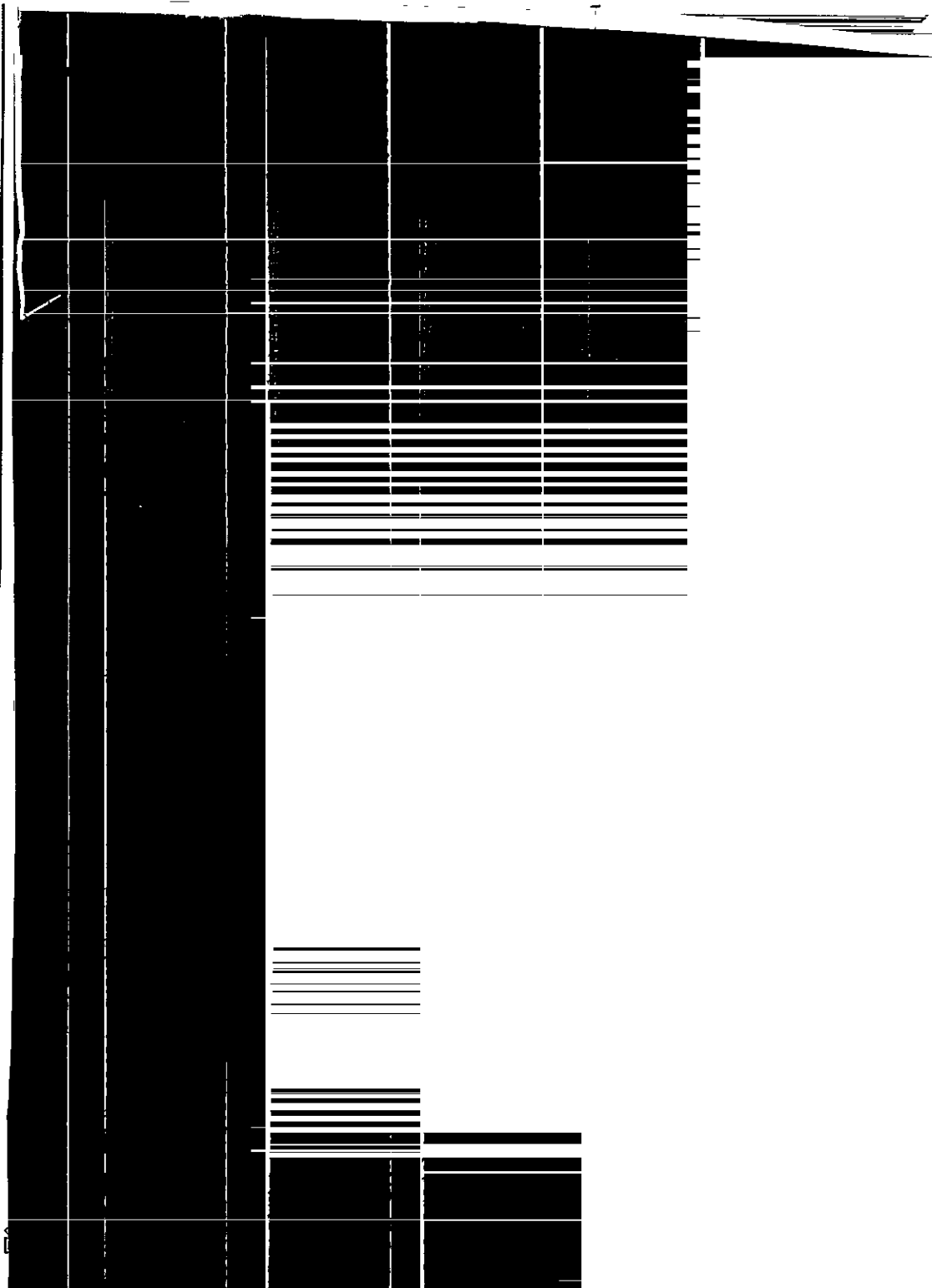
The PAC has its fiery secretary-general Benny Alexander as its man for the premiership, whose nomination for the candidacy was seen as an attempt to blunt Sexwale's thrust in the province.

However, as about four weeks remain to countdown, the ANC is still ahead in the campaign and enjoys successful penetration of all areas, except in the farming

community. The NP, which ironically has not met fierce resistance in black townships in the PWV, saw De Klerk launch a successful campaign in the biggest township in the

area, Soweto, two weeks ago. The DP's campaign has met opposition wherever it goes in black townships. The PAC's crusade in the PWV has been, like in other areas, low key.

*‘The campaigns of the ANC and the NP are much the same’*



# Cosmas Desmond turns his back on the ANC

By RYAN CRESSWELL

VETERAN anti-apartheid campaigner and former priest Cosmas Desmond has left the ANC to become the only white person on the PAC's national elections list

Mr Desmond, a former exile and director of the British section of Amnesty International, said he joined the PAC because it was the only true "African party"

Once a harsh and constant critic of white rule, he is now critical of most of the main parties in South Africa, including his former party, the ANC

"I joined the PAC for two reasons. One is that they are African, and the second is that they are socialist"

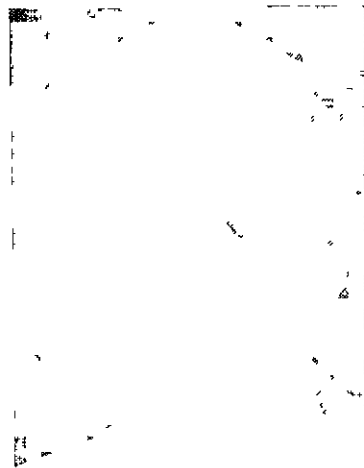
"Other parties are making the same mistake that most parties have made all over Africa. They are rejecting everything African as being primitive and having nothing to offer, and adopting the European model"

"That is the basic reason for the so-called failures of Africa. It's not Africa that has failed, it's Europe that has failed in Africa"

"Before the colonial period, Africa had social structures that functioned very well. They survived with a great deal of prosperity"

Mr Desmond said South Africa was now just carrying on the "white system", which he did not think had ever worked, or would ever work, in Africa

The former priest said the "whole negotiation process" was part of the Western system. He said there had been no recognition of "African history and philosophy and the African way of doing things" in the negotia-



**SOCIALIST ... Cosmas Desmond**  
Picture: RANJITH KALLY

tions at Kempton Park (11A)

He said all the "authoritarianism, centralism, elitism and bureaucracy" of Western systems was being continued in South Africa, and the really basic human rights of housing, jobs and education were still largely being ignored

Critics say that in view of the recent spate of attacks on soft targets by the PAC's armed wing Apla -- and the penchant of supporters for chants like "one settler, one bullet" -- this move is incongruous, if not a sell-out

The former priest -- who came to

South Africa in 1960 from England as a missionary of the Franciscan Order, but was relieved of his parochial duties in 1970 -- said although he was a top member of the PAC, he did not advocate violence

"The problem is, whether one likes it or not, there is violence everywhere. Every political party is involved in violence, the government more than anyone else."

"I don't approve of violence. I don't think anybody really does, except, perhaps, the state. It is the state which makes an ideal of violence. It is the state which has an army. We in the liberation movements are not militarists, we are armed militants"

"I think there is a difference here, because the militarists are those who have power. Those who don't have power use violence as a last resort"

"Whether one approves or not is, in a sense, irrelevant, because people are in different situations, and one knows what one would do in a different situation"

"But I don't advocate violence. The PAC has suspended the armed struggle." He said the PAC had not been involved "in most of the violence" going on since 1985.

● Mr Desmond returned to South Africa from exile several years ago and lives in Durban North, where he indulges in his passions for politics, theology, crosswords and cricket.

(News by Ryan Cresswell, 18 Osborne Street, Greyville)

SITIMES ELIME FRO

# Threats for Sonn over ANC move

By NAZEEM HOWA

FRANKLIN SONN's decision to resign from the SABC board so he could campaign for the ANC full-time was not a decision he took lightly

"The regional leadership approached me some weeks ago. But I told them I needed some time to make a decision," the Peninsula Technikon (Pentech) rector said this week

Weighing heaviest on Mr Sonn's mind were threatening phone calls he has received since he came out publicly in support of the ANC

"Once ANC election posters went up with my picture on it, my wife started receiving telephone calls threatening our lives"

This week Mr Sonn decided to take a month's sabbatical from Pentech to work full time for the ANC

His decision comes at a time when several opinion polls have shown that the majority of the coloured community has rejected the ANC in favour of the National Party

ANC insiders this week admitted they had made cardinal errors in organising the coloured community and it is expected that Mr Sonn will be used to garner support from more conservative sections of that community

Most of Mr Sonn's support would come from rural teachers and members of the NG Sendingkerk

Mr Sonn confirmed that he would be involved in attracting increased support from the coloured community

"Their needs, fears and aspirations need to be looked after in the overall programme of the ANC and I will consciously make that my task," he said

He had decided some time ago to leave politics to dedicate himself to "educational transformation, leaving politics to the politicians"

"The turning point for me was the racist campaigning presently being engaged in by some parties

"I was disturbed by the level of campaigning the NP has adopted. Their advertising and the whispering campaign



**CALL FOR CALM** Peninsula Technikon rector Franklin Sonn (right) and Archbishop Desmond Tutu have called on parties to cease promoting racism in their campaigns

which was targeted at the coloured community insinuated that the Station Strangler is black. They used the serial killer to whip up emotions about all his victims being coloured. They also tried to link the Strangler to the ANC, a move I found despicable," he said

Mr Sonn accused the NP of propagating the use of words like "kaffir". This is not right for the Western Cape, which has always had a culture of tolerance," he said

"If they succeed they will take the Cape back into a racist era when the rest of the

country will have been liberated"

He said he was also driven by the fear that if the NP succeeded in winning in the Western Cape, black people would feel they had been betrayed by the coloured people and violence and havoc would ensue

Mr Sonn also announced his resignation from the SA Broadcasting Corporation's Board this week

"There are no rules forbidding board members from entering the political arena, but I thought it was the right thing to do," he said

(News by N Howa 122 St Georges Mall Cape Town)



□ **TRAINING:** Bulelani Ngcuka, extreme left, Ebrahim Rasool and Trevor Manuel, extreme right, chat to commuters at Heideveld Station while handing out stickers calling for peace on the trains.

Picture HANNES THIART The Argus

## ANC withdraws train marshals

**ROGER FRIEDMAN**  
Weekend Argus Reporter

**MARSHALS** on trains and railways stations have been "quietly withdrawn" by the African National Congress, but the movement has vowed to re-deploy forces should violence re-erupt

Meanwhile, the party is monitoring the situation closely, Western Cape information head Bulelani Ngcuka said at Bonteheuwel Station during Thursday evening's rush-hour

Mr Ngcuka, Trevor Manuel of the ANC national executive committee and Ebrahim Rasool of the regional executive committee handed out *We want peace on our trains* stickers to commuters at Bonteheuwel and Heideveld stations

Violence on trains hit the headlines ten days ago after a 22-year-old Mitchell's Plain woman was gang-raped in a carriage by about 15 youths

The youths, aged between 12 and 15, were allegedly returning from a Pan Africanist Congress rally in the city

The same day, Heideveld Station looked like a casualty ward with 16 people being

~~119~~ 119 ARG 2/4/94  
treated for knife-wounds in a tiny waiting-room

Meanwhile there were various reports of people being thrown off moving trains

The ANC says the violence appeared to be racially motivated with black gangsters attacking coloured commuters and coloured gangsters attacking black commuters

This, the ANC alleges, was helpful to the National Party's "racially divisive" election campaign and could not be tolerated

National Executive Committee member Trevor Manuel told Weekend Argus it was "of paramount importance" to address the issue of violence on trains as South Africa's public transport system was under-developed

"The only reason why so many people are prepared to risk life and limb on taxis is because of the situation on the trains," he said

Mr Ngcuka said the ANC had been informed by Spoor-net employees the police had withdrawn from trains and station platforms to concentrate on the build up to the election

After police insisted ANC marshals not be allowed to

travel without tickets, Spoor-net had agreed to waive the marshals' fares

Mr Ngcuka said having to place marshals on trains strained the ANC's resources although community policing had to be encouraged

At meetings with senior police, "we implored them to increase policing on the trains. We told them we wanted to pull out as soon as possible and that our action was in no way intended as an indictment of the police"

Police spokesman Captain John Sterrenberg said it was nonsense the police had been withdrawn from trains

He said regional commissioner General Nic Acker had made it clear to the ANC no armed persons would be allowed on trains

But, any person wishing to make a citizen's arrest was perfectly authorised to do so provided he or she acted within the parameters of the Criminal Procedure Act

"I must stress that community policing comes from both sides we have to move away from the position of not wishing to become involved. Talk shop to your local cop and report crimes to us" Captain Sterrenberg said

# 'Mandela's word stopped search'

Star 31/3/94

■ BY BRENDAN  
TEMPLETON

Police had not searched the ANC's national headquarters because it had received assurances from its president, Nelson Mandela, that firearms used in Monday's shooting would be handed over (IIP)

Police Commissioner, General Johan van der Merwe, said last night that Mandela's undertaking had made it unnecessary to conduct a search of the 22-storey building in Plem Street.

At least eight, possibly 11, people were killed outside the building on Monday when security guards opened fire on Inkatha Freedom Party supporters after they allegedly stormed the front doors

The police's failure to search the building drew sharp criticism from the IFP, the Afrikaner Volksfront, the AWB and the

Conservative Party

Van der Merwe also denied that either President de Klerk or Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel had involved themselves in the execution of a warrant to search the headquarters.

"I personally held a discussion with Lieutenant-General Koos Cahtz, Witwatersrand regional commissioner, concerning the matter, with the understanding that he would inform Mr Mandela of the warrant and attempt to obtain his cooperation in confiscating the weapons," Van der Merwe said

■ The CP yesterday demanded an explanation from the Government on why the search was stopped, Sapa reports

CP law and order spokesman Schalk Pienaar said "reliable sources" insisted that De Klerk had intervened, at the request of Mandela, to stop the search

# ANC fined R100 000 for NP disruption

12 Nov 3113194  
TIM COHEN

THE ANC has been fined R100 000, conditionally suspended for four months, for disrupting an NP meeting in Venda in the first completed hearing in terms of the Electoral Act

The Independent Electoral Commission said the hearing arose from an incident in Dzanani on March 9 when an NP meeting was disrupted and did not take place. The ANC was found guilty of infringing the Electoral Act and given a formal warning by the tribunal

The NP said the ANC would do well to heed the warning "The time for parties like the ANC to transgress the code of conduct with impunity is now past"

ANC spokesman Baleka Kgotsile said the NP's comments gave the incorrect impression that ANC supporters were under instructions to disrupt meetings (SAPA)

Another case brought by the NP against the ANC, involving an incident in Postmasburg where President FW de Klerk was hit with a stone, was heard in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday. Procedural matters were raised and the case was postponed until April 5 (SAPA)

Sapa reports the NP goes to court today in a bid to obtain an urgent interdict to stop ANC members assaulting its members in

Parys's Tumahole township

The NP said the hearing was an interim measure pending a summons on the ANC in terms of the Electoral Act

Transkei's Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa might also face disciplinary action if the IEC finds that he transgressed the electoral code. The IEC is investigating Holomisa's claim that the NP would get blacks to eat "pap and vleis" laced with non-toxic ink "so that when you go to vote, they will say you can't vote twice — because the ink will be under your hands"

Report by T Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb and J Ross and M Schneehage, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb

● Comment: Page 14



# ANC to meet SAP on violence

Star 30/3/94  
■ BY JOVIAL RANTAO

ANC representatives are to meet Witwatersrand SAP generals to discuss effective policing following Monday's clashes in the city centre during which armed Zulu marchers overwhelmed police, according to Tokyo Sexwale, ANC PWV premier elect for the region.

Addressing a press conference yesterday, Sexwale said inadequate policing had been provided during Monday's march. "Only 700 policemen were deployed to control more than 40 000 armed people. The situa-

tion overwhelmed them"

While he commended the actions of some policemen, the ANC leader condemned the "stupidity" of some SAP generals.

Sexwale challenged policemen and members of the South African Defence Force to defend the democratic process in the PWV — the hub of South Africa's economy. Business, he said, must also take an effective stand against violence

The ANC is also scheduled to meet the SADF, taxi owners, political activists and other members of the ANC-SACP-Cosatu alliance to discuss the situation.

Sexwale said it was the ANC's observation that the destabilisation process that had started in Natal was being transferred to the PWV. (IA) (SI)

"Information reaching us is that there are plans to sink Natal and the PWV. The purpose is to sow maximum fear so that elections could be postponed. That cannot happen. Everything and anything should be done to ensure that elections are held."

■ The ANC is to meet members of the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union to discuss rumours that Popuru members might go on strike during the election.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

# ANC-Inkatha mediation starts soon, say planners

INTERNATIONAL mediation between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party — and possibly government — to resolve constitutional disagreements was expected to begin soon after Easter, sources involved in the planning said yesterday.

April 5 had been suggested as a starting date.

The ANC and Inkatha announced a week ago that they had struck a deal on mediation, but said details would be released only once mediators had been informed of the package.

Former British foreign secretary David Carrington and former US secretary of state Henry Kissinger would head the mediation team.

Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate said "I don't expect international mediation to start before Easter but as soon as possible thereafter."

A date would be announced once the "very, very busy" mediators had reorganised their international work schedules, he said.

The purpose of the mediation is to

DAVID GREYBE

seek an inclusive constitutional settlement.

The ANC and Inkatha said they hoped government would join in, and dispatched mediation committee co-chairmen Jacob Zuma of the ANC and Frank Mdlalose of Inkatha to brief government negotiators.

However, a diplomatic source said he was not sure that the mediation would get off the ground before the elections.

Neither side had agreed fully to the terms of reference for mediation.

"My sense is that international mediation won't get off the ground," he said.

Although government and the ANC were determined to go ahead with the elections from April 26-28, it seemed that Inkatha negotiators wanted the elections postponed while mediation ran its course.

Some of the mediators had let it be known that they would come to SA only once the terms of reference had been agreed, and that they were not

prepared — as some negotiators expected — to sort out disagreements between the ANC and Inkatha on the terms of reference, the source said.

"According to my information, there has been agreement only on the names of the mediators.

"They are deadlocked on the exact terms of reference" (11A) (11B)

He said one of the nominated mediators, Paul Kevenhorster of Germany, had "jumped the gun" with his arrival in SA at the weekend.

Kevenhorster said in an interview after he arrived that the interim constitution was not a federal one, as found in Europe.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday that there would be a public announcement on the commencement of mediation only when the two sides' principals had given the go-ahead.

He declined to say whether the ANC national working committee had discussed the matter, or to comment on the claims of outstanding problems on the terms of reference.

Report by D Greybe, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.



NEWS FEATURE *A return to roots*

# PAC marks 35 *Sowetan 5/4/94* years of struggle

## ■ OUR LAND *Celebration*

*comes when congress is (IIF) at a political crossroads:*

**By Themba Molefe**  
Political Correspondent

**T**HE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS turns a grand 35 years old tomorrow and will return to its roots, an obscure hall in Soweto, where it was founded on that day

And three decades later the struggle is still on for the return of the land

While this is typically rhetoric, the PAC's focus has not changed over the decades. It was founded by Robert Sobukwe and launched at the Orlando Communal Hall which stands in the heart of the oldest township in Soweto. No function of note seems to take place there except those organised by the Africanist movement and its organs

Central to the PAC campaign has been the land question, hence its slogan, *Izwe Lethu I' Afrika* — Our land is Africa

The 35th anniversary comes when the organisation is at a crossroads, when it unilaterally suspended the armed struggle but with a measure of dissatisfaction being noted in its ranks and with calls growing for the PAC to return to its militant stance of the 1960s and pre-1990 era

The organisation will celebrate its history, successes and obviously lament its losses, especially the death of valiant army commander Sabelo Phama

It is therefore, as one of the two oldest liberation movements in the world, that the PAC looks back — and ahead — with a sense of vindication. This is because the PAC believes the "real" election will not happen on April 27, as the poll will be an interim measure and a propping-up of an ANC-National Party deal

The PAC says the April 27 election is for a constituent assembly and, as such, it will be participating to end white domination in South Africa

April 6 is of particular importance to the PAC

Says PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke "April 6 is historically the day in 1652 when Jan van Riebeeck landed in South Africa. It was thus a deliberate plan of the founding members to launch the organisation then

"April 6 has historical meaning. Until recently even the country's calendar had the day marked Settlers' Day and celebrated the coming of the colonialists. Today, it is now known as Founder's Day

"Africanism was, according to PAC founding members, not brought in as a mere point of debate in political circles, but was meant to represent the situation of the African people," Seroke says

He says the cardinal point in the PAC struggle is the leadership of the organisation

Seroke quotes Sobukwe "True leadership demands complete subjugation of self, absolute honesty, integrity and uprightness of character, courage and fearlessness and, above all, a consuming love for all people"

Seroke says "The organisation has rubbed its nose in the mud of struggle and has a track record to back it

"In the 1960s until 1965, 119 members were sent to the gallows for resisting and they had used indigenous methods with no outside influence

"Sobukwe spent an extra three years on Robben Island in detention without trial in terms of the Sobukwe Clause, a special law passed by Verwoerd's parliament."

● Mangaliso Robert Sobukwe died in 1978 in Graaff-Reinet, his town of birth.

● PAC president Clarence Makwetu will address a service to mark the day at the Grace Bible Centre in Moroka-Jabavu, Soweto, at 11 am. It will also be addressed by Azanian People's Liberation Army political commissar Romero Daniels and PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander.

● A convoy of cars will move from the Orlando Communal Hall at about 9am and snake its way past PAC president Zephania Mothopeng's home in Orlando West and to Sobukwe's former house in Mofolo

● A service will also be held at the local hall in Mitchells Plain, Cape Town



Founder Robert Sobukwe.

**‘The organisation has rubbed its nose in the mud of the struggle’**

Dispute over terms of reference

# Mediation

## efforts run

By S14194

# into trouble

INTERNATIONAL mediation has run into difficulties even before its scheduled start this week, with the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party unable to agree on the terms of reference.

As a result, the two sides have drawn up separate proposals to be submitted to the mediators, ANC negotiator Pennell Maduna said yesterday. However, the ANC was still hopeful the mediation effort could begin on Thursday, and be completed before the elections.

But Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his negotiators have insisted that the elections be postponed until mediation has run its course. Buthelezi said recently mediation would have to "rather-ise" the electoral process and timetable so that all the parties could compete on an equal footing.

ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma said mediation had to concern itself with outstanding constitutional issues, not the postponement of the elections — whether in full or in part. "We can't postpone the elections. They are a separate issue and we can't call on the mediators to decide on the matter."

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said mediation was not linked to Friday's planned summit meeting between President FW de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela, Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini. "The summit meeting will try to get some co-operation between the leaders on the issue of freedom of political activity in Natal," Niehaus said. Zuma said the seven-member panel of mediators would study the two sets of

DAVID GREYBE

terms of reference to see how to take the process forward.

Maduna said most of the panel, to be headed by former US secretary of state Henry Kissinger and former British foreign secretary Lord Carrington, was expected in the country by tomorrow.

However, the Daily Telegraph reports from London that Carrington last night denied being poised to act as a mediator. Reports that he was about to depart for SA were inaccurate and exaggerated, he said. Only Inkatha had asked him to mediate, and he needed requests from all three parties. Even then his acceptance would depend on the terms of reference and the circumstances.

"It is impossible for me to say what sort of ideas I might have about what could happen if I were to go there. One has to look at a number of things, including whether mediation would be successful, before getting into it," Carrington said.

Kissinger's office in Washington also said he would not leave for SA until the "precise terms of reference" had been received. However, he was honoured to have been asked.

ANC and Inkatha negotiators met last night in another effort to finalise the details of the mediation process.

Maduna said a news conference was planned for tomorrow when the details, including the venue, of mediation would be announced. Inkatha negotiator Ben Ngubane said the venue was expected to be in the PWV area — "but somewhere quiet".

To Page 2

## Mediation

By S14194

From Page 1

BILLY PADDOCK reports that a senior ANC source said the ANC and government were waiting for the outcome of Friday's summit meeting before deciding to "substantially tighten the screws of the state of emergency".

After a Natal ANC leadership meeting in Durban yesterday, he said Mandela would meet Natal leaders tomorrow to evaluate "the next step we take and how to deal with the summit meeting". Yesterday's meeting was to evaluate the ANC's position since the implementation of emergency regulations.

The source said security force intervention had not yet had a substantial effect in lessening tensions and stopping violence. About 64 people had been killed in the region since last Thursday.

The ANC believed that the SADF and SAP had not been "priced correctly polit-

cally and have been holding meetings with the KwaZulu Police". KwaZulu police were not part of the deal and needed to be disarmed and demobilised, he said.

Meanwhile, our political staff reports that three marches are planned in Natal today to demand the constitutional protection of Zwelithini and to mourn the Zulus killed in Johannesburg last week.

An Inkatha source said one rally in KwaMncane, Elands-kop, and another at Wembezi, Escourt, were not associated with the party but had been called by tribal leaders. The Midlands chiefs had also called for a stayaway.

At least 60 000 Inkatha marchers are expected to march in Empanangeni. The SAP said permission had been granted for the march.

Report by D. Greybe and W. Paddock. TML, 11 Dagbongal St., Jhb R. Shrimley, Daily Telegraph, London, and D. Priday, Natal News-papers, 18 Osborne Rd, Dur.

*Vow of armed struggle if 'carnage' goes on*

# Apla issues warning

Star 7/4/94

■ BY ABBEY MAKOE  
SOWETO BUREAU

The Azanian People's Liberation Army has warned it might resume its suspended armed struggle if the "carnage of our people does not stop"

The warning was issued by Apla commander Romero Daniels in Jabavu, Soweto, during yesterday's commemoration of the PAC's 35th anniversary

"The death of an African is no ordinary occurrence and we cannot change our view on that. We fear no hardship or suffering"

"If the carnage of our people does not stop, Apla may be left with no choice but to resume its armed struggle," he said

Daniels accused the Government of abusing Apla's suspen-

sion of the hostilities by continuing to fan violence, which seemed set to disrupt elections

Apla was continuing to recruit new cadres and sending them abroad for military training as "the PAC government will require well-trained soldiers"

## Boycotting (IA)

Daniels appealed to members of the Black Consciousness Movement and the Azanian People's Organisation, who are boycotting the election, to cast their vote for the PAC

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander, referring to the latest developments in KwaZulu/Natal, warned that if the election did not take place in the region, it "must not take place anywhere"

"The PAC will vote every-

where or nowhere," he said

He accused Mr Justice Johann Kriegler of sectarianism in his running of the Independent Electoral Commission "Kriegler sent a copy of his KwaZulu/Natal findings to both Mandela and De Klerk. Our president (Clarence Makwetu) is still waiting for the official copy"

Makwetu had a grim message to whites who owned land "Whether they (whites) like it or not, we will take the land back under a PAC government."

But he added that a PAC government would not nationalise big conglomerates "Our experiences elsewhere have taught us that that brings about a new class of elites"

(47 Sauer St. Johannesburg)

# Chiefs herded back to fold

Sowetan 7/4/94

By Khathu Mamaila

THE United People's Front resolved to register for elections at regional level to prevent the exodus of chiefs to the National Party, UPF leader Mr Mokhudu Ledwaba said yesterday

Denying reports that the UPF withdrew from the African National Congress-led Patriotic Front, Ledwaba said the UPF was committed to the unity of black organisations

"It is not a secret that we are encouraging our members to vote either for the ANC or the PAC on national level, but not for the apartheid regime (11A)

"Our registration was just a tactic to block the exodus of chiefs and other influential figures who saw the National Party as their only political home. We wanted to curb this exodus by providing our people with a political home on regional level," said Ledwaba

He said since the registration of the party, a large number of people including chiefs, who had defected to the NP following reports that the UPF would contest elections under the banner of the ANC, have rejoined the UPF



**OPEN-HANDED ALLIES** . . . Brigadier Mpazamo Yonana, of Apla, and Mrs Patricia de Lille, the PAC's candidate for the premiership of the Western Cape, give the PAC open-handed salute at yesterday's anniversary rally in Rocklands.

## De Lille: Chase NP, DP away

**NATIONAL PARTY** and Democratic Party election workers should be "chased away", PAC candidate for the Western Cape premiership Mrs Patricia de Lille told a rowdy election meeting in Uitsig, near Bellville, yesterday

The NP and DP had refused to provide proper facilities and services for the community, but were now trying to

get their vote, she said

"Chase them away if you see them coming here Chase them away," she said to applause

Mrs De Lille accused the NP and DP of creating animosity between coloured people and Africans and said the NP was responsible for recent attacks by gangs on train commuters

"These gangsters are being paid by the NP They are being given a can of wine by the NP and are then put on the trains."

Mrs De Lille also told a packed Mitchells Plain meeting that NP racism and ANC communism were the essence of the problem in South Africa  
— Sapa, Staff Reporter (11A)

7/4/94 Picture BENNY GOOL



**POLITICS** Makwetu criticises suspension of human rights in Natal emergency

# Emergency slated

*Sowetan 7/4/94*

**NO OBJECTION** PAC will accept

postponement if it is countrywide:

**P** AN AFRICANIST CONGRESS PRESIDENT Mr Clarence Makwetu has said his party would not oppose postponement of the April elections, provided it was applied throughout South Africa.

the Government to withdraw it. He said the state of emergency meant security forces would keep power in the province "Since the inception of the state of emergency in Natal, violence has increased," he said. He asked why a state of emergency had been declared in KwaZulu-Natal, but not on the volatile East Rand - *Sapa* (D Guy, 141 Commissioner Street, Jhb)

# Pre-election tensions flare up in Worcester

Souki 8/4-12/4/94

By Quentin Wilson

A FIERCE election campaign is on the go in Worcester, with both the main players, the National Party and the ANC, accusing each other of harassment and intimidation of their supporters. (SOUTH) (IA)

Tempers flared on Wednesday when local NP MP, Mr Anwar Ismail, and his "security guards" were involved in a tense stand-off with ANC members after ANC posters were removed from the Parkersdam post office complex.

According to ANC spokesperson, Mr Riyadh Williams, armed NP supporters ripped down ANC posters and threatened ANC mem-

bers with violence if they continued putting up posters at the post office.

But as far as Ismail is concerned, an agreement was made between the two parties not to put up posters and stickers on municipal property and that he and his supporters were merely enforcing the agreement by removing the posters.

Williams denied there was such an agreement and said the ANC would report the matter to the Independent Electoral Commission.

Said Williams "The fact that NP supporters brazenly removed ANC posters in the presence of Ismail and in front of ANC members indicates that the NP has embarked upon a deliberate campaign of provocation

and intimidation.

"From the incident it is clear that Ismail is intent on dragging the election campaign in Worcester down to the level of verbal and physical abuse, a terrain on which he is evidently more at home than with political debate about principles and issues."

Ismail denied threatening ANC members with violence and alleged it was ANC members who physically abused NP supporters.

"They are the ones involved in violence," Ismail said.

"During an ANC motorcade in Worcester recently, one of our supporters was hit on the head with an ANC flag."



South 8/4 - 12/4/94

# Cape anger at NP's 'swart gevaar'

By Quenin Wilson

# W

ESTERN Cape community leaders are terrified that racist electioneering is tearing the region apart.

Election watchers have been astonished at the blatant racism and below-the-belt methods of the National Party in its scramble to attract votes in traditionally coloured townships.

While NP organisers warn against "the chaos of black rule", many NP supporters refer to Africans as "kaf-firs" and NP advertisements have been attacked for fuelling racial tension.

Local leaders, including Peninsula Technikon rector, Mr Franklin Sonn and Anglican Church head, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, warned that if this form of electioneering succeeds, the Western Cape is set to become a hotbed of racial clashes after the election.

Over the past two weeks, trains have also been a flashpoint for racial conflict between commuters. Last week Sonn announced he was taking a month's sabbatical leave to devote his time to the ANC's election campaign.

"I have taken this decision because I feel very strongly about the negative effects of the NP's election campaign in my community. I am not a politician. I am not running for political office but I

can't deny that I come from the community and that I care about what is happening.

"I cannot find words to express my disgust at what the NP is doing to our people," Sonn said.

Sonn said the NP's controversial comic strip that was banned by the Independent Electoral Commission for its racism was the "dirtiest piece of election trickery" he had seen "from all over the world".

"I believe, though, that our people will reject the NP — not just because of their past but because of their complete lack of values today," Sonn said.

He said the focus of the election campaign should not be seen in terms of which party wins, but how racism could be defeated.

Another election trick met with disgust was an NP newspaper advert showing an identikit of the Station Strangler and insinuating his support for the ANC or the DP.

"They are using the belief that the Strangler is an African to whip up more racial tension," Sonn said.

Last week Archbishop Desmond Tutu, head of the Anglican church, came out in strong condemnation against the "divisive, racist nature" of NP campaigning.

Said Tutu, "This beautiful land belongs to all of us. Its prosperity depends on how all of us work together. It is irresponsible for political parties to capitalise on racist fears to capture a few more votes. We are not so much concerned

about the time <sup>(11A)</sup> ~~now~~ before the election — but we are concerned about the future. Our unity as a people is being undermined — and we cannot afford for that to happen."

Tutu was one of 25 religious leaders who lambasted political parties last week for using race as an electioneering tool. While their appeal was directed at all parties, it was made plain their action was taken in response to NP tactics.

In the original draft statement only the NP was mentioned but this was changed after a few felt it inappropriate to side against one party.

Another local leader who has joined the campaign for unity against the NP's attempts to divide the Western Cape is the PAC's premier-candidate, Ms Patricia de Lille.

"Coloured people must not be fooled by the NP twice," said De Lille, "After a section of the coloured community used their vote to get the NP into power so many years ago, their vote was taken away."

"It is time we all realised that we are Africans."

NP spokesperson Mr Jan Kruger vehemently denied that the NP campaign was racist and said it was ANC strategy "to create the perception that we are being racist".

"It is absolute crap," said Kruger. "Our campaign has never been racist at all. People are just making allegations that are being blown completely out of proportion."   
 Q Wilson, 76 Darling Street, Cape Town

## Comic creates school flare-ups

By Edwina Booysen

AFRICAN pupils at traditionally coloured schools are being harassed by puppets and parents influenced by National Party propaganda, the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (Sadu) claims.

"In areas like Bontehruevel, Mitchells Plain and Bellville, teachers intervened and prevented potentially ugly scenes between pupils," said Sadu Western Cape regional secretary, Ms Ingrid Matloengwe.

"The NP stands no chance of winning the historic election and therefore has to stoop to its old tactics of divide and rule. The photo comic 'The winds of change blow through South Africa — will you make it through the storm?' is the latest in a series of racist NP propa-

ganda that has flooded the coloured areas."

In the last few years schools in the coloured areas have been increasingly accepting African pupils.

Matloengwe said the NP wanted to shift the focus away from the fact that the NP government was largely responsible for the country's economic, social and political crisis.

"The photo-comic is guilty of promoting the NP image of the ANC and Africans in general as barbarians, destructive, non-believers and uncivilised."

A National Party spokesperson said the party denies that the allegations contained in the comic books are in any way unfounded or false and believes it is its duty to inform its electorate of all available facts.   
 E. Booysen, 76 Darling St Cape Town

## Mandela to vote in W' Plain?

By Shannon Neill

IN AN attempt to boost voter support on the Cape Flats, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela might just cast his vote in Mitchells Plain on April 27.

Mitchells Plain is symbolically significant in the struggle against apartheid — it was there that the United Democratic Front was launched 10 years ago — and feeling within certain ANC circles is

that Mandela should vote in Mitchells Plain to keep the symbolism alive.

However, ANC spokesperson Mr Logan Wort said they had not yet been officially informed of where Mandela would be casting his vote.

ANC insiders feel Mandela's presence in Mitchells Plain on April 27 might encourage undecided people to vote for the ANC.   
 — S. Neill, 76 Darling St, Cape Town

# Mandela wows Muslims

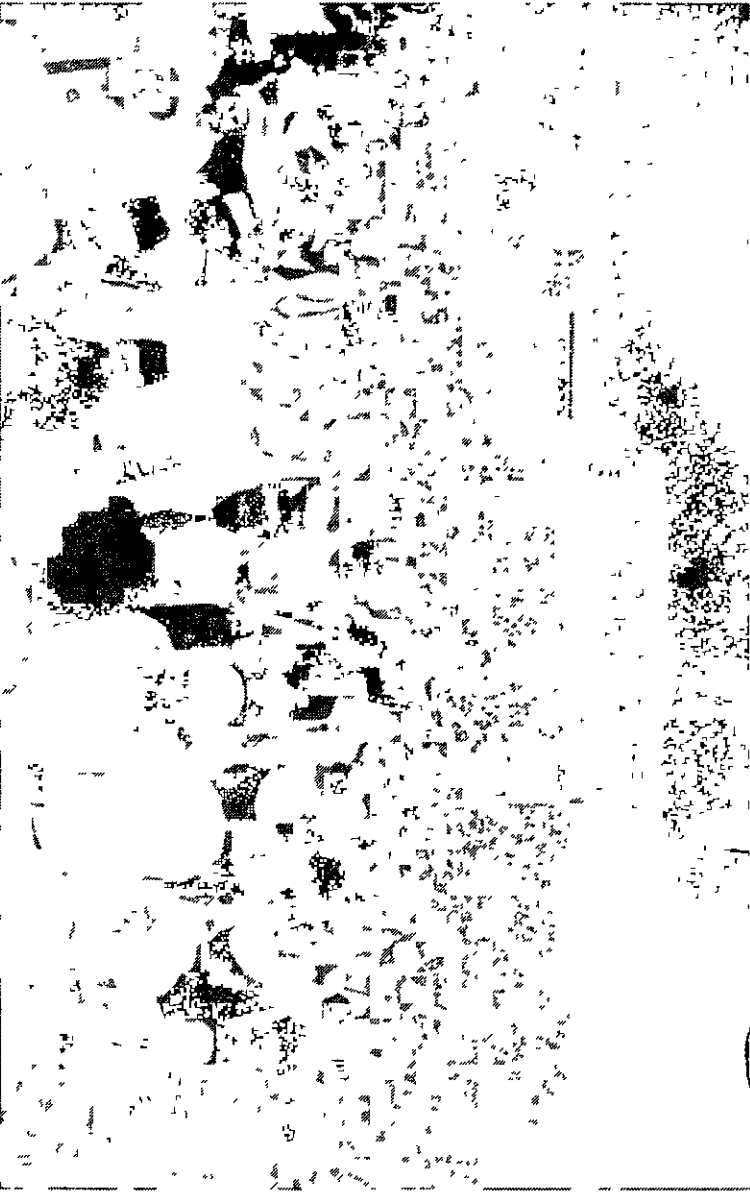
By Shannon Neill

**A** HIGHLIGHT of this weekend's commemoration of the arrival of Islam in South Africa was an address to Muslims by ANC president, Nelson Mandela, who assured the gathering of thousands that certain Islamic principles will be enshrined in a future constitution.

An item that seems to have gone unnoticed as part of the tricontentary celebrations of the arrival of Sheikh Yusuf at the Cape 300 years ago was that, for the first time, a unified sermon was delivered at mosques throughout the city.

The sermon, sanctioned by most Islamic organisations in the Western Cape, while not prescribing to Muslims who they should vote for in the approaching elections, warned Muslims not to vote for the party that was responsible for forced removals and apartheid.

Responding to the booning from a small sector of the audience at the Good Hope Centre which marred the otherwise enthusiastic response to Mandela's arrival on Saturday, prominent Cape Town cultural historian Mr Achmat Davids said those people had behaved "in a way which was not Islamic". Davids explained that Islam was



**TRICENTENARY CELEBRATIONS: Thousands of Muslims travelled from all over South Africa and from around the world to celebrate the arrival of Islam and Sheikh Yusuf in the Cape 300 years ago**

about respecting the dignity of all people. This respect would be necessary to build a community of strength out of the "rums of apartheid".

Mandela said Sheikh Yusuf's banishment to the Cape was the beginning of the struggle of all South Africans' against "racist exploitation and subjugation".

Sheikh Yusuf, he said, was not only the hero of Muslims but of all the oppressed in this country. He said the election campaign had inspired other political parties

seeking public office to "suddenly express goodwill and admiration towards a community they have previously treated so shamefully".

Mandela's understanding and respect for Islam went back to his student days.

"When the great struggles of the ANC against apartheid came increasingly to dominate my career, Muslims were among my closest comrades and confidants," he said, introducing some of his earliest comrades in the struggle on the stage including Mr Achmat Kathrada and Moly Cachtala.

"During the years of my physical incarceration and since my release four years ago, I have continued to enjoy the support of Muslims both among my comrades in South Africa and abroad.

"Muslims are legitimately entitled to share in our final triumph of a glorious future in a democratic, free, non-racial and non-sexist South Africa to which I shall remain committed to the end of my years," he said to cheers from the crowd.

Also present at Saturday's commemoration were Malaysian Minister of Defence, Mr Datuk Seri Mohd Nayb Tun Haji Abdul Razak, Malaysian Muslim Youth Movement president, Dr Mohd Nor HJ R M Monuty and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

The tricontentary celebrations continued on Sunday when a copy of the Qur'an was taken to the Sheikh Yusuf's karamat at Faure and was mounted on a plinth.

Winnie

punitive commission after dismissing me from the department in May 1992 without any reasons, save the allegations from the unnamed sources you can proceed with your commission without me"

9/4/94

The commission was held from January to March last year to investigate the affairs of the department from February 1991 to March 1992

The ANC's head of media liaison, Mr Carl Niehaus, confirmed this week that the report was authentic. No funds had yet been paid back into the ANC account, he said

A further investigation was in progress into the matters referred to in the report, including the market value of the Walkerville farm, he said

"Once the investigation is completed and all the facts ascertained, the relevant donors will be informed about the outcome of the investigation," he said

It was "unfortunate" that the Cape Times intended to make the report public at this stage, before the full investigation into the matters referred to in the report, said Mr Niehaus

"The ANC did not make it public in order to avoid any person being wrongly damaged by an incomplete investigation that has not yet ascertained all the facts," he said

Mrs Mandela was on a trip to the Transkei yesterday and could not be contacted for comment

● The fraud charge against Mr Mpofu was withdrawn in the Regional Court in Johannesburg last year. Mr Mpofu denied the allegations but he was dismissed from his position in the ANC's social welfare department in May 1992

● The ANC told the Sunday Times in 1992 that it was investigating a case of "alleged fraud" of R400 000 involving its social welfare department

**EXACTLY** a year after South African Communist Party general secretary Chris Hani was gunned down outside his Boksburg home, **PATRICK LAURENCE** assesses the impact of his life and death on South African politics.

**T**HE first anniversary of the assassination of Chris Hani, who was shot dead a year ago tomorrow, is an appropriate time to appraise the impact on South Africa of his killing.

Hani, who was general secretary of the South African Communist Party when he was gunned down outside his Boksburg home, mocks his assassins from the grave.

The killers, Polish immigrant Janus Waluz and rightwinger Clive Derby-Lewis, sought to strike a mortal blow against the cause that Hani championed for most of his life: the emancipation of South Africa's black people.

But, ironically, their action only hastened the liberation of blacks from the bondage of apartheid.

When South Africans go to the polls on April 26-28 it will be due, in large measure, to Hani's assassins, as the SACP

journal, *African Communist*, argues in an editorial in its latest edition.

It is a tragic fact that it was his death last year, and the massive outpouring of national grief, that established April 1994 as the date for our elections," the journal says.

Up until April last year, the apartheid government was still stalling. After his death the world and all but a few extremists in our country woke up. A firm election date was no longer a matter for political manoeuvring. It had become a national necessity.

Within six weeks of Hani's death a date was set for the election of a government of national unity, April 27. The date concentrated the minds of the multiparty Negotiating Council on devising an interim constitution for a five-year transitional period.

The African Communist focuses on another of Hani's legacies: the idea of people's forums, which the ANC in general, and Nelson Mandela in particular, has put to effective use in the election campaign.

"After he became general secretary of the SACP in December 1991, Chris Hani turned our country into a people's forum. Week after week, he moved from mine compounds to rural villages, from township stadiums to strike picket lines. He went to jails and listened and spoke to prisoners and their white warders."

But if Hani's death gave impetus to the negotiations and propelled the African National Congress of which he was a senior member — to power, it was a grievous blow to the SACP.

As the second most popular leader in the black community after ANC president Mandela, Hani gave the SACP a powerful boost after his election — against the wishes of Mandela — as general secretary of the party.

Indeed, one of the reasons that the veteran communist, Joe Slovo, resigned as general secretary was his recognition that the SACP needed a popular black leader at its helm.

Whatever the strengths of Charles Ngakula, the former journalist and MK operative who was chosen to replace Hani, charisma is not one of them. His leadership has been that of a backroom functionary rather than a populist with mass support.

Hani, the former guerilla leader who led the ANC's first armed incursions into Rhodesia in 1967, became an advocate of reconciliation after the ANC's agreement to suspend its

armed struggle. His last major public speech was at a memorial service for Solomon Mahlangu, the student who was captured and hanged on returning to South Africa as a guerilla after the 1976 student uprising. Mahlangu was charged with murder after the Goch Street shooting.

In that address, Hani called on young militants to establish peace corps and to work for reconciliation and reconstruction. It was literally a case of him exhorting supporters of the ANC-SACP alliance to turn AK-47s into ploughshares.

Hani was able to take that tack at rallies without being accused of cowardice or gullibility because of his record of personal bravery. He was a man who led from the front and who

was prepared to listen to the men and women who fought for the cause that he believed in.

**H**ANI was not an effete pacifist. If he thought it was necessary to take a hard line or, to use his terminology, to deploy revolutionary violence, he did so.

In the late 1980s he, together with Steve Tshwete, talked of the need to extend "armed struggle" into white areas, to make whites realise that apartheid carried a bloody price tag.

Intellectually and ideologically, he was combative. He loved a robust argument, thrived on debate and, to his credit, did not bear personal grudges against those with whom he disagreed

politically. But he was at the same time a man who knew how to listen.

His intellectual courage was reflected in his willingness to acknowledge abuses in ANC self-defence units and the ANC detention camps during the armed struggle. His admissions came from self-analysis and willingness to fearlessly cleanse the ANC of incipient corruption, however unpopular it made him with some of his peers.

Hani, the tough-minded revolutionary, wanted a code of conduct to be drawn up to control the security forces in a democratic South Africa. He spoke of the need to exclude some members of the ANC's security department, the dreaded Mbokodo, from the security forces of the new state.

"Within the ANC there are certain

'Hani's concern for the poor, and belief that liberation was meaningless without freedom from want, drew him to the Communist Party'

'Within six weeks of Hani's death an election date was set, April 27. This served to concentrate the minds of the multiparty Negotiating Council'

people who I would oppose as part of a new security force," he told *Work In Progress* in June 1992. "I have my own experience. I know my own movement. I would like a situation where the security apparatus is answerable to parliament."

One wonders what Hani's attitude would have been to the ANC-appointed Motsuenyane Commission. Released late last year, the commission's report affirmed neglect of responsibility and abuse of power by top-ranking ANC officials but stopped short of recommending that they be excluded from public office in the new SA.

Hani, the son of poor Transkeian parents, was a champion of the poor throughout his life. It was his concern for the poor, and his belief that political liberation was meaningless without freedom from want, that drew him to the SACP.

Judging from his relatively modest lifestyle, his admiration of Cuba and his dislike of ostentatious clothes and motor cars, Hani would have sought to protect "the revolution" from betrayal by a new black elite, by South Africa's equivalent of the post-colonial "Wabenzi" class. With its conspicuous consumption, the Wabenzi exhibited — in Franz Fanon's words — most of the greed but little of the ability of the old colonial bourgeoisie.

The first anniversary of Hani's assassination raises a critical question: was he the victim of a conspiracy which stretched beyond the trio who stood trial for his murder: Waluz, Derby-Lewis and his wife Gaye (who was acquitted)?

The question is given additional pertinency because of the prima facie evidence, disclosed by Judge Richard Goldstone last month, of a Third Force reaching into the upper echelons of the South African Police.

**W**HILE it is true that Judge C F Eloff found only two people guilty — Waluz and Derby-Lewis — and he did not link them to a wider conspiracy, questions remain. They have been lucidly outlined by Aubrey Lekwane in a new book, *The Hidden Hand: Covert Operations in South Africa*.

The apparent carelessness and amateur bungling by the assassins seems at first to eliminate the possibility of their being part of a wider conspiracy involving professional killers.

Lekwane lists what he labels "bizarre and strange" aspects of the assassination. They include:

- Waluz's use of a red vehicle, a colour which is "most memorable to the human mind"
- Waluz's use of pistol without a silencer to fire the fatal shots, when he was in possession of another pistol with a silencer
- The place and time of the killing: outside Hani's home in broad daylight when residents of Dawn Park, the suburb where Hani lived, were out buying newspapers, shopping and gardening.
- The use of only one vehicle before, during and after the killing.

These facts may suggest that Waluz acted impulsively after being primed and equipped by Derby-Lewis. Against that, however, they can be construed to support an opposing hypothesis that they were red herrings to cover professional assassins manipulating frontmen.

Lekwane believes that the opposing hypothesis cannot be dismissed as ludicrous speculation.

He notes that the charges in the trial were limited to murder and conspiracy to murder, which "limited the extent of the inquiry of the court". Had terrorist charges been included, as in most previous assassinations, the focus of the inquiry would have "automatically opened up," Lekwane argues.

While the "trigger men" were sentenced and convicted, he thinks that the trial does not exclude the possibility that there was a wider conspiracy and that the undetected conspirators might have feared Hani's popularity.

"The prospect of a communist as the next-but-one president of South Africa must have alarmed a lot of people," Lekwane writes.

**TRAGIC IRONY:** Far from dealing a mortal blow to black liberation, Chris Hani's assassins gave it fresh impetus

# Victory from the grave

Star 9/4/94

11A



**MAN OF THE PEOPLE:** Chris Hani, seen dancing at a rally shortly after the ANC's unbanning, was the second most popular leader in the black community.

FROM Pretoria to Sebokeng to Sea Point, people are hoarding water, canned foods and candles for the "siege" to come after April 27.

Their anxiety might be unwarranted but it is not surprising. This election has been more about exploiting fears and hopes of change and liberation than a competition between sane ideas.

But, by being caught up in paranoia about a future government, people have lost sight of the one thing that will remain constant as governments come and go — the constitution.

Within two years South Africa will have a "final" constitution, replacing the scrappy compromise settlement that will see the country through the interim phase.

There are five parties that have a good chance of achieving more than a token presence in the Constitutional Assembly, where the interim constitution will be rewritten.

They are the ANC and the NP, which will emerge the major parties after the election, and the DP, PAC and the Freedom Front, which are expected to share the remainder of the spoils.

The constitution-makers will not be presented with a blank piece of paper, but will be constrained by constitutional principles which already determine the bones of the final constitution. The flesh has to be negotiated.

These principles include provision for democratic government at all three tiers, a bill of fundamental rights, equality before the law, an independent judiciary, multi-party democracy, universal adult suffrage and adequate legislative and executive powers at national and provincial levels.

Both the ANC and the NP's constitutional spokesmen were lukewarm when approached about spelling out their plans for rewriting the constitution.

The ANC's Mohammed Valli Moosa stuck to generalities and politically correct utterances about "consultation and inclusivity".

Impending victors can afford to be gracious.

The NP's Roelf Meyer responded in a short fax focusing more on past achievements.

Their responses were dictated not by a devilish plot to keep the electorate in the dark but by the sensitivities of fighting an election.

Being the two major architects of the constitutional settlement, both parties do not want to lay bare their underbellies to their opponents by suggesting radical changes and thereby negating their product.

Mr Valli Moosa said that, even if the ANC won two-thirds of the vote, it would not rush in and adopt a new constitution at its first meeting. The ANC wanted all sectors of the public to be consulted first, their views having been neglected during the World Trade Centre negotiations.

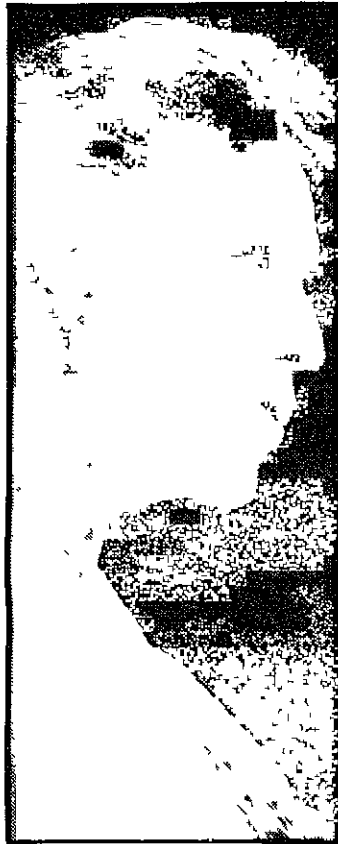
The ANC considered the interim constitution to be a good basis for the drafting of the final constitution, Mr Valli Moosa said.

There were three major areas of change, he envisaged — the scrapping of the five-year enforced executive coalition being dismissed as obvious.

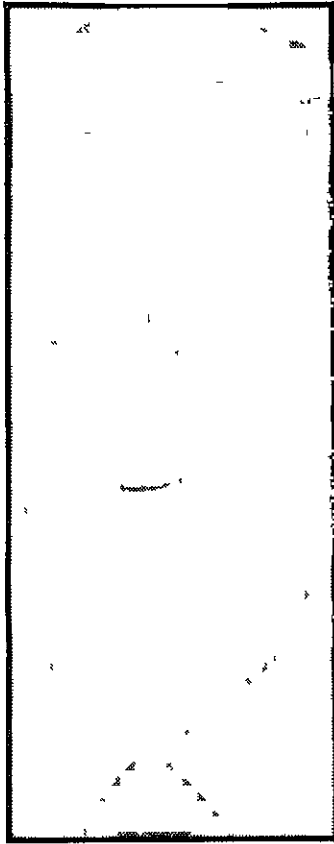
# The people who will plan the future for South Africa

S Times 10/4/94

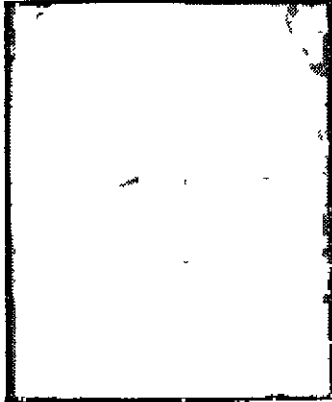
The fact that South Africans are electing the people who will write their final constitution has been neglected in an election campaign dominated by hopes and fears about what a new government will do. EDYTH BULBRING asked the main political parties what changes they wanted to make to the constitution



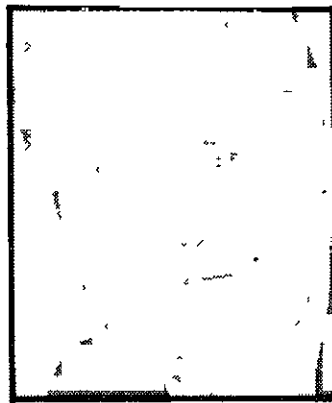
FRANCES KENDALL



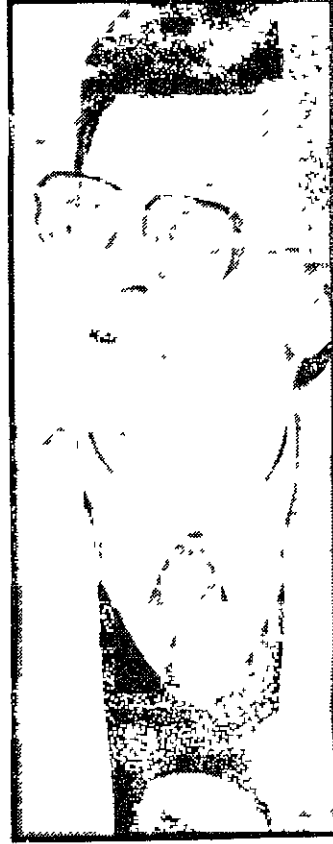
ROELF MEYER



COLIN EGLIN



CORNE MULDER



VALLI MOOSA

Like the ANC, the NP's Roelf Meyer appears satisfied with the interim constitution, especially with having secured a participatory democracy and a sovereign constitution for the future.

In the Constitutional Assembly, he said, the NP would seek a clearer differentiation between legislative and executive structures of government. One possibility he said the NP would want considered was to prevent Cabinet members from being members of Parliament simultaneously as in the United States.

The NP was convinced that the interim constitution already contained the basic

characteristics of a typical federation, but the NP would work for the further improvement of these, he said.

While the NP believed that enforced power-sharing was necessary in the next five years, it was concerned that in the longer term it could undermine the concept of parliamentary opposition. "The system of executive government after the transitional period is something that would have to be worked out in further constitution-making based on the experiences of the next five years," he said.

The DP, which depicts itself as the nib of the pen that will write the constitution

and the guardian against NP/ANC constitutional abuses, was more specific about its proposals.

Its chief negotiator, Colin Eglin, said the DP would argue that provinces should have exclusive powers.

Others powers should be exercised concurrently by the central and provincial governments. But the scope for central-government legislation on these matters should be reduced.

The party would argue to strengthen the fiscal powers by providing greater fields in which provinces could tax directly.

It would argue to strengthen the rights of provinces

by increasing the role of the Senate in relation to matters affecting provinces.

The DP would also seek to make changes to the electoral system by replacing the present party list system with a system of multi-member constituencies elected on the basis of proportional representation, and would argue to scrap the "anti-defection" provision in the present constitution, which automatically expelled members from Parliament if they defected to another party.

It also wanted to replace the five-year government of national unity with a normal Cabinet functioning in tandem with Parliament.

THE ANC would amend the balance of power between the central government and the provincial governments in favour of the provinces, Mr Valli Moosa said.

Once legitimate democratic governments were in place, there would be greater consensus as to what could work — bearing in mind that the demographic and economic realities of SA imposed limits on the extent of federalism, he said.

However, the ANC fully intended granting meaningful exclusive powers to the provinces not only because this was stipulated in the constitutional principles but because the majority of provincial governments would be run by the ANC and they would also be demanding more powers for their provinces, Mr Valli Moosa said.

The second area of change would be for greater independence from government of the adjudication authority, in particular the Constitutional Court.





The ANC would argue what it failed to achieve for the interim constitution — that the Constitutional Court be appointed by a 75 percent majority of a joint sitting of the National Assembly and the Senate.

Mr Valli Moosa was unspecific on the third area — the bill of rights. The ANC would argue for very wide debate on any changes and would also have to take into account judgments on litigation by the Constitutional Court, he said.









## WHAT PARTIES WANT CHANGED IN THE CONSTITUTION



### ENFORCED POWER SHARING

-  ANC - Scrap after five years
-  DP - Scrap after five years
-  NP - Review after five years
-  PAC - Scrap before five years






### POWERS FOR REGIONS

-  ANC - Meaningful exclusive powers for regions.
-  DP - Exclusive powers for regions. Limit central government interference.
-  NP - Improve federal characteristics
-  FP - Limit central government power to four areas.
-  PAC - No to federalism.
-  FF - Limit central government powers to seven areas




### CONSTITUTIONAL COURT

-  ANC - Members elected by 75 percent majority in joint sitting of Senate and Assembly.
-  FP - Scrap Constitutional Court

### BILL OF RIGHTS

-  ANC - Consult the people about changes
-  DP - Ensure effective enforcement mechanisms  
Bring in line with DP bill of rights
-  FF - The Volkstaat will have one.
-  PAC - Change property clause to allow for redistribution.
-  FP - Close loopholes that allow for wide interpretation. Scrap limitation clause.

### SHAPE OF GOVERNMENT

-  DP - MPs elected on basis of proportional representation to represent multi-member constituencies. Scrap defection clause.
-  NP - Clearer division between executive and legislature.
-  FP - Allow electorate to vote directly on certain issues.

Graphic: FIONA KRISCH

Changes to the bill of rights include adopting provisions that would ensure ready access by the public and effective enforcement mechanisms and entrenching the bill of rights so that rights once agreed upon would not be able to be diminished by a future act of parliament.

The PAC's political affairs secretary, Jaki Seroke, agreed to give the issue of writing a constitution five minutes between meetings.

The PAC was in favour of a unitary state and would argue against federalism. The party favoured large sections of the interim bill of rights and would seek to enhance it, not reduce the exist-

ing rights.

In particular, it wanted to change the clause on property rights to allow for "the spreading of wealth among the poor", said Mr Seroke.

The PAC would also insist on speeding up an end to the enforced government of national unity before five years, although Mr Seroke conceded that this had been made impossible by an inviolable constitutional principle.

The fifth party, which is justifying its participation in the election solely on the basis of changes it will make to the constitution, is General Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front.

Party spokesman Corne Mulder said that its participation was based on a constitutional principle in the interim constitution which made provision for self-determination for a community bound by a common language and cultural heritage.

The Freedom Front first had to prove "substantial support" in the election. It would then have a right to appoint a volkstaat council which would be able to argue its volkstaat cause in a Constitutional Assembly.

The Freedom Front would also argue to limit the powers of national government to seven areas along the lines of the Swiss canton system. These included defence, the economy and foreign affairs.

By arguing this, the Freedom Front recognised that there would be an interdependent relationship between a volkstaat and a national government, but wanted to limit the national government's powers, Mr Mulder said.

A party that as yet has no proven support base, but deserves a mention in so far as it seeks to provide an alternative to the traditional federal party, the DP, is Frances Kendall's Federal Party.

There are four areas the Federal Party would want to change.

The first is to have regional power entrenched so as to brook no interference from the central government and to limit the powers of central government to those of national concern — the appeal court, defence, national finance and foreign affairs.

**T**HE second area is to build into the constitution "direct democracy" — the right of people to vote directly on issues.

The third area is changes to the bill of rights to do away with clauses which leave people's rights open to broad interpretation, thus making them meaningless, Miss Kendall says.

A major problem for the Federal Party is the limitation clause, which allows all the rights in the bill to be limited by law provided that it is reasonable and justifiable in an open and democratic society based on freedom and equality.

Two others are the equality clause and the economic activity clause, both of which, she says, are broad enough to "have a truck driven through them".

The Federal Party would argue for the scrapping of the limitation clause, and on the other two lay down specified and restricted areas for qualification.

The fourth area it will argue for is that the Constitutional Court should be done away with, and that constitutional matters should be argued in the normal courts of the land.

# Future ranges in balance



DECEPTIVE The courtesy displayed here between Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi belies the bitterness at yesterday's summit

PHOTOGRAPH KEN COOSTRIBROCK

## Working group must wrestle further with issues

THE crisis over KwaZulu's role in the election deepened after last night's summit involving the four key leaders ended unsuccessfully.

A joint statement issued by President de Klerk, Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the meeting had agreed to establish a working group to deliberate further and to report back to the respective leaders by Thursday next week.

A follow-up four-way summit is foreseen for late next week. The statement said the four leaders were unanimous in their condemnation of

violence. They made an urgent appeal to their followers and to all South Africans to end the killings to reverse maximum restraint and to pursue their objectives by peaceful means.

The parties agreed that international mediation should proceed on outstanding constitutional issues and urgent negotiations should take place to reach agreement on the terms of reference for the mediators and procedures to be followed.

The statement said the delegations also discussed the future constitutional accommodation for the Zulu monarch calls for Zulu sovereignty and the state of emergency.

The parties agreed on the necessary to make proper constitutional provisions for the recognition of the kingdom of KwaZulu — and on this key subject the working group would be expected to report.

There were also sharp differences over the election date. Buthelezi said a postponement was essential to achieve an inclusive settlement, but Mandela responded by saying: "That day is sacrosanct and there can be no compromises over it whatsoever."

However, Buthelezi responded by suggesting that Mandela's interpretation of the king's demands was incorrect in that the king did not seek personal gains but was making demands on behalf of his people.

The only vaguely optimistic voice was that of De Klerk who said that the bland joint statement issued after the meeting was not an indication of failure and that progress could be

## NIS link to Eskom's arms deal suspected

**EXCLUSIVE REPORT**  
by  
**JANNINE LAZARUS**



MEMBERS of the National Intelligence Services might be linked to Eskom's sale of arms to the KwaZulu Police.

On March 25, the day the parastatal announced it had uncovered and cancelled plans to sell 1,000 semi-automatic rifles to an arms dealer for resale to the KwaZulu Police, 10 weapons were signed out of Eskom's arsenal and loaded into a truck parked outside Eskom's Megawatt Park headquarters.

A source within Eskom said the truck was accompanied by a number of other vehicles, including a grey Mercedes-Benz bearing the registration NNB317P.

Senior police sources said this week that the Mercedes was registered in the name of the NIS at a Skinner Street, Pretoria, address.

**Mysterious return**

According to official Eskom documents in Welekenbosch's possession, two transactions for the removal of 20 LM-4 semi-automatic rifles to an unknown destination took place two weeks ago.

The weapons were apparently checked out to a "bearer" whose name was known to Eskom officials but whose identity the "bearer" did not for legal reasons cannot name the person.

Eskom officials insist that the "bearer" is not one of their employees. A form authorising removal from Eskom stores was signed by Eskom manager Johan van der Walt, who, with Eskom security

head Floris Bonthuis, was suspended last week after the utility investigated the weapons deal. The weapons then mysteriously returned to the stores.

Repeated attempts to find out from the NIS, Eskom and the State President's office failed to establish what an NIS vehicle was doing at Eskom, the identity of the "bearer" who signed for the weapons, and why further weapons were being sold after Eskom had publicly undertaken not to sell arms.

An NIS spokesman, who refused to be named, denied that his organisation was linked to any arms deal between Eskom and the KwaZulu Police.

"There is no question whatsoever that we could be involved there. We do have contact from time to time. It's a formal liaison — just a question of talking about what things are like. Then we drive to the front door."

The spokesman at first refused to take down the Mercedes-Benz's registration number.

### THE CIGARETTE FOR CONNOISSEURS

In the traditional 20s tin



P.T.O.

# Mandela raps protesters

By PETER DE IONNO

NELSON MANDELA ordered 15 dissatisfied ANC members to parade before him and a crowd of 15 000 when they used an election rally as a platform for local grievances at Pamplierstad yesterday.

In an extraordinary outburst near Taung in the Western Transvaal, Mr Mandela silenced the jeering crowd with his opening remarks furiously condemning the protest as "the most disgusting exhibition" of his campaign. Mr Mandela's anger was obvious and chilling as he demanded that the protesters, a small group holding placards in a corner of the stadium, come before him at the podium or be denounced as "agents provocateurs". He continued with his election speech calling for unity and promising jobs as the people made their way towards him. They were ordered to sit down



POPO MOLEFE Praised

by officials until he finished speaking. He condemned the wild cat protest as undisciplined and divisive for attacking and insulting the ANC's north-west region premier candidate Popo Molefe

Mr Mandela said the disputes within the ANC should not be raised in public but should go through proper channels.

He praised Mr Molefe, a former leader of the UDF, as a fighter who had defended the liberation struggle during "the worst rampages of the National Party".

Finally, the 15 were brought to stand like naughty school children showing their placards to the ANC dignitaries on the platform. Against the advice of his flustered aids, Mr Mandela asked for a representative to state their case.

David Mogashoa, an ANC member from Taung, took the microphone and confidently laid out a complicated complaint regarding the management of the sub-regional executive.

He said only 19 branches out of more than 30 had been involved in selecting the candidate for the premiership and the election list on January 27. He accused the executive of ignoring the wishes of members and of avoiding discus-

sion of grievances.

He said their double standards was dividing ANC loyalties in the area into two factions, one supporting Mr Molefe and the other backing Mr Rocky Malebane-Metsing, leader of the failed coup in Bophuthatswana in 1989.

After listening for about five minutes Mr Mandela said: "I appreciate your anger and you have done the right thing in apologising for your protest in this way."

"This is an illustration of the democracy which exists in the ANC. We do not hide from trouble and our people are entitled to express their views."

In a gesture which seemed to offer protection to the dissidents, Mr Mandela said: "I now know you are worthy members of the ANC."

Mr Mandela invited all the traditional chiefs of Bophuthatswana, including those who had collaborated with former president Lucas Mangope's regime, to meet him in Sandton on Tuesday.

# 'SACP won't take over'

By NAZEEM HOWA

FEARS of a communist takeover of a new South African government were groundless, S.A. Communist Party chief Joe Slovo said yesterday. He visited the Western Cape this weekend as part of the Chris Hani memorial activities expected to try to allay fears among voters with the ANC's alliance "what people don't seem to realise is that the SACP has different founding principles from any of the deposed governments in Eastern Europe."

For instance, concerns in South Africa over our approach to religion are totally unfounded. A reading of our founding principles will reveal that the SACP has a lot more in common with the world's other political doctrines," he said.

The SACP, according to Mr Slovo, had been in the forefront of the fight to ensure the continued existence of minority religions in this country. "We played a major role in preventing a Christian religious monopoly in this country," Mr Slovo said.

Mr Slovo said the SACP, unlike failed Eastern European communist regimes, was committed to ensuring a multi-party democracy. He also expressed concern about the increase in racist electioneering.

"Despite claiming to be the new National Party which has seen the error in their racist ways, they still quite easily fall back on racism. But we need to think seriously about our building of a unified nation after the elections," he warned.

Mr Slovo reiterated the ANC's support for affirmative action. "Our support for affirmative action has come in for a lot of stick with several parties who claim that it would be used against coloureds. That's an outrageous lie. If anything, coloureds in this region should be a major beneficiary of affirmative action," he said.

(News by N Howa, 122 St Georges Mall, Cape Town)

# PAC limps on, thanks to IEC handout

By NORMAN WEST  
Political Reporter

THE PAC — whose president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, recently admitted the party was "broke" — has had its telephones and faxes reconnected thanks to a R1,7-million donation from the IEC. *STimeo*

The donation was made to "level the financial playing fields". *1014194*

PAC Western Cape premier candidate Patricia de Lille admitted this week that her party, the third largest bidder for the black vote in the Western Cape after the ANC and NP, was "still only limping financially, but doing okay, thank you". *(11A)*

"Our infrastructure has been recommissioned, albeit to a limited degree," she said. *(11A)*

"We have, for instance, only one telephone going in our Cape Town office, which makes it difficult for the media to get hold of us or for us to communicate with the outside world. It is difficult to run a campaign like this," she said.

Mr Makwetu admitted recently that the PAC had no money even to print posters and had to use crude signs made by hand in the townships.

Miss de Lille said that soon after its unbanning, the PAC had received generous donations from countries such as Libya.

These funds had dried up and the PAC's understaffed and sparsely-furnished regional offices had been left to fend for themselves.

Since the IEC donation, the PAC has stepped up its election campaign, distributing glossy posters in two or three colours.

(News by N West, 122 St Georges Street, Cape Town)

# Royal fluster

# beats ANC race

S Times

10/14/94



THE KING AND MANDELA advisers thwarted an ANC bid to arrange a private meeting between the men  
Picture DAVID SANDISON

## Kwazulu poll will take place — IEC

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

THE Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) has drawn up detailed plans to allow Kwazulu's three million voters to cast ballots despite the violent climate and a lack of co-operation from Uthuli.

"We have no option but to run an election in Kwazulu — and we have the capability to do so," IEC member Guy McDougall said yesterday.

She and IEC vice-chairman Dikgang Moseneke spent two days touring four of the province's five sub-provincial regions this

week. Anticipating security problems and resigned to little, if any, official co-operation from Kwazulu officials, the commissioners outlined plans that would ensure even those in the "no-go" areas in the north could vote if they wished to do so.

This included shifting polling stations to borders with South Africa, increasing the size of voting stations in predominantly white relatively safe areas and hanging in arrears and temporary voting stations.

Only about 800 polling stations are now expected

to be set up in Kwazulu Natal's 51 voting districts, although 1 000 to 1 200 were originally planned.

The IEC is to have close contact with the security forces, who will concentrate on keeping the main roads to the polling stations open.

If "any factor in" transporting voters to polling stations is a problem, the IEC will be able to factor in "transporting voters to polling stations," says Moseneke.

The exact nature of Kwazulu Natal's polling stations will be made known on Wednesday.

If violence decreases as a result of the election,

By EDYTH BULBRING and RAY HARTLEY

A DESPERATE attempt by ANC leader Nelson Mandela to persuade Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to support peaceful elections in Natal was torpedoed at this week's crisis summit by Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthezi.

Mr Mandela played what he had hoped would be his ace card by offering King Goodwill powers as a constitutional monarch with sway over the whole Natal province.

But Chief Buthezi scuppered the proposal by insisting the offer could not be considered unless all Inkatha's other concerns were handled at the same time.

Although a task group has been set up to consider the proposal, the ANC's failure to persuade the king to distance himself from Inkatha's call for a poll boycott does not augur well for the elections in the violence-ravaged province.

The Independent Electoral Commission announced yesterday it would push ahead with elections in the province — even if it could not operate in certain areas — and an army mechanised brigade was on standby in Estovos this weekend to move into Kwazulu.

The political drama was played out at Skukuza in the Kruger National Park on Friday when President F W de Klerk, the king, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthezi met to discuss the growing crisis in Natal.

The 13-hour summit began badly for the ANC, which had hoped Mr Mandela and King Goodwill could meet in private. The ANC believes the king's advisers have an undue influence on him and wanted to avoid outside interference.

However, despite two attempts by Mr Mandela to meet the king privately, advisers Stan Armstrong and Maro Anthonis insisted that everything to proceed, King Goodwill should be accompanied by his full delegation.

Sources at the meeting said the king then proceeded, in Zulu, to read to Mr Mandela a hardline 12-page document which referred to perceived past injustices from the ANC and attacks on his supporters.

Only when he had finished was Mr Mandela able to table for discussion his proposals for a Zulu monarchy.

In terms of the proposals, King Goodwill would be recognised as a king with constitutional powers, prerogatives, rights and obligations in Kwazulu Natal.

He would have a royal constabulary and a budget, he consulted and briefed on



**KNOCKED OUT:** Rival captains Allan Border and Kepler Wessels celebrate the end of four months of cricket "battles" after the Australians had piped South Africa by one run in Bloemfontein to square the limited-overs series. The Test series also finished level. Border described Friday's win as "a brilliant end to a tour which we've all enjoyed". The Australians fly home today  
Reports on pages 30 and 32  
Picture: JON HRUSA

**R300m pay rise to appease co's**

S Times 10/14/94

**JOHN ROLFFE**  
America's First Tobacco Planter

ESTD 1870



**SWEET AND SOUR ... a smiling Nelson Mandela looks on as FW de Klerk holds out his hand to a grim King Goodwill Zwelithini and Mangosuthu Buthelezi after Friday's summit** Picture: DAVID SANDISON

## Royal flush beats ANC ace at summit

□ From Page 1

modated. But, according to sources, King Goodwill remained silent, leaving it to members of his delegation to respond.

The delegation refused to separate concerns about the king's position from those that the IFP has about the constitution, and no further progress was achieved.

However, during the lunch break, the IFP's Ben Ngubane, Prince Vincent, government negotiator Roelf Meyer and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa got together in an attempt to resolve the impasse.

Sources say they drew up a proposal based on all

areas of consensus and disagreement between the king, the government and the ANC.

After lunch, Mr de Klerk, Mr Mandela, Chief Buthelezi and the king, with their full delegations, met for the first time.

But the bone fides of the Kwazulu delegation on reaching solutions were already in doubt. During lunch, the king's hard-hitting statement had been released to the press, and a backdown from this position was now impossible.

Then an attempt by the four negotiators to present their proposals to the four leaders was squashed by Chief Buthelezi. He reprimanded Prince Zulu for participating in the lunch-time negotiations, saying they had been "unauthorised".

The discussion then went round in circles, with each attempt to address the king's concerns being linked to the IFP's demands to postpone the election, lift the state of emergency, amend the constitution and grant federal powers to the region.

The acrimonious nature of these exchanges was

evident after the meeting when Mr Mandela reprimanded Chief Buthelezi for issuing a statement on behalf of himself and the king. He said it had been agreed that only a joint statement would be issued.

They also clashed over the election date. Chief Buthelezi said a postponement was essential. Mr Mandela replied that the election date was sacrosanct. "There can be no compromise over it whatsoever."

The joint summit statement said a task force had been appointed to investigate matters under discussion and report back to the leaders by next week.

However, a glum Mr Mandela said he had no "exaggerated expectations" about the results the task team could achieve.

Chief Buthelezi said progress could not be made on most of the issues addressed at the meeting.

Yesterday, at an election rally in the Western Transvaal, Mr Mandela said King Goodwill had refused an ANC offer that would have given him the same constitutional status as the Queen of England and the

crowned heads of Europe.

Mr Mandela said the offer would have given him more honour and privileges than the constitution of Kwazulu. "I am sorry his majesty did not accept my offer, as I'd have thought he would."

Addressing the media during a meeting of the IFP central committee yesterday, Chief Buthelezi said efforts by Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela to reassure King Goodwill of his personal well-being were insulting, and missed the point that his subjects wanted more than a symbolic kingdom.

Chief Buthelezi said the king had the means to look after himself financially.

The summit may have been regarded as a failure in much of South Africa, but in Ulundi, Chief Buthelezi was described as "the master chess player" on his return early yesterday.

In the eyes of his constitutional advisers, he decisively won the summit battle by showing up the ANC and government for doing an about-turn on their commitment to keep the king out of political negotiations.

# Benny on how to save polls

Sowetan 11/4/94

IMMEDIATE joint control of all armies was the only way to ensure free and fair elections in Natal, Pan Africanist Congress general secretary Mr Benny Alexander has said

Alexander, on a one-day stop in the Eastern Cape, said at a Press conference the gloom on the faces of the four leaders after Friday's summit and their statements showed the meeting had failed

## Immediate joint control

"There is only one thing that can be done now to ensure free and fair elections in Natal: bring all the armies of all the parties, including Inkatha, under immediate joint control. Otherwise elections are in jeopardy"

Alexander indicated a postponement of

the election in Natal might not be opposed by the PAC.

## Free and fair

"One has to look at this question very carefully. If up to 20 percent of the people in Natal can't vote, the election cannot be substantively free and fair. You would then need a new election. It has the same effect as if you postponed it"

Alexander's scheduled afternoon rally in Port Elizabeth failed to materialise. An hour after it was to start, the two police vans and single minibus with monitors from the Independent Electoral Commission packed up and left the empty stadium at Gelvandale — *Sapa*.

(Report by J Saunders, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

(11A)





Mrs Limphe Hani, widow of slain SACP leader Mr Chris Hani, weeps at a memorial service for her husband at Rieger Park, Boksburg, yesterday  
PIC AP

# Peaceful Hani rallies

*Southern 11/4/94*

**MAKING A DEBUT** Soldiers bar 50 armed rightwingers from laying wreaths:

Each one of us must take responsibility to end crime and violence

Nelson Mandela at Orlando Stadium yesterday

**R**ALLIES TO COMMEMORATE the killing last year of SACP chief Chris Hani were held at several centres throughout the country yesterday with only one incident being reported.

One person was killed and four people wounded when shots were fired at a bus returning from the memorial rally at Orlando Stadium rally as it was passing the Nancefield Hostel.

A police search has been launched for the attackers. Police say the route followed by the bus that came under attack violated an agreement reached with the ANC.

A police spokesman, Colonel Tienie Halgryn, said the organisers of the rally agreed that vehicles travelling to and from the rally should avoid routes that took them past hostels.

In Soweto and on the East Rand where the ANC had feared trouble from the Inkatha Freedom Party, services went smoothly, with the National Peace Keeping Force making its debut in trouble-torn Kaitleng.

### Armed rightwingers

Outside Boksburg, where Hani was murdered by Polish immigrant Janusz Waluz, soldiers barred about 50 armed rightwingers from laying wreaths on the graves of whites at Elspark Cemetery.

Hani's widow, Limphe, other members of the slain Communist Party/leader family, ANC national executive members, including regional leader Mr Tokyo Sexwale were in the cemetery at the time. South African Defence Force spokesman Commandant Wayne Hermonson said the

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging members were stopped at a roadblock about five kilometres from Elspark Cemetery. ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela praised Hani as one of South Africa's most important revolutionaries.

Speaking at a memorial service at the St Anthony's Catholic Church at Rieger Park on the East Rand, Mandela said the service in the Catholic Church for the slain communist leader showed the importance of the church in the struggle for change in South Africa.

Our political staff writer Tyrone August reports that Mandela later used a commemoration rally at Orlando Stadium in Soweto as an election campaign meeting.

Addressing about 30 000 people, Mandela said the greatest tribute that could be paid to the former SACP general secretary was to vote the ANC into power in this month's election.

Mandela also launched a scathing attack on State President FW de Klerk.

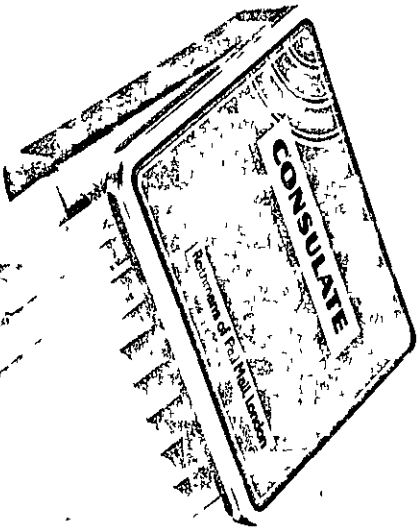
To the delight of the audience, he described De Klerk as "irresolute and weak", and the National Party as "a mouse". Mandela defended the declaration of a state of emergency in Natal/KwaZulu as part of an effort to bring about an end to the Natal violence.

After Mr Mandela's address, the rally ended as it started — with toyi-toying and singing from the excited crowd.

It was clear that, for them, Mandela was no longer just the ANC president, but already the president of South Africa.

*Sapa-Reuters*

(Report by 7 August, 61 Comrade Road, Indusana West, Johannesburg, and W Schreiner and K Swart, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)



Consulate  
in tins

▲ Working group has the Herculean task of forging a tenuous bridge over the political chasms which emerged from the Skukuza summit. Failure could plunge the country into another period of dangerous inconclusivity, writes Political Correspondent Chris Whitfield

# Big chiefs forgo the peace pipe

LATE on Friday night President de Klerk tried his utmost to put a positive spin on the day of talks that had just been completed between himself, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

But it was evident from the language of aides that proceedings had gone far from smoothly. One described the meeting, bluntly, as a "stuff-up", another said he was amazed the talks had survived through the day after it became evident that there was very little chance of bridging differences.

The words of Mandela and Buthelezi at a late night press conference at Skukuza in the Kruger National Park reinforced the suggestion of a yawning gap.

As midnight approached, Mandela reacted sharply to a statement issued jointly by Buthelezi and the king. "The statement read by the Chief Minister comes to me as a complete surprise. I certainly was not informed about it before now. I would have expected that if there was a separate statement we should have been informed and warned about it."

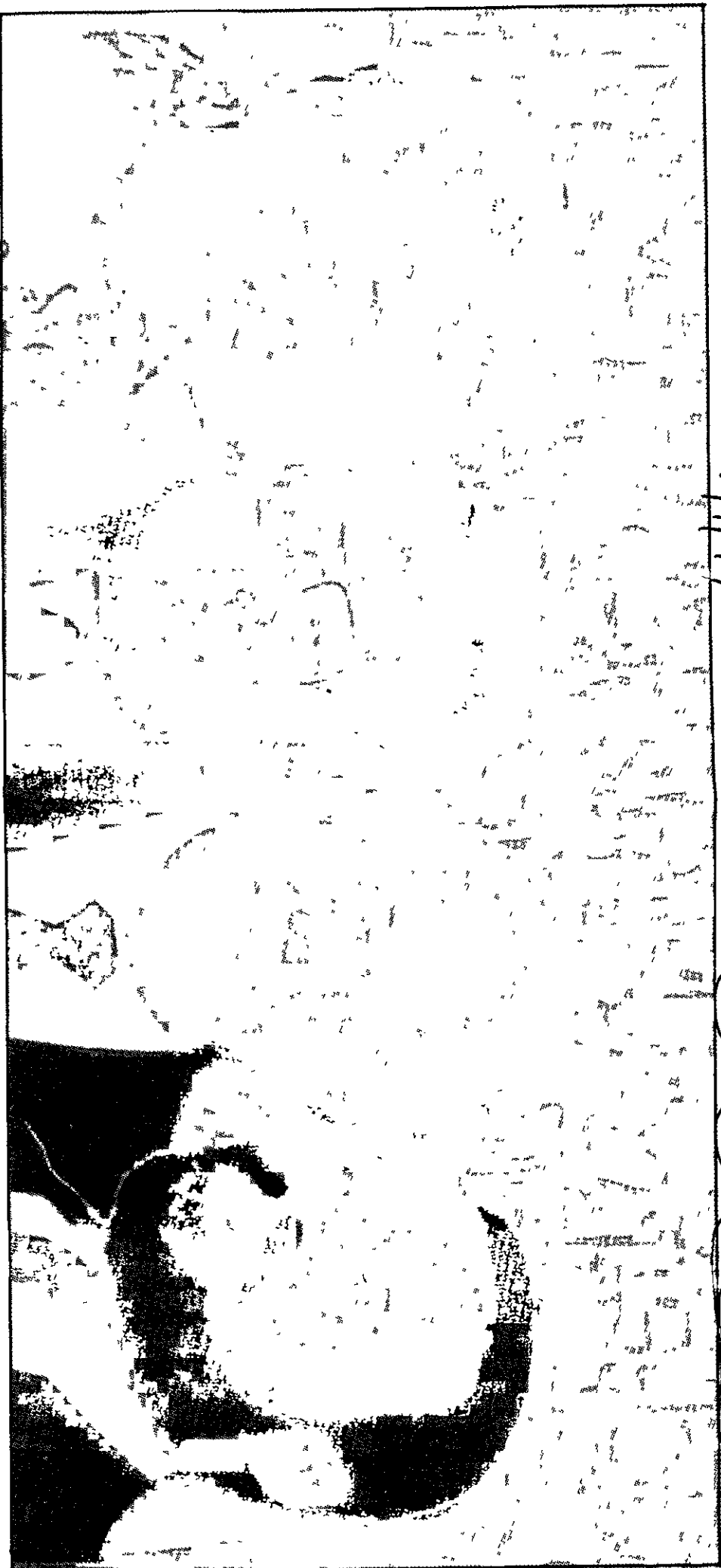
The statement, read to the press conference by Buthelezi, had been aggressive, hitting at the state of emergency and the proposals made by the ANC as well as demanding a postponement of the election.

Responding to Mandela's criticism, Buthelezi suggested that the ANC leader had misunderstood proceedings during the talks and "it wasn't as if we were doing it (issuing the statement) secretly".

Mandela reacted bluntly to the election. *"The IFP wanted the date of the election postponed. We have emphatically rejected that. That day is sacrosanct and there can be no compromise over it."* *Buthelezi also dismissed what he apparently believed were suggestions that the king was demanding personal reassurances. "The issues, as the king has raised (them), have a lot to do with the self-determination of the Zulu people (it is) not just a personal issue which His Majesty raises about himself and his family, but an issue which he raises about his people as a whole."*

In the circumstances De Klerk's notes of optimism sounded misplaced. He had urged observers not to look cynically on the creation of yet another "working group" to probe differences, and added "I think we have achieved progress."

But one comment by the President did come close to summing up the situation in terms of the "working group". "To a certain extent



we have come to the brink of a very serious situation," he said.

The leaders are expected to get together again late this week. The working group is scheduled to issue its report on Thursday. The founding documents with which it will have to deal were released in the course of Friday's deliberations — and largely lost in the drama of the inconclusive media conference. Here is the crux of the various proposals and submissions put forward.

## THE ANC PROPOSAL

The ANC tabled a seven-point "draft agreement" between itself and the king. In essence the detailed document offered to entrench the Zulu monarchy, guarantee it the "proper" regal status, clarify the king's domain over public property and pay his expenses and those of the royal house of KwaZulu out of the provincial budget.

In addition, the agreement allowed for the king to be crowned "in such a manner as may be agreed with him", reaffirmed his right to install all chiefs in the province and his powers determined by Zulu custom and tradition.

The constitution would provide for the king to open the provincial legislature each year. The premier of the KwaZulu/Natal province would be required to regularly report to and brief the king on all his

*"One can't really say in one breath that you have a free and fair election and then in the next breath say that you approve of the state of emergency."*

Mangosuthu Buthelezi

and executive actions.

The provincial government would also establish a Royal Constabulary responsible for the security of the royal house, while the king would have to be consulted by the provincial government on the question of the final name to be given to the province. In return, the king and royal house would undertake to actively promote the rights of all South Africans to full political freedom.

The document spelt out that this would mean "guaranteeing all political parties and organisations shall not be hindered in their unarmed and peaceful campaigns". The crucial requirement demanded of the king in the draft agreement was contained in its final paragraph. "His Majesty and the royal house of KwaZulu further undertake to do all in their power, in collaboration with the Independent Electoral Commission, to ensure that all persons seek to participate

*"There is already a discernible broad consensus... on the burning issue of the accommodation and full recognition of the monarchy of the Zulu kingdom."*

F W de Klerk

and vote in the forthcoming elections shall be able to do so without hindrance."

Mandela said after the meeting. "We went out of our way to address everything which we believe a constitutional monarch would like to enjoy. There is hardly any power in our view which we reserved except perhaps we were silent on the question of the right of his majesty to communal land and to indigenous law. When this was pointed out to us we indicated (that we were) prepared to address this question."

## GOVERNMENT PROPOSAL

President de Klerk put forward a proposal which he later said bridged the gap between the ANC's submission and the king's demands. It envisaged the entrenchment in the constitution of the king's position as well as that of an executive and a council to govern the kingdom of KwaZulu.

The council would consist of 80 members, at least half made up of traditional leaders.

The copy of the submission obtained by The Star made no reference to the composition of the executive.

The king, his executive and the council would "have jurisdiction over the land which is subject to the traditional land tenure system or subject to the powers of a traditional leader and over all Zulu subjects".

The king, executive and council would have legislative and executive powers on:

- Indigenous law and customs and local government affairs in the relevant area of its jurisdiction.
- Traditions, indigenous law and customs relating to the Zulu subjects and;
- Other assigned or delegated matters.

De Klerk said later. "We have made specific proposals, we have specifically dealt with the two issues (outstanding from the ANC proposal) I am confident on this issue, which is an issue of major importance to the Zulu nation, that we have made progress."

## THE KING'S SUBMISSION

In his 12-page presentation to Mandela, the king began with a searing attack on the ANC for the deaths which occurred outside the organisation's Johannesburg headquarters in the recent city centre bloodshed.

He demanded that Mandela personally dis-

tance himself from the shedding of "innocent blood of my father's people" and added that the ANC president should personally use his influence to seek the conviction of those guilty of this "crime". The king warned that unless Mandela did this "our dialogue will remain difficult if not impossible."

The king lashed out at the emergency declaration, calling it "an invasion an act of foreign aggression and a rape of our national dignity and pride". He and his people would never recognise the legitimacy of actions taken under the emergency.

The king added that it was "a fact of history that I will not encourage the Zulu nation to participate in any election under the 1993 constitution in its present form."

He said the future of the kingdom of KwaZulu as a federal state of South Africa or as a "completely autonomous state" depended on what Mandela "and others in South Africa do to me and my people". The king said that while "the kingdom must preferably be made part of the new South Africa", this should never be at the expense of what he called "the sovereignty of the kingdom".

"I and my people would like to have just elbow room within a greater South Africa," said the king. "This 'elbow room' should include a provincial police force and militia as well as a recognition of the Zulu monarchy above the institutions of chiefdoms."

## BUTHELEZI'S MEMORANDUM

In his submission to the summit, Buthelezi said he would participate in elections if a number of conditions were met — these included the postponement of the election.

*"It is... a fact of history that I will not encourage the Zulu nation to participate in any election under the 1993 Constitution in its present formulation."*

King Goodwill Zwelithini

Also prominent in the list of conditions was the immediate lifting of the state of emergency in Natal/KwaZulu and the binding inclusion in the constitution of the outcome of international mediation on regional powers and other constitutional matters.

Other demands were:

- Recognition of the Zulu monarchy and the kingdom of KwaZulu in the Interim Constitution as well as "the KwaZulu/Natal provincial constitution";
- That provincial constitutions, as well as the powers and functions of provinces in the interim constitution, be "entrenched";
- That the results of international mediation be incorporated in the Interim Constitution.

Buthelezi insisted that to "facilitate" participation in elections and the resolution of constitutional disputes, the election be postponed and that parties be given another chance to register.

# Azapo's anti-election campaign has support of majority of voters

Sowetan 12/4/94

**By Khathu Mamaila**

WHILE many political organisations are preparing for the April elections, the Azaman People's Organisation has intensified its campaign to discourage people from voting.

Azapo's convener of the anti-election committee in the Northern Transvaal, Mr Lekau Moyaha, told *Sowetan* that his region had prepared at least eight different documents on "voter education". The papers were being distributed in various villages and towns in the region, he said.

He said it was clear, judging from the

good attendance at the various workshops conducted by Azapo, that the vast majority in the region would not vote.

"We show the people that voting for people who oppressed them, like Chief Nelson Ramodike, would only prolong their slavery. This is not difficult for many to understand as there are constant strikes in Lebowa, Gazankulu and Venda by the civil servants demanding their rights.

"Yet the leaders of these bantustans are candidates within respectable organisations who should be voted for," Moyaha said.

He said most blacks in the region live in abject poverty and without land, adding that the Kempton Park deals did not address these fundamental issues of the liberation struggle.

"It should be clear that Azapo was not opposed to the elections but we say to our people if they should vote it should be for only two things: Transfer of power from the minority to the black majority and the economic emancipation," Moyaha said.

The region produced Azapo secretary-general Mr Don Nkadmeng, who provides leadership at local level too.

Q11A

# Crisis as talks falter

Sowetan 14/4/94



**By Mzimasi Ngudle**  
Political Staff

**T**ALKS TO BREAK THE CONSTITUTIONAL deadlock between the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party were plunged into crisis yesterday after a last-minute wrangle over the terms of reference

A meeting in Pretoria to resolve the crisis was adjourned last night to today. A Government spokesman said the IFP delegation was given an opportunity to take certain proposals to its principals

Problems surfaced after a dispute emerged over the inclusion of an election date to the terms of reference. This follows a draft agreement between the Government, the ANC and the IFP on Monday night on the terms of reference. The agreement was then put to the organisations' leaders for their responses.

IFP sources said their negotiators had reservations about the fact that mediation would not include the election date. IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi accused the ANC and the Government of sabotaging the mediation process. He said they were colluding to exclude the IFP from the April elections.

The IFP expressed concern that the phrasing of the terms of reference would bind it to the

election date, something it has categorically rejected.

IFP, ANC and Government negotiating teams were meeting in Pretoria last night to try and agree on terms of reference that would allow the international mediators to get on with their task.

The mediation team includes former US secretary of state Dr Henry Kissinger and former British foreign secretary Lord Carrington, who indicated that they would withdraw from mediation should the election date be included in the terms of reference. Kissinger said the election date was clearly not a subject of mediation.

He said the mediators were prepared only to mediate on constitutional issues, the implementation of which would be left to South Africans.

The ANC's Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the election date would not be subject to the mediation.

Kissinger and Carrington held talks with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday morning and were scheduled to meet Buthelezi.

Sources have indicated that Carrington and Kissinger may cut their visits short if some agreement on the terms of reference is not reached.

President F W de Klerk said yesterday he hoped the international mediation effort to resolve political differences would result in agreements that had long escaped the country.

He said Government negotiators had been instructed to be constructive rather than technical at mediation talks.

# Mediation bi

From Page 1

of the date Our position is that the date is sacrosanct we could not see ourselves engaging in negotiations on the date

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer has also said the IFP's only objective appears to be the postponing of the election

ANC and Government sources had been highly optimistic late on Tuesday that progress was possible on the basis of what they believed had been an agreement with the IFP

However, Ngubane said the IFP had indicated all along that it was not happy with the formulation of the clause as it precluded a postponement of the date

It was not an agreement It was co-operation to try to find an acceptable agreement

Another area of disagreement last night was when any deal reached in mediation would be included in the Interim Constitution

The Government and ANC be-

## d tottering

lieved this should be done after the election, but the IFP felt that if changes were necessary the election might have to be postponed so that Parliament could be recalled for amendments

Last night Ramaphosa said the IFP was to take a fresh proposal to Buthelezi in terms of which two separate documents would be placed before the mediator

One would deal with the terms of reference and the other on the implementation of agreements reached

### Explore

However, Ngubane said there had merely been discussion on this and it was simply a suggestion that they would explore

Buthelezi said yesterday that the Government's input on Tuesday had led to the inclusion in the terms of reference of a clause which specifically excluded the election date issue from the mediation

(47 Sauer Street Johannesburg)

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD ESTHER WAUGH and KAIZER NYATSUMBA

International mediators were locked in crisis talks this morning over the looming failure of their mission to South Africa

This follows yesterday's breakdown in talks between the ANC, the Government and the dissenting IFP over the mediators' terms of reference

The mediators, headed by former US secretary of state Henry Kissinger and former British foreign secretary Lord Carrington, met delegations from the three organisations last night

This morning the mediation team went into a meeting at their Johannesburg hotel, ap-



parently to decide on whether they should abandon their mission now

The IFP was arranging a central committee meeting on the issue in Ulundi, after failing to agree in five hours of negotiations with the ANC and Government on what the mediators would address

Despite guarded optimism by ANC and Government negotiators that a way out of the deadlock could be found, the IFP was downbeat

IFP negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane said "Any move from now would require a central committee meeting We don't have any mandate to give a

WISE men could decide today whether to pack it in and go home following deadlock on the election date

possibility of a solution until our central committee meets

He said he had spoken to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi after the three-way talks last night and the IFP president had indicated that the central committee would have to meet

The prospects of mediation actually getting off the ground now seem remote The mediators have already shown signs of impatience, indicating that they would leave the country if no progress was made They are expected to decide this morning when to leave

The three delegations were scheduled to meet the negotiators separately last night

Central to the differences between the parties is whether a reference to the election date should be included in the mediation team's terms of reference. The IFP does not want any reference, but apparently intends that the issue should go before the mediators The ANC and Government feel the mediators should not address the possible postponement of the election

Also in dispute is exactly who agreed to what at a meeting on Monday night The ANC and Government say IFP negotiators agreed to the inclusion of the date clause but Buthelezi blocked it when he got sight of the proposals

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said last night "Their ultimate objective is to get us in a situation where we negotiate on the postponement

To Page 3

Star 14/4/94

# Mediation bid

Crisis meeting after deadlock in three-party negotiations

TOTTERS

# Rally obstruction: ANC fined R50 000

Star 14/4/94

■ BY JASPER MORTIMER  
and DIRK NEL

The Independent Electoral Commission's tribunal has fined the ANC R50 000 for obstructing an NP rally in Venda last month and has dismissed its appeal against a suspended fine.

Delivering judgment in Pietersburg yesterday, Mr Justice Myburgh said the ANC behaviour had been deplorable.

The judge said the ANC's opposition to President de Klerk holding a meeting in Venda had clearly been organised, and was in breach of the electoral code.

The judge issued three permanent orders against the ANC. He prohibited the party from intimidating NP supporters, impeding NP meetings, and depriving NP supporters of their right to canvass and campaign in Venda.

Mr Justice Myburgh and two assessors found that ANC supporters, under the eye of their office-bearers, had burnt and destroyed NP T-shirts and posters at the Makhado shopping centre in Dzanani on March 9. The supporters had also obstructed De Klerk's motorcade at the Venda royal kraal.

On March 30 a lower-ranking IEC tribunal warned the ANC against such behaviour and imposed a fine of R100 000, suspended for four months.

The ANC appealed against the finding. Yesterday, the judge decided to fine the ANC R50 000, payable immediately. This supersedes the earlier judgment.

The judge also ordered the ANC to pay the entire costs of the appeal. (S. M. M. A.)

Tribunal observers said the sentence could have a profound effect on campaigning.

# ANC think tank set to tackle shape of future Cabinet

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

ANC president Nelson Mandela's future Cabinet will begin to take shape at the organisation's crucial two-day national executive committee (NEC) meeting which begins today.

ANC sources said the organisation's special NEC — extended to include regional leaders who are not normally NEC members — will discuss a host of important issues as the ANC, wide-

ly believed to be heading for victory in this month's election, gets down to making final preparations for governing.

This will include initiating discussions on Mandela's Cabinet, which will include members of other parties represented in the government of national unity.

According to the sources, a core group of senior ANC leaders has been hard at work over the past few weeks preparing for the period of governing after the election.

Some within the ANC, including the outspoken ANC Youth League, have long called for the appointment of a shadow Cabinet which would begin to acquaint itself with the actual day-to-day functioning of a government.

Until recently the ANC circles had not attached a sense of urgency to such a discussion. The meeting, postponed last week because of last Friday's four-way summit of leaders in Skukuza on "the Natal prob-

lem", will also deal with the contentious issue of designating the ANC's candidate for the first deputy presidency of the country after the election.

A potentially divisive issue, the question of who will be Mandela's first deputy president next month has so far been discussed in hush-hush tones within the ANC, according to the sources.

National chairman Thabo Mbeki and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa are the two

main candidates for the position. It will come from the biggest party if no more than one other party polls above 20 percent of the vote.

The second deputy president, so far widely expected to be NP leader F W de Klerk, will come from the second biggest party.

The sources said there were sensitivities over this discussion, with the two men's camps each making a strong claim for the position.  
(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

# Ex-leader of Islamic Party ordered to pay

Supreme Court Reporter

THE former leader of the Islamic Party was ordered in the Supreme Court yesterday to return to the party R65 000 donated by the Independent Electoral Commission

The order, by agreement between the party and Dr A Gamielien, was made after the Islamic Party brought urgent interdict proceedings

Mr Justice D van Zyl ordered Dr Gamielien to pay the Islamic Party R65 467,19 by 4 30pm yesterday and also to pay its costs

The parties recorded that the agree-

ment was in settlement of the Islamic Party's claims

In papers Mr Aly Khan, secretary-general of the party, said Dr Gamielien had been leader of the party, but had vacated his office on April 8 after the national executive passed a vote of no-confidence in him

The party had been allocated funding by the State Electoral Fund, and the treasurer, Mr Abdurouf Ismail, had been authorised to collect it

However, Dr Gamielien had collected the money and deposited it in a bank account he controlled and had refused to return it to the party

(11A) CT 15/4/94



THE SKUKUZA SUMMIT

Fm 15/4/94

# An exercise in futility?

11A ~~11B~~ ~~11C~~ ~~11D~~ ~~11E~~ ~~11F~~ ~~11G~~ ~~11H~~ ~~11I~~ ~~11J~~ ~~11K~~ ~~11L~~ ~~11M~~ ~~11N~~ ~~11O~~ ~~11P~~ ~~11Q~~ ~~11R~~ ~~11S~~ ~~11T~~ ~~11U~~ ~~11V~~ ~~11W~~ ~~11X~~ ~~11Y~~ ~~11Z~~

Maybe not, but the immediate consequences have done more harm than good



Over the past week, the four "democratic" leaders portrayed on our cover have contrived to do more harm to the economy and SA's democratic and peaceful aspirations than did the last "apartheid" presi-

dent, P W Botha, on that fateful evening of the Rubicon speech in Natal nine years ago when he balked at the implications of his own political innovation

The outcome of the summit put us in a worse position than the Rubicon reversal did all those years ago. Indeed, the four leaders gathered with what can only be seen to have been uncompromising aspirations

The tide of optimism that preceded Friday's meeting of the top four political leaders at a private bush camp near Skukuza in the Kruger National Park was short-lived

Confrontation rather than compromise dominated the day and the first gathering of the four may well have been their last. Let us pray for the sake of SA that it isn't. Panic in the financial markets (see *Economy*) in reaction to the failed talks illustrates how much our future is in their hands

Hopes for a breakthrough now rest with international mediators headed by Henry Kissinger and Lord Carrington. Their efforts are probably our last chance of a settlement in the short term, but the outlook is not good

The summit may well have hardened positions instead of opened the way for compromise. The faint hope that President FW de Klerk, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, Kwa-Zulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela would somehow find one another in the tranquillity

of the Kruger Park and pave the way for relatively peaceful elections in KwaZulu in less than a fortnight was wishful thinking

Failure was signalled more than four hours before the talks ended. The 80-strong media contingent flown in by the SA Air Force to await the outcome was given a scathing 12-page memorandum presented by Zwelithini to Mandela a chronological account of months of perceived insults by the ANC against the Zulu monarchy and people, and a new demand for restoration of the kingdom

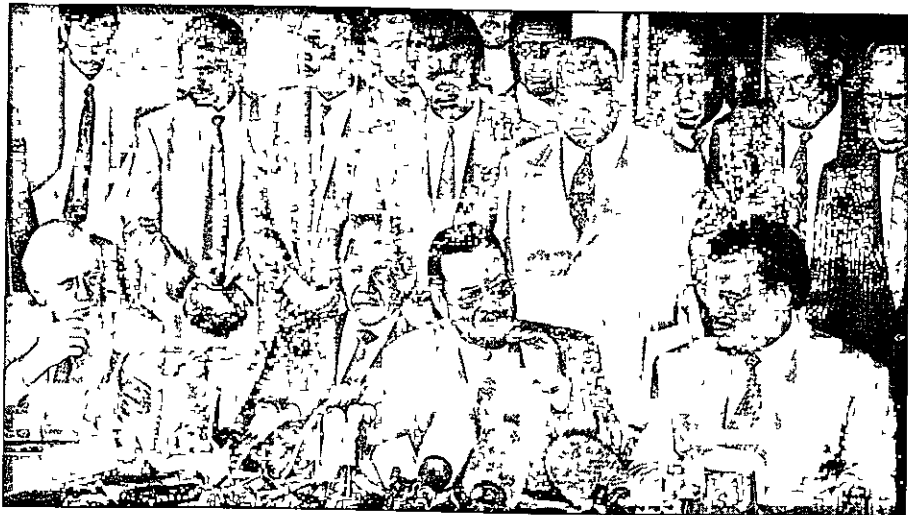
Though the meeting between the king and Mandela — their first ever — was initially scheduled as one-on-one, the king, relying on protocol, insisted on being accompanied by his entire delegation. ANC aides regarded this as a ploy by Buthelezi, the king's chief adviser, to ensure Mandela couldn't persuade the king to change his anti-election attitude in return for a high-profile constitutional position

Though upset by Zwelithini's attitude, Mandela nevertheless made a proposal to accommodate him in the regional constitution. The ANC had apparently been so confident that the plan would be accepted that it headed the document *Agreement between the ANC and the Royal House of KwaZulu*

But later, when a copy was circulated to journalists, ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the plan had "unfortunately" not been accepted and should therefore be regarded as a proposal, not an agreement

The full extent of the summit's failure became apparent only at the late-night press conference. It was announced jointly by the

four that the constitutional accommodation of the Zulu royal house was to be referred to a joint working group that had to report back within six days and that unresolved constitutional issues would be referred to international mediation. In other words, there had been no progress towards a settlement



Four on the floor De Klerk, Mandela, Zwelithini, Buthelezi

Buthelezi remained insistent that the election should be postponed and that registration of parties participating in the poll be reopened. This was emphatically rejected by Mandela: "There should be no doubt whatsoever about the election on April 27. We cannot postpone our freedom. We are determined to set up a government of our choice on that day."

Ever the optimist, De Klerk insisted that "important progress" had been made on "major issues" such as the constitutional accommodation of the Zulu monarchy. "I'm confident that the task group will come up with good results. There is already consensus. It is a question of putting it together."

Buthelezi disagreed. "Unfortunately, progress could not be made on fundamental issues," he said. Then, as if to emphasise his point, Buthelezi read a separate statement in which he and Zwelithini raised issues not addressed in the joint communiqué

Angered by not having been warned of Buthelezi's intention to issue a separate statement, Mandela responded with a bitter attack on Inkatha. All pretence of progress crumbled under the glare of the world's TV lights

Mandela said the ANC had gone out of its way to address the king's concerns and would press ahead with the accommodation of the monarchy in the regional constitution. He cautioned repeatedly against expecting miracles from the working group. He clearly believes time has run out for constitutional tinkering before April 27 and now wants the political crisis in KwaZulu to be resolved by

FM 15/4/94

11A 200/12/107

the new parliament after the election

It was not quite one minute to midnight, but close enough to be dramatically symbolic, when De Klerk intervened to prevent the press conference from degenerating into a destructive verbal duel between Mandela and Buthelezi. He rescued some unity of purpose by shifting the focus back to the summit's achievements and emphasised the "broad foundation" that had been laid.

Mandela took the cue and agreed, belatedly, that "tremendous progress" had been made. Buthelezi followed, acknowledging that it had not been "an exercise in futility."

But, when the press conference ended and the delegations gathered in tight, isolated knots to await executive jets to wing them back home, it was obvious to journalists, who were regaled with unflattering accounts of how rival delegates had behaved, that the situation remains dangerously grave.

As things stand, the election will go ahead without Inkatha in 12 days' time. Even if international mediation begins right away, there is scant hope of progress by April 27.

What, then, is the immediate outlook for the region and the country? As we noted (*Leaders* April 8), the unrest in many parts of the province is not conducive to a free and fair election. Even if the security forces succeed in bringing down the death rate, the climate of intimidation and fear will probably take years to ease.

Nevertheless, the election will be held in KwaZulu but on a smaller scale than initially planned. The IEC has reduced the number of polling stations in the region to allow greater concentrations of security forces at the stations and along access routes from nearby residential areas.

Unless no voting is possible anywhere in the province, which is most unlikely, the IEC will, in all probability, declare the poll there to be substantially free and fair, based on the votes that could be counted.

The IEC could justify this on a poll as low as 30% if it is assumed that there would have been a poll of at least 70% had Inkatha participated and that Inkatha has 50% of voter support in the region. A 30%-35% poll could therefore be regarded as a fair reflection of the views of voters other than Inkatha supporters. This means only 1,3m-1,5m of the province's 4,5m voters will need to vote for the poll to be considered legitimate.

According to Department of Home Affairs figures, more than 60% of voters are concentrated in 16 of the region's 66 magisterial districts, including 360 000 in Durban, 200 000 in Umlazi, 189 000 in Inanda,



Zwelithini



De Klerk

161 000 in Maritzburg, 121 000 in Chatsworth and 133 000 in Pinetown, all of which are relatively easy to police for three days of polling if security forces are deployed in sufficient numbers.

Central Statistical Service in Pretoria says there are 445 000 white and 500 000 Indian voters in KwaZulu/Natal, so a 70% poll among whites and 60% among Indians would alone provide more than 600 000 votes. Only about 20% of the 3,57m black voters would then have to vote to give a poll of around 30%. Chances are that substantially more will.

The outcome of the election in these conditions raises interesting possibilities, including an outside chance of an NP victory in the province if a significant number of Inkatha supporters defy Buthelezi to back the NP and a substantial number of ANC supporters stay away because of intimidation.

An ANC-dominated provincial government is more likely but with a strong NP component. The effect of a low poll in

KwaZulu/Natal will be felt at national level but not sufficiently to undermine overall credibility.

A 70% poll outside KwaZulu/Natal and 30% in the region will give an average poll of 62%. An 80% poll outside KwaZulu/Natal and 35% there will give an average of 71%.

The NP will probably gain most nationally by a low poll in Natal, which will almost certainly destroy what little chance the ANC has of gaining a two-thirds majority in the national assembly.

But Buthelezi and Inkatha will be far worse off. Speaking to journalists after the summit, ANC negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa made it clear that the KwaZulu government will cease to exist after the election. If necessary, Buthelezi, his Ministers and other elected and appointed political representatives will be forcibly removed from office.

As PM to his nephew, King Goodwill Zwelithini, Buthelezi will keep an important ceremonial role, but political power — and control of the purse strings — will rest, in all probability, with ANC regional leader Jacob Zuma and his national unity administration in Maritzburg.

A purge of Inkatha loyalists from the KwaZulu civil service and police is also likely, but most officials, not wishing to lose their jobs, are expected to have no difficulty switching allegiance.

Inkatha's future is difficult to determine. Though party workers continue to put up election posters in parts of Natal urging a vote for Inkatha "when the time comes," it certainly won't be on April 27.

The continued support of traditional leaders will be an important factor. Without patronage to dispense, Buthelezi may find that much of it evaporates, particularly if the ANC succeeds in portraying itself as a defender of the monarchy.

Lacking a constitutional platform from which to further their cause, Inkatha militants may consider some form of insurrection. But an armed struggle without substantial foreign backing in terms of bases and logistical and diplomatic support will be short-lived. Limited sabotage and other violent acts are a possibility, especially in concert with rightwing fanatics, and could cause considerable disruption for a while.

Peaceful resistance such as strikes and boycotts may have limited success, but most Inkatha supporters tend either to be migrant workers anxious to keep their jobs or rural dwellers not employed in the formal sector and lacking the financial muscle to sustain long-term consumer boycotts. Disruptive mass action will probably not be tolerated for long by the new government, particularly if it leads to violence.

The spectre of full-scale civil war and military action such as the air strikes now being mounted against Bosnian Serbs by UN forces in central Europe are mostly the product of overzealous reporters eager to squeeze the last iota of sensation from a story that needs no dramatic embellishment.

The SA Defence Force and SA Police are infinitely superior to any militia Inkatha may be able to muster and the new government is expected to use the security forces far more ruthlessly to stamp out the unrest than is currently the case. Some ANC leaders are already pointing to the effectiveness of previous states of emergency when thousands of dissidents were arrested within days of the security measures becoming effective and asking why the same is not happening now.

This potential within the ANC for a vicious backlash against Inkatha must not be underestimated. An important task of minority parties in the national assembly and of the international community will be to guard against it.

They must insist that



Mandela



Buthelezi

**THE BIG DEBATE** Feathers fly as leaders battle it out

# Mandela upstages FW in big debate

Sowetan 15/4/94

## ■ VISIBLE DUO

Leaders face the nation prior to April 27 poll:

By Themba Molefe  
Political Correspondent

**T**HE historic TV debate between two of South Africa's most visible political campaigners ended with the electorate probably confirming the theory that they are allies rather than adversaries

African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and National Party leader and State President FW de Klerk squared American-style before millions of local and international viewers last night.

But it was Mandela who, as a newcomer to electioneering, upstaged his more experienced counterpart.

Perhaps it was thanks to two United States consultants, Stanley Greenberg and Frank Greer, who were media advisers of the Bill Clinton presidential campaign.

They coached Mandela for his debut and at 2pm yesterday took him to the Civic Theatre in Braamfontein, Johannesburg, the venue, for a final rehearsal. If issues were expected to be at the heart of the debate, it was in fact the personalities of the two men that came to the fore.

In his opening remarks, De Klerk raised the fact that it was he who released Mandela in 1990 after 27 years in prison. This was in keeping with a promise he had made after coming to power when he had also guaranteed constitutional reforms.

De Klerk, to emphasise the "new" National Party's commitment to nonracialism, greeted the viewers in Zulu, Sotho, English and Afrikaans.

The ANC president acknowledged that it was indeed after his release that the course of change was affirmed.

"On the eve of this historic election, when South Africans will reclaim their homes, I am humbled to represent peo-



**BEFORE THE STORM ...** African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela shakes hands with State President FW De Klerk during a photo session prior to their big TV debate last night. PIC: SELLO MOTSEPE

ple who did the good work through their struggle during those 27 years of my imprisonment (Sowetan) (IIFA)

"There is much at stake about this election there is a need to end the very differences between ourselves as major players," said Mandela.

De Klerk said "Your vote will decide whether ours will be a good or bad beginning. The people have a choice."

The interviewing panel, Tim Modise, Lester Venter and Ferial Haffajee, all of the SABC, and John Simpson of the British Broadcasting Corporation, drove the debate and concentrated on issues as they successfully steered the two men away from personally attacking each other.

Venter went for the jugular when he asked De Klerk whether he (De Klerk) would be content with "taking a subservient role of "former State President in just two weeks"

De Klerk replied diplomatically "The NP is the most representative non-racial party. If the ANC comes to power I will be executive deputy president and will be proud to represent South Afri-

cans. That is what a government of national unity is all about. I will be happy with the outcome of a negotiated settlement. I have confidence in the future."

Venter continued by probing further. He asked whether the two leaders were aware that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's boycott of the process would lead to a struggle for secession waged from KwaZulu.

De Klerk said he was optimistic a solution was possible. Mandela said he would continue talking to Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

(T Molefe 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg)

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Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thlole, Newsbills, sub-editing and headlines by Mike Tssong and Sy Makaringe. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg. The reproduction or broadcast without permission of articles published in this newspaper on any current economic, political or religious topic, is forbidden and expressly reserved to Argus Newspapers Limited under Section 12 (7) of the Copyright Act 1978.

# Leadership row besets the Islamic Party

By Quentin Wilson

INTERNAL fighting within the Islamic Party has brought the organisation to a "state of virtual collapse" and it is in no condition "to effectively contest the election".

This is the view of estranged leader, Dr Abdullah Gamielien, who was given a vote of no-confidence last week by colleagues after failing to hand over a cheque of R65 000 to the fledgling party.

The cheque was a handout from the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and the money was supposed to be used for electioneering by the Islamic Party (IPA).

Gamielien told SOUTH this week that he was not prepared to step down because the decision against him was "unconstitutional". He intends taking legal action.

"The IEC recognises me as leader; my electorate recognises me. There is no way I'm standing down although I have become rather disillusioned with the party.

"The party is in a state of virtual collapse and is certainly not ready to contest the forthcoming election,"

15/4 - 19/4/94  
Gamielien said

He did not hand over the cheque because it would have been "irresponsible to hand over such a sum to a party in such disarray".

With the election just two weeks away, other members of the party's executive committee will hold a crisis meeting tonight to choose a new leader.

"Gamielien is not a good enough as a leader," said one party member who wished to remain anonymous. "He cannot run the party. He has not given the party its money. He does not keep appointments and he can't speak well on television. We are still looking for somebody who is respected in the Muslim community to take over."

But Gamielien said he would "not recognise" tonight's meeting and that the party "had no right" to choose another leader.

This is second leadership crisis to beset the Islamic Party since its formation last December.

The original leader was advocate Sheriff Mohamed who was ousted by Gamielien in January.

Q Wilson, 76 Darling Street, Cape Town.

# Oupa's party tries for coloured vote

By NORMAN WEST  
Political Reporter

THE latest political organisation vying for a slice of the Western Cape vote is the African Democratic Movement (ADM) of former Transkei leader Brigadier Oupa Joshua Gqozo. (IA)

According to the Western Cape secretary-general of the ADM, Mr Patrick Damonse, 32, the party is fielding 42 candidates in the region. The party had no problem getting the 3 000 names of ADM supporters required by the IEC for registration to contest the Western Cape elections, Mr Damonse said.

This proved that voters in the Western Cape were looking for a voice other than the established parties to speak on their behalf, he claimed.

The ADM's candidate for the premiership is Mr Leonard Schroeder, an insurance agent who lives in the Cape Flats suburb of Blue Downs.

Mr Schroeder said the party had "no funds to speak of" other than the initial

R15 000 from the ADM head office. Its total pre-election allocation would be R65 000. 17/4/94

He believes the ADM had political viability in the Western Cape. Although the party was not "pro-coloured" — "and therefore not racist" — they nevertheless believed that the Western Cape had a distinct "Cape culture". The majority of coloured voters needed to be represented by "their own people to preserve the Cape culture," Mr Schroeder said.

The fact that the ADM leader was a Xhosa-speaking black man proved that it was not a "coloureds only" party. The party's deputy leader is Mr George Thunzi from Sir Lowry's Pass.

Two Afrikaners, Mr Arthur Janse van Vuuren, a Mossel Bay butcher, and Mr Johan Jordaan, who holds a senior position with a large insurance company, are included on the ADM's Western Cape candidates' list.

(Report by N West, 122 St Georges Mall, Cape Town)



LEADING THE CROWD ... Nelson Mandela on the election campaign trail at Umlazi stadium

Picture: RICHARD SHOREY

# ANC chief sings praises of the Zulu monarch

By SIMON BARBER

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday led a crowd of less than enthusiastic supporters in singing the praises of King Goodwill Zwelithini at a rally at Umlazi stadium outside Durban.

Promises that an ANC government would create jobs drew a far more excited response.

Mr. Mandela applauded the Zulu monarch, whom he called "not just my leader, but my king" for his peace call after a meeting with churchmen on Friday.

The crowd grew listless when Mr. Mandela read out, with parallel translation into Zulu, a modified version of the proposal he put to King Zwelithini at the Skukuza summit last week.

The response was no more animated

when he urged his followers "not to hate the chiefs", but to grant them "respect" if they followed the king's plea to end the killing.

Under the amended proposal, the ANC is willing to continue negotiations with the king on his "rights and powers" with regard to communal land, which previously were to be prescribed by the new provincial assembly.

The proposal retains references to a new Kwazulu/Natal House of Traditional Leaders, members of which could be appointed to a privy council to advise the king.

The rally went off without incident, with security forces maintaining a low profile.

(News by S Barber, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

*S Times 17/4/94*

# New ANC tactics to beat Nats

SI Times [Cimetro]  
17/4/94

By NORMAN WEST  
Political Reporter

IN AN all-out effort to prove wrong poll predictions of a National Party victory in the Western Cape, the ANC will be rolling out the big guns as part of their final thrust in their election campaign

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela will arrive in Cape Town this morning to participate in a communion service to celebrate the unification of the DRC Mission Church and the Dutch Reformed Church RC in Africa. He will then address a rally at the Athlone stadium.

Another ANC heavyweight, Mr Steve Tswete, will arrive tomorrow.

Shocked by recent opinion polls which predicted a probable NP victory in the Western Cape, the ANC has undergone a complete rethink of its election strategy.

The new strategy involves stepped-up door-to-door canvassing with ANC members visiting hundreds of homes in coloured areas every day. The coloured vote will almost certainly

decide which party will emerge victorious at the polls.

Proof of the difference in focus between the ANC and the NP on voter canvassing in the final stages of the election is that on Friday the ANC's programme showed 17 political meetings scheduled for the Peninsula, of which 11 were to be addressed by the ANC's premier-designate, Dr Allan Boesak.

In contrast, the NP's programme showed only three meetings, one in Springbok and one in Port Nolloth, both to be addressed by Foreign Minister Pik Botha and one in Witsand, to be addressed by the deputy Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Lampie Fick.

Observers believe the NP has become complacent about their support in the Cape metropolitan area and are focusing their attention on canvassing support in the rural areas where they could face a bigger threat from the ANC, while the ANC is pulling out all stops to canvass in urban areas.

This theory is born out by the findings of the head of the IEC's monitoring group in the Western Cape, Prof

Wilmot James

According to Prof James, the ANC appears to be more active than the NP in the Western Cape, possibly because it has to work harder, he says, after opinion polls had shown that in terms of voter support, the ANC lags behind.

He said an analysis of all the meetings in the week from March 28 to April 3 in the Western Cape showed that 84,1 percent took place without any incidents and in the week April 4 to April 11, 82,1 percent took place without incident.

(News by N West, 122 St Georges Mall, Cape Town)

# Battle is on for Muslim 'halaal vote' in election

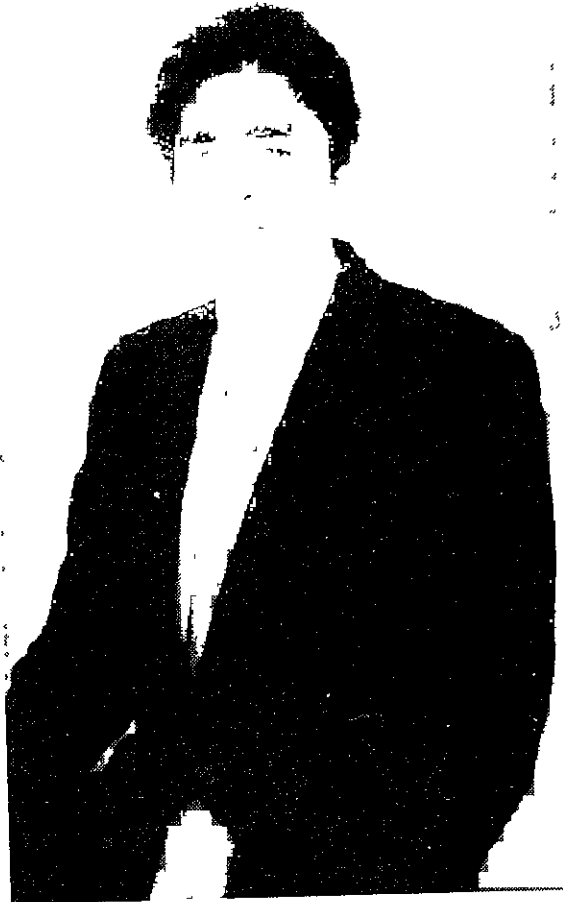
By NORMAN WEST  
Political Reporter

THE battle is on for the "Halaal vote" of the Cape Muslims

Not only are the major parties like the ANC, PAC, NP and DP vying for the support of this influential section of the coloured community — but now other minor parties have joined the race for the Muslim vote with saturation house-to-house campaigns

In the latest development this week, Mr Sheriff Mohamed, an advocate of the Supreme Court, snatched back the leadership of the Cape-based Islamic Party of South Africa (IPSA) which he had lost to the recently deposed IPSA leader, Dr Abdullah Gamiel-dien, a few weeks ago

The tiny party will now be faced with a tricky situation, it will have the face of its deposed leader alongside the party's name on millions of ballot papers. The ballot papers cannot be altered as they have already been printed



MR SHERIFF MOHAMED

## Disappointed

Also on the ballot papers will be the name of the rival Transvaal-based Muslim Party, called the Africa Muslim Party (AMP) with the picture and face of its leader, Imtiaz Suliaman.

The AMP says boldly in its election material "this party is for your halaal vote. We are anti-abortion on demand, anti-communist, anti-homosexual, anti-casinos and anti-gambling" — sentiments shared by the IPSA

This week Dr Gamiel-dien was ordered by the Supreme Court to hand over R65 000 to the IPSA. The R65 000 — from the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) — was deposited by him in an unauthorised IPSA account opened by him

## Stability

The court was told by the IPSA's secretary-general, Mr Aly Khan, that Dr Gamiel-dien had acted contrary to party rules which stipulated all that money should be deposited into IPSA's official account

The party urgently needed the money to pay campaign expenses of about R25 000, he said in papers before the court

Dr Gamiel-dien and the IPSA settled the matter out of court and Mr Justice van Zyl made the agreement that he return the money to IPSA an order of the court

Mr Mohamed was the founder leader of the IPSA but was himself ousted and replaced earlier after party members

criticised his "egotistic" style 17/4/94

Apart from the cheque debacle, Dr Gamiel-dien was also criticised by the IPSA executive members for not projecting the party policies forcefully enough through the media

The Mohamed/Gamiel-dien leadership tangle has once again shown up the deep division among the Muslim religious group over where they should pledge their political loyalties (11/4)

The IPSA has declared itself to be against the ANC and earlier accused the AMP of sowing

disunity by not wanting to merge with the Islamic Party (IP)

This squabble between IPSA and the AMP has been taken out of the public domain and put on the backburner after the two parties recently pledged themselves to an "accord of unity and co-operation"

Both parties pledged to pursue the formation of a "coalition" after the April 27 elections

Should this happen a new fight for power and jockeying for position is in the offing

(News by N West, 122 St Georges Mall, Cape Town)



# Local squatter chiefs 'will support ANC'

Political Staff

SQUATTER leaders in the Peninsula meet at the KTC camp in Nyanga today to announce the temporary suspension of their organisations and their support for the ANC

Mr Bulelani Ngcuka, the ANC's regional information chief, confirmed at the weekend a claim by KTC leader Mr Gladstone Ntamo that all the established squatter umbrella organisations would be suspended indefinitely.

Mr Ntamo said this was to show the extent of squatter support for the

CT 18/4/94 (11A)  
ANC, which he claimed was "virtually total" in the Peninsula

The exceptions are Site C in Khayelitsha and Driftsands squatter camp, which are NP and PAC strongholds, respectively

The squatter leaders expected to attend the meeting would represent 12 of the 14 major Peninsula squatter camps

The organisations to be disbanded at the meeting are the South African National Civics Organisation, the Western Cape United Squatters' Association and the Western Cape Civic Association

Star 18/4/94 (11A)

## Ramaphosa takes off gloves

"I think he would be wise to adopt the approach that poor Oupa Gqozo did — when he realised things were getting serious, he moved aside.

"Nobody wants to have to do a Mangope on him (Buthelezi)."

The ANC secretary general said the best advice to Buthelezi was to return to the negotiating table and to "study again" the ANC's revised offer to King Goodwill Zwelethini, which sought to "restore his glory"

"We would like Buthelezi to come to talk to Nelson Mandela right now. If he does it after the election, it will have to be with great humility, because this election is going to humble him ... when the people of Natal vote, including IFP supporters, they

will vote Jacob Zuma in."

Ramaphosa added: "We are trying to give Mangosuthu Buthelezi a dignified way out. After the election, nobody will be thinking about him. We are trying to avoid that."

In his speech, Peter Mokaba said there were "people who are trying to get us to postpone the election. We are saying no"

He warned: "We will meet them with what they bring ... Let Inkatha come — let's see what they can do."

Turning his attention to the right wing, Ramaphosa said people were being "made to believe that this (the northern Transvaal) is right-wing territory. From town to town, we see signs saying 'Herdie is ons Volkstaat'

"Well, we will never allow a Volkstaat here and the sooner they realise that the better."

He said the right wing had been "taught a good lesson" about its own limitations in Bophuthatswana, "and we will teach them exactly the same lesson, if not worse, if they try to disrupt the election"

Ramaphosa railed at the PAC, saying: "If they want votes, let them organise themselves, hold meetings like this one. They want to ride on the back of the ANC, just as they have done since 1959"

"This time, we will not allow them to do so. We say — you are doing no work to advance our struggles."

(47 Sauer Street, Jo'burg)

ANC seeks reply from Zulu king

# Buthelezi no spent force, says Mandela

Star 18/4/94

BY NORMAN CHANDLER

Ladysmith — To dismiss KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi as a spent force is "a dangerous illusion", says ANC president Nelson Mandela.

He is seeking an urgent meeting with King Goodwill Zwelithini this week to reach a settlement on the ANC's offer for a constitutional monarchy to be set up in KwaZulu/Natal, and to ensure the participation of Zulus in the election.

Speaking at a rally in Ladysmith on Saturday, Mandela said no date had been set for a follow-up summit to the Skukuza conference, 10 days ago.

The ANC has, it is understood, offered the king constitutional powers which would see him involved in every sphere of government in KwaZulu/Natal. Mandela said details were to be released this week, possibly today.

He said the king's call last week to Zulus to desert from violence was praiseworthy and important. "The statement by the king suggests to me the king is

**VENTURING into KwaZulu/Natal at the weekend, the ANC leader reveals that this is where he will cast his vote**

very worried about the situation. There are ongoing discussions about it between the ANC and the king."

The king's call came after an urgent meeting on Friday with religious leaders concerned about escalating violence.

Speaking at a press conference after addressing about 12 000 supporters — mostly young children and students — in eZakhami, near Ladysmith, Mandela said he was no longer concerned about KwaZulu/Natal being a major problem for the ANC, nor was he worried about a free and fair election being realised.

"I shall go as far as to say that I intend to vote in KwaZulu

on election day," he added. "It is quite clear that there is the possibility of having a free and fair election in this province.

"I will want to move around in no-go areas here because the people here want to participate, they want to vote, and I will want to vote with them."

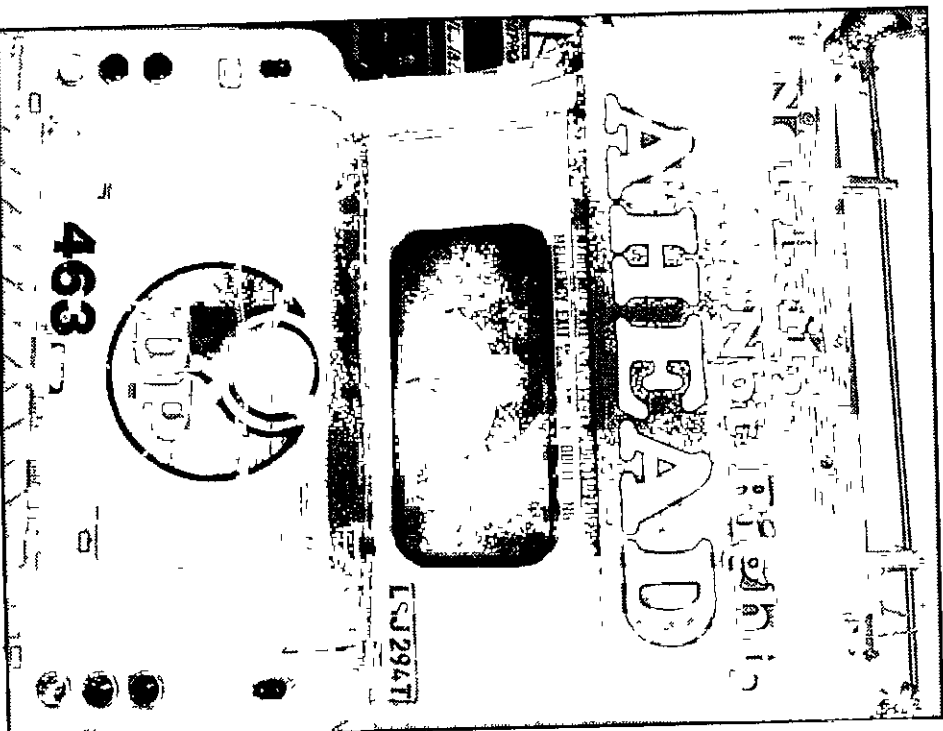
Mandela said he had not mentioned Buthelezi by name at the rally because he was concentrating on "the argument" rather than an individual.

"I do not regard him as finished. That is a dangerous illusion," he said. "The Inkatha Freedom Party is an important organisation. If we want peace, we have to talk to everybody. We want a united South Africa; it is an inclusive process as far as the ANC is concerned."

Mandela said the ANC had established a code of conduct after claims that members were breaking up Democratic and National Party meetings. He warned that members would be expelled and that political tolerance was required.

(216 Vermeulen St, Pretoria)

## Election battle



Surveying the damage . . . DP PWV campaign manager Paul Asherson on the party's 'battle bus', which was ambushed by ANC supporters in KwaThema, on the East Rand, on Friday.

PICTURE: JACOB RYKLIFF

# Voting lessons from Cyril

Star 18/4/94



■ BY SHAUN JOHNSON

Malamulele — Cyril Ramaphosa has a seriously cute line in last-minute voter education

"If you are confused about two ballots," he tells an enthusiastic crowd in a rudimentary far-north soccer stadium, "then do this. On the first ballot vote ANC. On the second ballot vote ANC. If there's a third ballot, or a tenth ballot, vote ANC

"And if there's some mistake and they give you 1 000 ballots, still vote ANC." The crowd roars with laughter and bubbles with expectancy.

There are precious few days left to campaign for the election, and at the weekend Ramaphosa left behind his negotiating tie, rolled up his elegant sleeves, and headed for the dusty extremities of the Northern Transvaal to make doubly sure that the ANC's confidence — it expects to win the region handsomely — is justified.

The union-leader-turned-party-boss-likely-to-turn-Cabinet-Minister at the very least turned in a virtuoso performance at the well-attended Malamulele stadium, near Giyam, on the remote road to Duwelskloof. One of his concerns was to make sure that those who intended to vote ANC didn't botch it in the ballot booth.

There were fears that voters might confuse the pictures of two particular leaders, he said. His solution? "Look for the most handsome face on the ballot paper . . . that is Nelson Mandela's. He and Clarence Makwetu are not the same, comrades. The one is the very best, and the other is (heavy ironic pause) okay, just okay. Vote for the very best."

Ramaphosa titillated his audience with premeditatedly undiplomatic put-downs of the National Party. "At the television debate, FW de Klerk put in a job application to Nelson Mandela. We are going to advise comrade Mandela to see what job he can give him. There is a garden at Parliament that needs fixing."

But the ANC secretary-general turned serious, too. People were wondering what would

happen in KwaZulu, he said, and the answer was clear. "After the 27th and 28th of this month all governments in this country — and we have many Mickey Mouse governments — will cease to exist. The KwaZulu government will cease to exist and everyone there who is a Minister will no longer be a Minister."

There would be no postponement of the election anywhere, Ramaphosa said, "not even for one hour" — though negotiations with the king of the Zulus and the IFP would continue in earnest.

But Ramaphosa's pet subject matter — and by far the best received — concerned the personality of his leader, Mandela.

"You look at Nelson Mandela and you can see who speaks like a president," he said. "Put him next to De Klerk and you can see who is the real president already, even before the election."

Ramaphosa preseed the point. "If you have seen Mandela walk, you see he walks like a president. I have seen him eating food at the table — he eats like a president. I have seen him sleep. Even when he has the bedclothes pulled up, you can see that here lies a president."

"I think he dreams like a president, too."

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

# Nongwe ditches PAC

## Political Staff

TWO powerful squatter leaders on the PAC's provincial parliamentary list claiming to represent some 60 000 voters distanced themselves from the party yesterday and said they were "solidly behind the ANC"

Mr Jeffrey Nongwe, chairman of the Western Cape United Squatters' Association (Wecusa) and Mr Jerry Tutu of Macassar's Village Five, were asked to explain their presence at a major

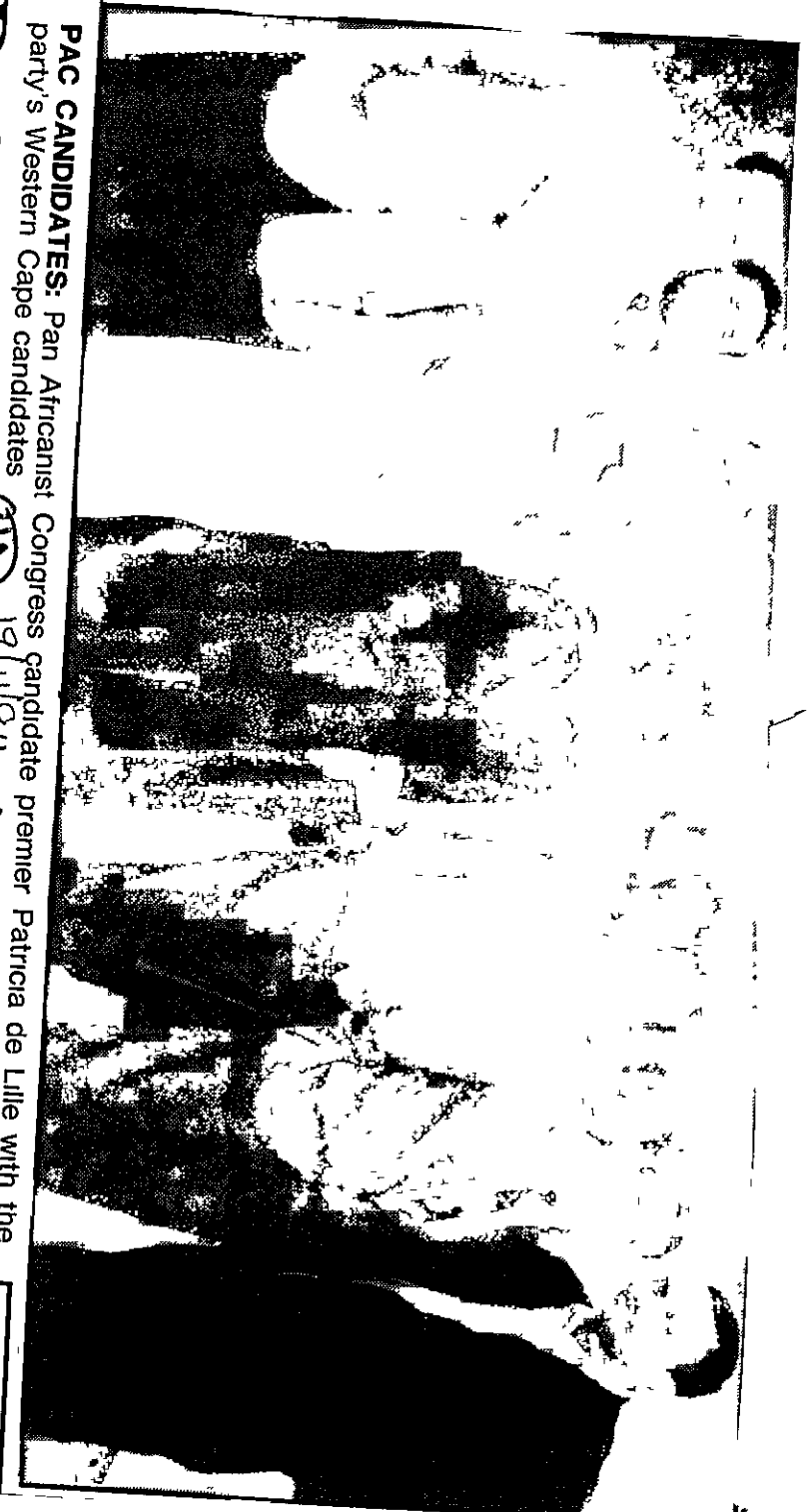
squatter endorsement of the ANC in KTC yesterday

Mr Nongwe said he had "gone into the PAC house to inspect it and decided I did not like it"

Both men said they wanted it made "crystal clear" they were no longer representing the PAC and backed the squatter ANC initiative

PAC regional premiership candidate Ms Patricia de Lille said she would want an explanation from both men

(11A) CT 19/4/94



**PAC CANDIDATES: Pan Africanist Congress candidate premier Patricia de Lille with the party's Western Cape candidates**

**De Lille call to speed up trials**

(TIA) 19/4/94

Argus. Picture DOUG PITHELY. The Argus

**Political Staff**

THE State should speed up the trials arising from the St James Church and Heidelberg Tavern massacres because the Pan Africanist Congress "remains guilty in the minds of the people as long as the matter is delayed", says the PAC's regional premier candidate, Patricia De Lille.

Although the PAC and Azanian People's Liberation Army had condemned the atrocities, it suited the media and State to create the impression that these organisations had been involved, she said.

Her comments, during a press conference in Kenilworth yesterday, come two weeks after the bail of three PAC regional officials held in connection with the Heidelberg massacre was extended.

A 17-year-old youth is expected to appear in connection with the St James killings in the Supreme Court next month.

Mrs De Lille said "This must be rectified immediately. If there are suspects, they should be charged and brought to trial now."

"As long as this matter is delayed, the PAC will remain guilty

in the minds of the people."

Mrs De Lille questioned the notion that coloured people had the balance of power in the region.

She said the last census in black areas was based on aerial surveys.

Later Barney Desai, PAC national executive member and national assembly candidate, said an alliance with the ANC was possible only after the elections because the PAC wanted to gauge its support at the polls.

(News by V Bavuma 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)

# Union calls on workers to vote for the ANC

APR 19 14 1974  
SHARON SOROUR  
Labour Reporter

FEARS of escalating violence in the Western Cape if the National Party wins the regional election has prompted Nactu-aligned trade union leader Brian Williams to call on all workers to support the ANC

Unlike its counterpart Cosatu, trade union federation Nactu (National Council of Trade Unions) is believed to be sympathetic to the Pan Africanist Congress. The majority of its members belong to the PAC

Mr Williams, acting regional secretary of Nactu, said the NP's racist campaign and its ability to create tension between coloureds and Africans had prompted his decision

He said "I am calling on all workers in the Western Cape to support the ANC because in spite of having strong reservations of the organisation and being critical of its policies, the ANC is in the best position to defeat the NP."

There was a strong possibility the NP would come to power in the Western Cape, which represented "a great danger for the region given the party's oppressive history and the strategy being used to fight the election"

"From a political point of view, if the region goes to the Nats, Nactu might well regard it as not being liberated, and will continue the struggle until it is liberated," said Mr Williams

Nactu and Cosatu had formulated a joint approach to expose the racist NP campaign and the destructive consequences if the NP gained control of the region

Mr Williams said "To win votes the NP have used racism as a key instrument in their campaign and have openly used people classified as coloured to instil fear in people and to distort certain realities, namely that blacks are violent people, and through the now-banned racist booklet"

The NP's approach would divide workers, who were fast becoming openly antagonistic towards each other in certain factories in the Western Cape

(News by S. Sorour, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)

# Squatters will be urged to vote ANC

□ Western Cape leaders repudiate provincial legislature candidatures for PAC

Leaders represented at yesterday's meeting included Enoch Madywabe of Brown's Farm with an estimated 30 000 voters, Macassar Village Five with 60 000 and Noko de Viliers from Mpetha and Mpinga Square camps with 8 000

Mr Ntamo said the leaders came from various organisations such as the Western Cape United Squatters Association and civic bodies, but would unite for the sole purpose of organising votes for the ANC

On April 24 the coalition would organise a rally to be addressed by Transkei strongman Bantu Holomisa

The leaders would try to persuade Mali Hoza, the former Khayelitsha mayor, and Johnson Ngxobongwana of Driftsand to leave the National Party, which was "the nest of the enemy"

The two men are candidates on the National Party provincial list

Mr Ntamo said "When our people vote we wish to ask them to remember who destroyed Nyanga Bush, Portland Cement and KTC during the witdoek wars

"They should remember who killed our people. They should also remember who detained our leaders

"The Nats are saying that the Nats are new but we don't trust them"

His views were echoed by Mr Madywabe of Brown's Farm, who said most squatters had no creches because of NP policies.

"We are tired of living in areas without site and services facilities. We don't want to live in the bushes in our land"

(News by V Bavuma, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)

VUYO BAVUMA  
Political Staff

WESTERN Cape squatter leaders have promised to persuade 230 000 squatters to vote for the African National Congress in what they describe as an effort to improve squatter lifestyles.

And two leaders, Jeffrey Nongwe, the former Crossroads chairman, and Jerry Tutu, of Macassar, repudiated their provincial legislature candidatures for the Pan Africanist Congress and declared their full support for the ANC. Mr Nongwe was number 32 on the list while Mr Tutu was number 22.

At a Press conference in KTC yesterday, Gladstone Ntamo of KTC said the decision to organise squatters for the ANC was taken because there was confusion among people about what role to play in the election. He said it was clear that the ANC's policies would adequately cater for the squatters.

11A  
APR 19 | 4 | 94



# NEWS Way open for return to Commonwealth ● Police criticise shooting of marchers

# Makwetu, FW sort out differences

## Sowetan Correspondent

THE Pan Africanist Congress will today seek a meeting with the Transitional Executive Council with a view to joining the council so that cadres of the organisation's military wing can be part of the new defence force to be formed after the elections  
Sources said this development fol-

lowed yesterday's first one-on-one meeting between PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu and President FW de Klerk, at which progress was reported to have been made on a number of issues.  
PAC political affairs secretary Mr Jaki Seroke, who was in Makwetu's delegation, said his organisation would meet the TEC today with a view to joining the multiparty body.

He said the organisation's man-  
certains had been the granting of inden-  
nity to cadres of its military wing, the  
Azaman People's Liberation Army, and  
Apla's inclusion in the new South Afri-  
can National Defence Force to be  
formed after the elections.  
Yesterday's summit followed a simi-  
larly successful meeting between the  
SA Defence Force and the Apla leader-

ship early last week  
Although the TEC, whose brief was  
to ensure levelling of the political play-  
ing field, has no more than three ses-  
sions left before a government of na-  
tional unity takes office, it is important  
for the PAC to be part of this body if it  
is to serve on the TEC's sub-council on  
defence.  
Seroke said yesterday's meeting ad-

dressed issues outstanding from the days  
of the multiparty negotiating council,  
"but specifically the TEC". "They  
(Makwetu and De Klerk) discussed the  
finest points of their differences and the  
meeting was able to address these issues  
successfully. Issues between Apla and  
the SADF have been finalised  
(Report by C Whitfield and K Nyatumba, 47  
Sauer St, Jhb)

Sowetan 19/2/94



Photographers rush to the aid of freelancer Greg Marinovitch (left) after he was shot during violence in Tokoza yesterday. Nearby *The Star's* chief photographer Ken Oosterbroek (above) lay dead after being hit by the same gunmen firing from a hostel. Another photographer Juda Ngwenya was also injured. See page 2. PIC LEN KUMALO

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# IFP in poll bid

Sowetan 19/4/94

**By Themba Molefe**  
Political Correspondent and Sapa

**A**S VIOLENCE SHOOK the country yesterday there were positive signs that the Inkatha Freedom Party may still be included in South Africa's first all-race election next week.

Last-ditch talks between the Government, African National Congress and IFP to find an inclusive solution for the IFP in the transition process had no specific outcome and were postponed to today.

But IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he was confident the talks would produce results.

Speaking after meeting President FW de Klerk and the ANC's Mr Cyril Ramaphosa in Pretoria, Buthelezi said it was physically possible but practically impossible to take part in the elections because it would afford the IFP only a few days of campaigning.

Asked if he advocated the postponement of the elections, Buthelezi said he did not think there was any possibility they would be postponed.

On Sunday night Buthelezi had allegedly laid siege at the Independent Electoral Commission offices in an effort to secure a late-

hour registration.

Sources told *Sowetan* that Buthelezi met with senior officials of the IEC in Pretoria at which he was said to have "pleaded" for political survival.

The IEC had not confirmed this at the time of going to Press yesterday.

Seventeen people, including a photo journalist, died between Saturday and yesterday on the East Rand, while 26 were killed in politically motivated violence in Natal.

IFP Transvaal political director and central committee member Mr Themba Khoza told *Sowetan* yesterday "Last night (Sunday) we were ready to announce our participation in the election."

However, he blamed ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela for "reneging at the last minute."

ANC chief media officer Mr Carl Niehaus dismissed Khoza's allegation. He however said the ANC would be "overjoyed" were the IFP to contest because this would be in line with his organisation's aim to have an all-inclusive election.

He was optimistic that it was possible the IEC would be "open minded" although it was "nearly too late."

In terms of the interim constitution the IFP or any party that had not done so may register, but only for provincial elections and not for national seats.

(Report by T. Molefe, 61 Commando Road Industria West Johannesburg, and R. Matlala, 141 Commissioner Street Johannesburg.)

● See also page 2

19/4/94  
**Sebe gets  
Star  
'pardon'** (11A)

East London — ANC president Nelson Mandela "pardoned" former Ciskei head of state Lennox Sebe for past mistakes.

Sebe sat on the podium as Mandela addressed about 2 000 chiefs and commoners at the Rharhabe Great Place at Mngqesha. Mandela said it was necessary to pardon chiefs who had made mistakes, but the chiefs would have to apologise to the people.

All Ciskei civil servants sacked en masse several years ago by Brigadier Oupa Gqozo would be reinstated by a post-April 27 government, Mandela added. — Sapa.

(MacLennan, Press Gallery, Parliament)

# PAC eyes TEC for sake of cadres

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA  
and CHRIS WHITFIELD

The Pan Africanist Congress will seek a meeting with the Transitional Executive Council today with a view to joining the council so that cadres of the organisation's military wing can be part of the new defence force to be formed after the election, sources say.

This development follows yesterday's first one-on-one meeting between PAC leader Clarence Makwetu and President de Klerk.

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke, who was in Makwetu's delegation, told The Star his organisation's main concerns were the granting of indemnity to cadres of its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, and Apla's inclusion in the new SA National Defence Force (SANDF).

## Agreements

He said Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee was present at the meeting and agreements were reached on both issues.

Yesterday's summit followed a similarly successful meeting between the SANDF and the Apla leaders last week.

Seroke said yesterday's meeting addressed issues outstanding from the days of the multiparty Negotiating Council, "but specifically the TEC".

"They (Makwetu and De Klerk) discussed the finest points of their differences and the meeting was able to address these issues successfully (We are now of the view that) the TEC can accommodate the concerns of the PAC."

De Klerk said the discussions had been held in a good spirit. The Government had suggested that the PAC should abandon its armed struggle — to date it has suspended it — and become part of the TEC structures.

# Top union wins right to campaign for ANC

ANC 20/4/94

11A

□ Clothing workers may canvass, but not coerce

**SHARON SOROUR**  
Labour Reporter

THE Western Cape's largest union — and Cosatu's number three affiliate — has won the right to campaign for the African National Congress during working hours

In terms of a far-reaching ruling by an Independent Electoral Commission tribunal, the SA Clothing and Textile Workers' Union (Sactwu) has been given the go-ahead to campaign and conduct voter education programmes during lunch and tea breaks on factory premises of employers belonging to the Cape Clothing Manufacturers' Association and the Cape Knitting Industry Association

But, in terms of the Electoral Act, the parties are bound by the electoral code of conduct, which allows employers to block the union's plans if disharmony or violence might result from the campaigning

This comes as the election contest over the coloured vote in the Western Cape intensifies in the final days of the campaign

Tribunal presiding officer Bashier Waglay said in a statement that attendance at meetings where voter education, campaigning and canvassing would take place should be open to all employees of the particular company, and no employee may be refused permission to be present or be forced to be present

Mr Waglay suggested IEC monitors be included during meetings "in the interests of avoiding any possible conflict"

The union was ordered to give employers no less than 24 hours' written notice of its intention to campaign or educate voters, with the notice period not applying to Saturdays and Sundays

Commenting on the judgment, CCMA executive director Peter Cragg said it was never the intention of employers to limit free political expression

"We attempted to secure peace and harmony in our workplaces in very difficult circumstances" said Mr Cragg "In the light of the decision, it seems we may have been excessively cautious in our approach, but only time and experience of the consequences of

the decision will prove whether that was the case or not"

The dispute, which arose when employers refused to allow Sactwu to campaign during work hours, was referred to the IEC for mediation, but it subsequently failed

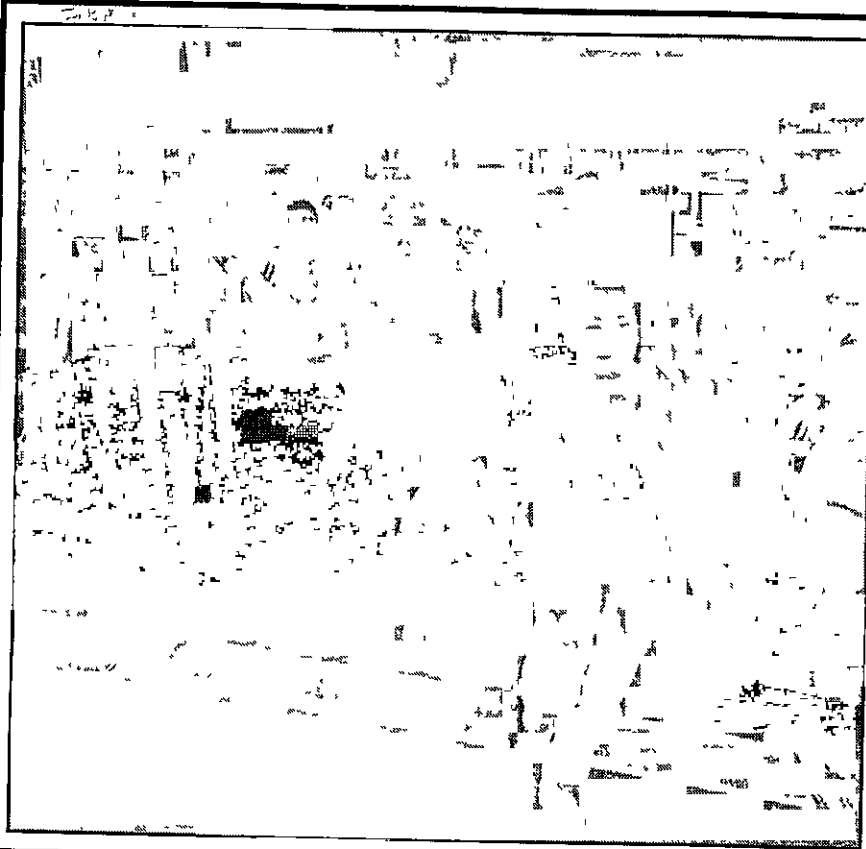
Mr Cragg said the rights of employers had not been eroded in any way in terms of the Electoral Act "which says if there is reasonable apprehension that these meetings may be disruptive, employers have the right to deny the union access"

Mr Waglay said at the hearing it emerged that, in the past, the union had been allowed to hold meetings during lunch and tea breaks on a number of controversial issues and that these had taken place without much incident

Mr Cragg, who described the ruling as "unique", said "It is an example for the rest of the country and encouraging that parties can resolve their differences within the framework of the law by using the institutions provided by the law"

Sactwu deputy general secretary Ebrahim Patel could not be reached for comment

## knuckles ● New defence force discussed



About 150 South Korean dissident students attack the Ministry of National Defence in Seoul, South Korea, during US Defence secretary William Perry's visit to the ministry yesterday. They were protesting against Perry's visit and the arrival of US Patriot missiles in South Korea.

PIC. AFP

# Now PAC joins TEC

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday joined the Transitional Executive Council — only a few days before the interim governing body's brief is concluded

Effectively, this means the PAC will now be able to take part in all TEC structures, including the sub-council on defence which is currently looking into the establishment of a National Defence

Force Its participation in the TEC follows talks earlier this week between a Government delegation led by President FW de Klerk and a PAC delegation led by president Mr Clarence Makwetu

TEC spokesman Mr Dries van Heerden said the PAC had been granted observer status in the TEC since these talks ~~(30/11)~~ (11A)

He said the general principle was that the PAC would "most certainly be welcome" in the council

The PAC's participation in the TEC would also pave the way for the integration of the cadres of its military wing, the Azaman People's Liberation Army (L Luti, 61 Commando Road, Industria, Johannesburg)

# They're not sorry for staying out of the polls

Sowetan 2114194

By Tyrone August  
Political Reporter

■ **KEY PLAYER** Azapo in particular is convinced it still has a crucial role to play in the years ahead:

**T**HE chorus of voices outside the elections became a lot more subdued when the IFP decided to go to the polls next week.

Among those voices who remain outside are the Azaman People's Organisation and the Conservative Party

Both organisations, however, remain confident about their decision to boycott next week's election.

Azapo, in particular, is convinced it still has a crucial role to play in the years ahead.

"We see ourselves as an extra-parliamentary organisation which will act in the same way as any other extra-parliamentary organisation throughout the world," said Azapo official Mr Strini Moodley.

"That is to bring pressure to bear on governments to eliminate laws that are most inimical to the great majority of the people"

Moodley, Azapo's secretary to the presidential office, identified several key tasks for the organisation

"Azapo will continue to advocate greater democracy," he said.

"We intend to continue our efforts at ensuring that black people will be given the opportunity to exercise democracy to the fullest."

Azapo is also determined to campaign for a greater economic restructuring of the society, and for a greater redistribution of resources and land

Programmes of development and construction will feature prominently in these plans

In addition, it will try to ensure that the independence of trade unions and the rights of workers are entrenched

"Azapo will also advocate the implementation of a policy which reduces taxes amongst the working class, and increases taxes in the business sectors," said Moodley

Another major target for Azapo is what it regards as "the huge bureaucracies" which will follow the election

It plans to advocate the reduction of the number of regions that will exist after the election

"The existence of several regions, however they may be described, allows greater bureaucracy," Moodley said

"And bureaucracies always have a tendency to eliminate the concerns and priorities of the people at the grass roots"

Azapo plans to keep a careful eye on the security forces of the new government as well

"We plan to keep a close watch on the security forces of the military establishment to ensure that they do not interfere with the freedoms of the people," said Moodley

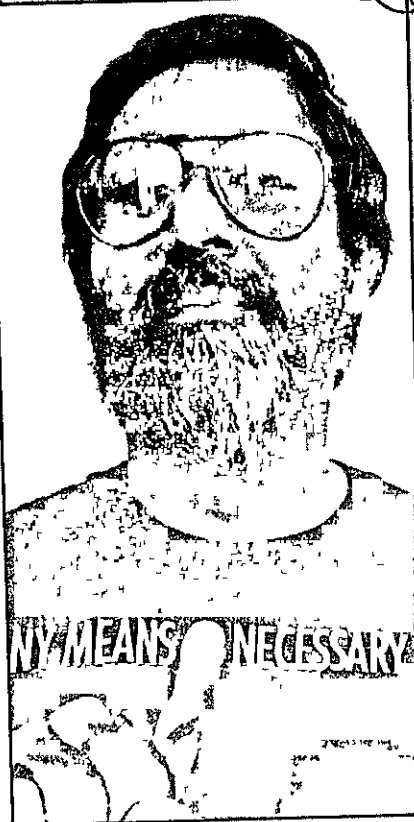
"Above all, we plan to advocate for the establishment of peace structures at community level."

Azapo was not surprised by the IFP's decision to join the election

"We never doubted for a moment that the IFP would participate," said Moodley "It was just a question of time"

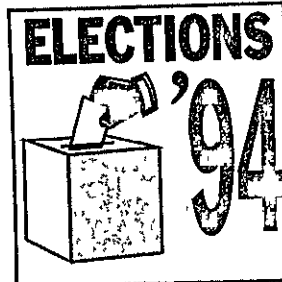
"But it's a tragedy that the political leadership of the ANC, NP and IFP engaged in this game of political brinkmanship, which resulted in the loss of so many innocent lives"

"The agreement reached (this week) could have been reached



Outside looking in ... Azapo official Strini Moodley and the CP's Ferdie Hartzenberg.

**‘Azapo calls upon black people to remember that, in the end, the responsibility for their liberation will rest in their own hands’**



months ago and probably saved the lives of thousands and thousands of people"

Azapo warns that the major challenge for black people lies ahead after the election

"The duty of every black person is now to think beyond April 27, where the promises of all those parties standing for election can be judged against the background of their actions," Moodley said

"Azapo calls upon black people to remember that, in the end, the responsibility for their liberation will rest in their own hands"

The CP is also convinced that its decision to remain outside the elections will be vindicated.

A senior CP official, who asked not to be named, said it would continue with its efforts to win a *volksstaat*

"That is, after all, why we are not participating in the election," he said

"If we take part, we will be recognising the new constitution, and that will

cancel our claims to a *volksstaat*

"By not participating, we are demonstrating to the whole world that we are not happy with the new constitution"

The CP faces the future with grim determination

"We will continue with our efforts to develop our structures such as *burgerrade* (civic councils)," the official said

"The support we get from local people will demonstrate to us which areas to include in the *volksstaat*"

He dismissed arguments that an amendment to the constitutional principles may allow self-determination

"Up to now, there is no recognition that any *volk* can get its own state," he said.

"Their land now only becomes provinces or regions within a unitary state"

"But we insist on full sovereign self-determination in our own area."

"We want to promote full independence for the Afrikaner *volk*. And we can

do that best by not taking part in the election"

The CP does not seem overly concerned about its future after the election

"We remain a political party that aspires to the political freedom of our members" the official said

He added that there are also a significant number of people from other language groups who support the CP's position

The CP stoically accepts the IFP's decision to take part in the election

However, it feels that the IFP "lost a little" because it will be part of a unitary state

"But that is the choice they have made," he said fatalistically

For the CP, however, taking part remains out of the question

"We stand by our decision," the official said "The majority of our supporters agree with that decision"

"If you take part in a game, you have to accept the rules of that game"

And, for the CP, that would have meant accepting Mr Nelson Mandela as president with an ANC Cabinet

"If we don't participate, we support our demand for freedom," said the official

"By not voting, we remain part of a positive, constructive process outside the new ANC parliament."

"And that is to build the unity of the *volk* across political party borders for an independent people's republic (*volksrepubliek*)"

(Report by T August, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.)



## focus on new accord

**O**N FEBRUARY 11 1990 Nelson Mandela was released from 27 years jail and among those waiting for the great leader's embrace was Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

This did not happen. Instead the African National Congress leader read a prepared speech on the steps of the city hall at Cape Town's Grand Parade in which he attacked Buthelezi and referred to him as a puppet of the National Party Government

It was during a time when expectations ran high — for peace and an end to violence. In fact, the expression black-on-black violence leapt off news pages as people died by the dozen in the townships

Contrary to expectations, the blood letting did not stop — in spite of Mandela's release and the unbanning of political organisations

While the accord signed by Mandela and Buthelezi with De Klerk puts the focus on its constitutional impact the real emphasis should be on the players

Buthelezi's demands have obviously resulted in victory because next week Parliament will amend the Interim Constitution and recognise the kingdom of the Zulus

But is this really what Buthelezi wanted?

In his statement at the Union Buildings in Pretoria on Monday Mandela called Buthelezi his brother and acknowledged his personal relationship with him which he said spanned 40 years

It was perhaps for the first time since his release that Mandela lauded Buthelezi in public for campaigning for his release and refusing to negotiate with Pretoria before all political prisoners were freed and those in exile returned

### Contribution to the struggle

I then what Mandela publicly articulated in Pretoria on Monday is what Buthelezi had always wanted to hear — acknowledgement of his contribution to the struggle

Meanwhile it is significant to note what Buthelezi said in 1976, three months before the Soweto pupils' uprising

He told about 16 000 people at the Jabulani Amphitheatre that "whites should read the writing on the wall and realise that the country must move to majority rule"

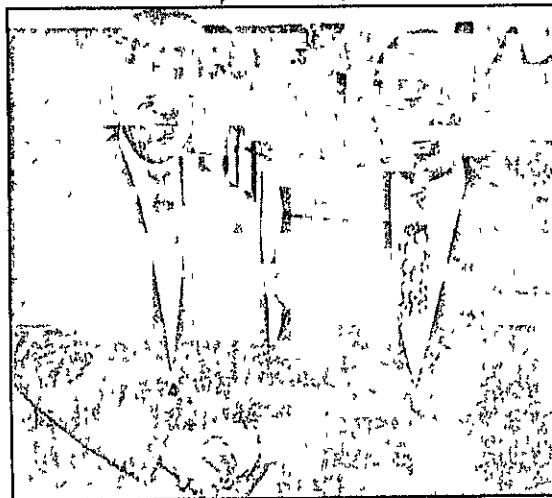
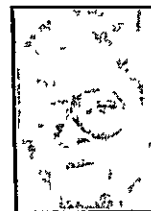
He said "I challenge anyone to prove to me that the majority of blacks do in fact want the so called independence which is offered to our reserves now called homelands"

He was being critical of the acceptance of that 'independence' by Transkei and Bophuthatswana

Buthelezi said on that day "We must therefore act unilaterally in defining South Africa's policies. It is these policies we blacks define that will be heard and heeded by our brothers in Africa, as well as other quarters in the world"

That was in 1976 and this was understood to mean the unity of all black South Africans as opposed to what Buthelezi demands today. Or is

*Sowetan 21/4/94*  
The accord signed by Mandela and Buthelezi with De Klerk earlier this week puts the focus on its constitutional impact, but the emphasis should rather be on the players, writes **Themba Molefe:**



Flashback to June 1993 Together again Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi shake hands in typical fashion. Shouldn't they have kissed and made up in 1990?

he perhaps being misunderstood?

To this end especially when Mandela's Natal supporters physically prevented him from holding face-to-face talks soon after his release Buthelezi had embarked on a campaign which would make him a winner on both sides of the field

"There will be no lasting solution without my participation. I am an important player," is the Buthelezi trademark

Indeed he was vindicated on Monday, but at what cost?

Human Rights Commission statistics of death in troubled KwaZulu Natal show that 311 people were killed in political violence in March alone, the highest monthly figure since the HRC's inception in 1986

Said the HRC "The phenomenal increase in deaths from the 153 recorded in February and the 172 recorded in January can be largely attributed to the conflict between those who support the impending April 27 election and those who are defiantly resisting them"

This simple but chilling report is about just a single three month period since 1990 in which people lost lives

Argument here is not whether Buthelezi started the war because he wanted to maintain

There will be no lasting solution without my participation. I am an important player

power — it is about power itself

Mandela is regarded as a national hero by millions of his followers. Internationally he is seen as a true symbol of resistance and liberation

For participating in bantu tan politics, and for whatever reason he has advanced, Buthelezi has for decades been at loggerheads with anti-apartheid groups, even when the ANC was underground and Mandela a mere rallying figure

But Mandela always maintains he is part of a larger whole and as such, of the collective ANC movement

In 1990 shouldn't the collective that is the ANC have let Mandela embrace Buthelezi and saved lives?



## Row over bill for reconstruction

# ANC govt will seek pact with business

B/Day 2/14/94



EDWARD WEST  
and GRETA STEYN

CAPE TOWN — A presidential statement on SA's economic future and a meeting between business and the next government would follow soon after the elections, ANC economics head Trevor Manuel said yesterday.

The summit meeting was needed to promote a notion of partnership and a symbiosis between the next government and business, he said in an interview.

Many businessmen had been ignored in policy formulation in the past, while others had felt compelled to lobby on issues, leading to ad hoc policy-making. As an example, he cited the start of negotiations with business on GATT participation. Lobbying had resulted in "protection on demand", out of context with policies at the time.

Reuter reports that Manuel told a University of Cape Town economics forum that an ANC-led government was not likely to borrow from the World Bank for at least the first two years. Instead, it would "use the scalpel" to restructure government spending and cut out waste and inefficiency while funding its reconstruction and development programme.

But in Johannesburg, ANC officials failed to provide details on the programme's projected costs after a challenge from the NP and repeated calls from the business sector for more information. It responded to the NP's charge that the programme would cost more than R600bn over five years by refusing "to be trapped into a sterile argument about figures and estimates". The only new details were on possible savings from defence cuts.

ANC parliamentary candidate Jay Naidoo said a commission would be appointed after the elections to conduct a military review to change the SADF's status from an "offensive" force to a peacetime army. "If we can swing defence expenditure to closer to the internationally comparable norm of 2% (of GDP), we could save R1,6bn by the end of next year."

Promising clean government, Naidoo said a code of conduct would be drawn up for MPs, forcing them to disclose their assets and providing guidelines on gifts.

ANC information secretary Pallo Jordan reacted to the NP's claims of massive tax increases by saying "Rich corporations and the super rich should pay their fair share of taxes."

The ANC stuck to its original estimate of R39bn of government spending over five years. The figure represented the amount available from rising revenues as the economy grew, savings from eliminating unnecessary spending and greater efficiency. Not included was the self-financing part of the programme — electrification, water supply and telecommunications.

The DP said it agreed with the RDP's visions and goals, but was concerned that priorities, sources of finance and costs had not been thoroughly identified. "The RDP carries a high risk of overtaxation and overspending, plunging the country into a balance of payments crisis. Under these circumstances it would be difficult for the country to avoid an IMF programme."

1494 (3077) (11A)

has included the suggestion that Cape Town may lose the opportunity to host the 2004 Olympics if the region is controlled by the Nats

Earlier in the campaign, the NP appeared to be well ahead, but ANC spokesmen believe the organisation's field workers have made significant progress in recent weeks towards winning support from the huge block of undecided coloured voters

The ANC also believes that the official figure of 442 000 black voters in the region is far below the actual number. The organisation expects to win at least 80% of the black vote

But it is not expected to be backed by more than a handful of the 664 000 white voters, which means it will have to win the support of at least 50% of the 1,3m-strong coloured electorate if it hopes to control the regional government. ANC candidate Rob Davies claims there has been a "substantial decline" in support for the NP since the end of January, in reaction to the racist tone of the party's campaign

The NP rejects ANC allegations that the party's campaign has flamed racial tensions that have been dormant in the region for decades. Spokesmen point out that many coloureds have long regarded an ANC government as a threat because the organisation is seen to be dominated by the SA Communist Party, which could result in religious persecution

There is also reported to be widespread concern that an ANC affirmative action programme could be a threat to jobs held by coloureds

NP workers believe they have succeeded in convincing voters that the party has really changed its policies and that President F W de Klerk can be trusted to introduce rational political and economic policies

The DP appears to have failed to shake off its image as a white, English-speaking, upper-class party. The party has been unable to campaign freely in black areas or at the University of the Western Cape. However, it may have gained valuable "victim" publicity as a result

Nat officials believe their party is backed by at least 80% of the region's 664 000 white voters, who live mainly in greater Cape Town's suburbs. But growing support for the Freedom Front could reduce NP backing to about 70% of white voters

The crucial factor will be an estimated 500 000 undecided voters, mainly in the coloured community, who will sway the province either to the NP or the ANC

It is possible that no party will win an absolute majority. Some analysts predict around 40% each for the ANC and NP with the balance split between the Democratic Party, the Freedom Front and the PAC

The provincial premier would have to be elected by a majority of the legislative assembly members, which could lead to the formation of a coalition — possibly to keep Kriel out of the top spot of regional premier

his organisation is not threatening voters with the potential consequences of the NP winning in the western Cape, but merely pointing out what could happen when ANC supporters realise that they are still governed by a party perceived as an oppressor. The psychological impact could be considerable

In particular, Boesak believes NP regional leader Hernus Kriel reflects the worst aspects of the party's "vile and corrupt" history

The election campaign in the western Cape began as a close and fairly free contest between the NP and ANC, but has degenerated into a racially based wrangle that could leave a bitter legacy for years to come. The focus of the dispute is the region's 1,3m-strong coloured electorate, which makes up 54% of the total number of voters. The ANC hoped that most would reject the NP and identify with the ANC as the liberator of disadvantaged communities

But there are indications that many coloureds will back the NP, because they fear the black majority in the ANC and they identify culturally and politically with the Nats — in spite of being treated for 40 years as second-class citizens

The NP campaign in the western Cape has concentrated on highlighting the "threat" posed by the ANC to coloureds. It reached a low point last week when the Independent Electoral Commission ordered the withdrawal of a blatantly racist Nat propaganda pamphlet that was apparently aimed at stirring anti-black sentiments among coloureds

The ANC's response to the Nat campaign

THE ELECTION  
22/4/94  
**The devil they know**

The spectre of letting down the liberation struggle by losing the western Cape to the National Party in next week's election is haunting the ANC's regional leadership. Some officials have warned that a Nat victory could lead to a backlash among ANC supporters. They are particularly worried about the possibility of clashes between coloured supporters of the NP and blacks who back the ANC (3077) (11A)

Regional ANC leader Allan Boesak says

**LEADING ARTICLES**

tional assembly

There is little doubt that the ANC got the best of the negotiations on an interim constitution. An almost cynical impression has arisen that the Nats simply caved in on several issues, having neither the will nor the intellectual resources for the fight. There is an element of truth in this.

But it also has to be remembered that the NP has been working from a steadily weak-

ening position ever since De Klerk's radical speech of February 1990. That speech undermined the National Party's legitimacy, because it was an explicit admission that whites did not have the right to rule the majority of voteless blacks.

In short, the NP's writ is exhausted — a fact that is disguised only by De Klerk's shrewdness and personal integrity. The country longs for government, we have for-

gotten what it is like

Difficult times lie ahead, next week and after. But whatever happens, we have the certain knowledge that the alternative would have been worse — and the suspicion that, given this country's tortured history, we have got off quite lightly.

When the counting is done and the new government sworn in, the sun will still rise in the east and we will go about our business. ■

THE ANC AND ITS UNIONS

FM 22/4/94 (11A)

# Coming to the end of the line?

Maybe, but it's the unions that have more to lose from a split

**Will the advent of an ANC government rupture its strategic alliance with the trade union movement, represented by Cosatu?**

The question is prompted by the post-Bophuthatswana escalation of public service strikes, which have been met with appeals by leading ANC figures such as Cyril Ramaphosa and Joe Slovo, from their government-in-waiting perch in the TEC, for a two-week moratorium on strikes until the elections are out of the way.

This has been rejected by Cosatu. Sticking to its precious, hard-won right to strike, it says pointedly and no doubt correctly that "two weeks could become five years."

Cosatu's response brings to mind the stance articulated by then general secretary Jay Naidoo, who said soon after the ANC's unbanning in 1990 that unions and other organisations of civil society should not become merely "a transmission belt" for the party in power, allies though they may be.

This was not long after the Soviet Union had collapsed and the Left here was analysing why. The talk was of ensuring separate identities and leaderships, even as similar goals were being pursued.

With the goal of national liberation achieved, the question of union autonomy appears to have resurfaced, with clear tension between trade unionists on the one hand and the ANC leadership on the other. It

follows the inclusion of the top echelon of about 20 Cosatu leaders on the ANC's list of parliamentary candidates.

There is also the experience of unions elsewhere in Africa to consider. The *uhuru*

Nyati suggests that there will in the short term be great pressure from the ANC on Cosatu general secretary Sam Shilowa to keep the alliance intact — despite his having to make radical-sounding union pronouncements.

It is hard to see Shilowa, a solid ANC/SACP man, defying the ANC, more so once it has the legitimacy of being the elected government.

Shilowa, who was part of the SACP negotiating team at the World Trade Centre, certainly does not believe there is a need for a separate workers' party at this stage — though it could be an option if the new government is seen not to be delivering. It may be significant that it was not Shilowa but Cosatu's press spokesman who issued the statement rejecting the strike moratorium call. This fits in with Nyati's point about the union having to sound radical.

Furthermore, if the ANC government plays its cards right, it will be able, through a combination of patronage and economic growth, to contain union militancy, partly by bringing union leaders into government.

Labour consultant Pat Stone believes unions will never again have the dominant position they had in the Eighties, when they came to be seen as "gladiators for a political cause." Then, the movement was better organised and more motivated in its pursuit of worker rights and a new legal framework, better conditions of service, and its "living wage" campaign. This was helped by a degree of employer guilt, the absence of black political rights made employers more sympathetic to worker demands.

Yet, with an estimated 50% of the workforce unable to find jobs in the formal sector, the ANC government will have a broader constituency than organised labour to satisfy. The unions, it should be remembered, speak for a relatively well-off labour aristocracy of about 1.5m, in an eligible workforce of about 7m. So there will have to be a re-ordering of priorities.

Whether this is accepted by the unions,



Naidoo



Ramaphosa

government in Zimbabwe, for example, moved quickly to crush striking unions, in the face of what were perceived to be more pressing national priorities. In Namibia, union leader Ben Ulenga became a member of the Cabinet after independence and is now said to be impatient with any talk of strikes.

Ever-rising wage demands will not fit in with the ANC's overall plan for ambitious reconstruction and development, which is based on significant capital investment. Should the unions refuse to moderate their demands, there is a danger that either the ANC's budget will be blown apart as investors decline to deliver or there'll be a showdown with the unions.

According to political consultant Eugene Nyati, the ANC-union alliance was always going to be more difficult to manage after the common enemy was dispatched.

He believes, however, that the relationship can be managed, since both sides realise they have more to gain by sticking together.



Shilowa



Erwin

and to what extent, remains to be seen. They have in general grown used to inflation-linked annual increases or better.

The new government and the unions may reach some sort of labour contract, suggests Stone, in terms of which the ANC's commitment to spend more on social welfare programmes, education and training, housing and the like is accepted by the unions as a pay-off that will reduce the impact of retrenchments, say, or encourage restraint over wage demands, so that public works programmes can get off the ground.

Such a contract sounds conceivable, given the close historical and emotional ties between the ANC and Cosatu. For this reason a dramatic severing of the link any time soon after the election should not be expected, says Stone. There is simply too much history and a fraternal bond in the alliance.

After all, certain key figures in the ANC who are likely to be in government will be very sensitive to the unions' role.

They include the former leader of the National Union of Mineworkers and now ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, who could be a national deputy president in two weeks' time. He led the miners' general strike seven years ago. Then there's ex-Cosatu chief Jay Naidoo, sixth on the ANC candidate list for parliament and therefore likely to be in the Cabinet.

Others in the top 50 on the election list include Naidoo's former assistant at Cosatu, Sydney Mufamadi; Moses Mayekiso (former head of the National Union of Metalworkers of SA and the SA National Civic Organisation), Chris Dlamini (Food & Allied Workers' Union); veteran unionist Billy Nair, Philip Dexter (former leading light in the National Health, Education & Allied Workers' Union), Alec Erwin (ex-Numsa); and Marcel Golding (former number two at the NUM).

Certain trail-blazing labour lawyers, such as Halton Cheadle and Charles Nupen, could well be appointed to senior office.

All this suggests an ANC-led government will be sensitive to labour demands and issues — and, conversely, that the new political establishment figures will be as sensitive to government plans and won't wish to rock the boat with strikes and rolling mass action — whose time, according to ANC leader Nelson Mandela, is over with the onset of democracy.

The question is will the co-opted former union leaders come to be seen as sell-outs by unreconstructed socialists in the unions, civic organisations and ANC Youth League? Some members of these organisations



Cheadle



Nupen

openly booed Mandela at a Soweto rally some time ago when he tried to urge restraint.

Awareness of potential disaffection of this kind will produce some subtle manoeuvres from the new government, which will not want to seem intolerant or suppressive towards the unions.

If it does come to be perceived as such, the ANC may face a split in the union — and its own — ranks, with hardline syndicalists either living off to form a pure workers' party or perhaps finding a home with the Workers' List Party or the even more obscure Workers Interna-

tional to Rebuild the Fourth International, both of which are contesting the election.

But, if things should reach that point, it's more likely that the SACP would be the chosen vehicle, given its age-old commitment (now evidently jettisoned or in abeyance) to pursue what it called the "second phase" of the struggle, namely socialism, once national liberation had been achieved.

For now at least the SACP, to the extent that it can be distinguished from the ANC leadership, undoubtedly needs the ANC more than the other way round. The same may be said of those in Cosatu who still dream of a socialist State. Yet it is this group, together with the squatter camp underclass of 7m, that might rally behind Winnie Mandela in any bid for the leadership should the ANC fail to meet expectations or should Nelson leave the scene.

But it's also worth noting that the unions' bargaining position has already changed or is changing.

This is seen in

- Their working towards greater participation in decision-making at macro-economic policy level in the National Economic Forum and other bodies such as the National Manpower Commission on labour law,
- The union search in recent years for long-term wage agreements,
- Involvement in industry strategies, as in the motor vehicle and mining sectors,
- The pursuit of statutory shop steward committees and requirements on information disclosure, and
- Even a new preparedness to examine productivity (a dirty word in the Eighties), though with equal emphasis on management productivity.

In short, says Stone, there is growing realisation by unions that they'll have to play inside the system to survive.

Turning to the wave of pub-

lic-sector strikes — which are seen as partly a case of staking your claim before the new order takes over — it is pointed out that public-sector unions, for which the right to strike is relatively new, are just cutting their teeth.

Internationally, a high incidence of strike activity in this sector is coupled with newfound muscle and a period of political instability such as SA is experiencing.

In the end, if the ANC can't come to a *modus vivendi* with unions, which essentially means the unions reining in themselves, it is hard to see the alliance surviving.

True, the ANC has weathered a number of tests since being unbanned — for example, in reconciling its former exile wing with the internal United Democratic Front.

But it remains a broad church in which there are still many interpretations of the theology. The test of transforming itself from a broad liberation movement into a governing party, which will soon have to spell out policy, has yet to be breached. And it may well find that reconciling unreconstructed communists with pragmatists, essential in a government of national unity, simply cannot be done.

The union movement worldwide, like communism, is effectively dead as a major political force.

Having staked out its terrain, Cosatu would be wise to concentrate on aspects of unionism — shopfloor issues — on which it has so far made great headway, while continuing to contribute to debate over economic

questions as but one interest group among many. Whatever happens, it will have to reconcile itself to a diminution of power and influence, any other outcome would threaten the efficacy of the newly elected government, and both camps should know this by now. ■



Mayekiso

## AWARDS IN PICTURES

The *FM*'s picture editor and chief photographer, Raymond Preston, was the recipient last week of two awards for photographic excellence. He was nominated as the best stills photographer for the Iwisa Maize Meal Charity Soccer Spectacular — he was joint winner of the prize last year — and was runner-up in the feature category in the Ilford Photo Press Awards. Preston, who's been at the *FM* for 10 years, won five awards last year.

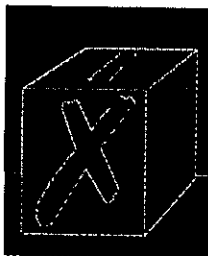


THE ELECTION

# At the end of an era

FM 22/4/94

Buthelezi's entry is most welcome — but many problems remain



There has been little time to reflect on the motives and tactics of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in deciding, with only a week remaining, to take part in the general election. Whether he was justified in cutting it

so fine, only he knows. The important thing is that he is, in the nick of time, part of the process. This means that all the major political groupings, from the PAC on the radical Left to Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front on the white Right, have accepted the transition to democracy.

By taking part, all the parties are binding themselves to the process, which in turn means that they will be morally obliged to accept the verdict of the voters. As a result, the new government of national unity should enjoy a level of legitimacy that we all thought impossible only a few days ago. This should have a profoundly beneficial effect on that government's capacity to restore stability, crack down on violence and foster investor confidence. Things have not looked so bright since the first dawn of optimism in the early days of the Codesa negotiations.

Paradoxically, while Buthelezi's late entry is a great boost to the process, it also serves to cloud it. For some months all the analysis of the election has been predicated on Inkatha's absence, suddenly there are new questions and no time to find answers to them.

How well can Buthelezi do in the election when he has only a week in which to campaign? Not very well, presumably (see *Current Affairs*) — and in any case his negotiating style has alienated many people who might have voted for him if he had been part of the campaign all along. On the other hand, Inkatha will be judged only on its performance in the Natal and PWV provinces, its support must be assumed to be fairly loyal, and Buthelezi's profile has remained high despite his boycott stance.

But let us assume, for purely practical reasons, that Inkatha will do relatively badly at the polls — in other words, that it will perform below its potential.

This will not necessarily be bad for Buthelezi. In fact, he could turn it neatly to his advantage. "After all," he can say, "I only had a week's campaigning. What else could I expect?" We will then have the rare phe-

nomenon of an electoral loser with an excellent excuse. In addition, Buthelezi has exacted a price from the ANC and government for his participation, via the agreement on post-election mediation made on Tuesday with the ANC and government. In effect, he may have ensured his political survival, at least for a time, independently of what happens in the election.

Inkatha's entry is a triumph for ANC President Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk, who showed resolution and considerable nerve in not giving in to Buthelezi's brinkmanship over the date of the election.

Despite this dramatic breakthrough, the transition to majority rule next week will not be easy. We are entering uncharted waters. Not since President De Klerk unbanned all political organisations and released ANC leader Nelson Mandela just over four years ago have we faced such uncertainty. The political climate in many parts of the country is not tolerant and there is still a state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal. Buthelezi's entry to the election does not mean that the violence of a decade can be switched off overnight, the fighting is more complicated than that.

And in other respects the election will not be free and fair. Some parties are not being allowed to campaign freely in townships and on university campuses dominated by ANC supporters. This raises serious questions about how free the choice of many voters will really be.

there has simply not been enough time to make the practical arrangements.

Nevertheless, the election must go ahead. The alternative would be certain disaster. The country has been ripping itself apart and only a new government with an acceptable degree of legitimacy can hope to restore stability. This means we have to succeed next week in electing a new government: the consequences of the IEC's declaring that the poll was not free and fair are horrific. As we have argued before, it is politically unthinkable for the IEC to do this — and even more unlikely now that no major party is advocating a boycott.

There will probably be violent attempts to disrupt voting in some areas, but the security forces will undoubtedly take tough action to prevent them.

An ANC victory will inevitably result in celebrations, which may lead to triumphal violence and some damage to property. But ANC leaders are confident that their supporters will behave within acceptable norms. If they do not, security forces will again be on hand to ensure the maintenance of law and order.

While it is only natural to be worried about the events of next week and the weeks beyond, it is worth reflecting on how much has been achieved since 1990.

That we are able to have an election at all is in itself remarkable. Our journey to this point has been like a ride on a rickety roller coaster. There have been many breakdowns, some of them serious, but fortunately no permanent derailment.

The process has survived mass action, escalating violence, economic recession, the withdrawal of major parties, terrorism from extremists, resistance from homeland governments and the death of Chris Hanu. It is quite obviously inherently strong.

The much-heralded TV debate last week between Mandela and De Klerk captured much of the symbolism of what has been

achieved over the past four years: two implacable opponents whose wisdom and humility allowed them to rise above ideology for the sake of the country — and who realised they needed each other. Mandela had the masses, De Klerk the security forces.

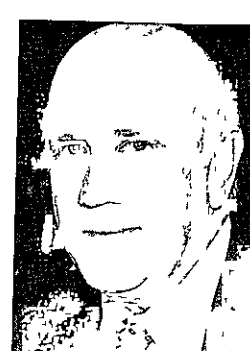
The clasping of hands, initiated by Mandela at the end of the debate, was a gesture that said to viewers: "Don't take what we have said here tonight too seriously. The future is what matters and we are deter-



Buthelezi



Mandela



De Klerk

The overall level of political tolerance is dangerously low and ignorance of the democratic process is widespread, in spite of efforts by the Independent Electoral Commission to educate people.

There must now also be serious doubts about the ability of the IEC and the civil servants to perform the necessary logistics, particularly in KwaZulu/Natal. Thousands of people may not be able to vote in suitable conditions — or to vote at all — because

THE ELECTION

FM 22/4/94

# For whom you should vote

At the end of last year we argued that the Democratic Party deserved maximum support in the approach to the election (*Leaders* December 10) Now that the most important election in our history is only a few days away, *FM* readers must finally decide where to place their crosses

Much has changed over the past four months. Most dramatically, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi came in from the cold to take part in the election, after even the most inveterate optimists had given him up. It is impossible to say how this will affect the electoral equation in Natal or whether the sensation of Tuesday's announcement can compensate for the lost months of campaigning. But Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party now being aboard ensures that the overall result will enjoy a legitimacy that few had expected. Reaction on the floor of the JSE on Tuesday confirms this.

Another important change since December is the decision, prompted partly by pressure from Buthelezi, to allow separate national and provincial voting, instead of only a single ballot paper. This was an important blow for the democratic process because it allows voters to distinguish between national and provincial interests, thereby making parties accountable at more than one level.

But nothing has happened in the past four months to persuade us that the ANC deserves the support of voters. We accept that Nelson Mandela is a remarkable man and a major force for reconciliation. But his party still espouses policies over which the odour of socialist hegemony hangs heavy. It contains too many sullen communists who believe the State knows best and that individual endeavours should be subjected to collectivist approval.

Future stability and prosperity depend on growth. The ANC acknowledges this, yet too many of its spokespeople still pretend that growth can result from a command economy, the likes of which have failed everywhere else permanently to enhance living standards. It is the politics of envy rather than reason.

President FW de Klerk, too, is a remarkable man. His vision and courage in unbanning the ANC, abandoning apartheid and embracing universal suffrage certainly deserves the gratitude of the nation and the admiration of democrats. But the fact remains that it was the National Party that spent 40 years presiding arrogantly over apartheid, bringing misery to millions against whom the law discriminated and the entire country to the edge of economic ruin and social disintegration. How can such a party ask for a second chance and expect to be taken seriously?

To be realistic, however, De Klerk, with more than 15 years of Cabinet re-

sponsibility behind him, would bring invaluable experience to a new government of national unity if he is returned as a deputy president to Mandela.

That government could benefit, too, from the talents and enlightening experiences of Ministers like Derek Keys, Pik Botha, Dawie de Villiers and Rina Venter. But it seems pointless to waste votes on returning all those other obscure Nat time-servers to the green benches — let alone to executive roles and, ultimately, even higher pensions.

The Freedom Front will perform the valuable dual function of undermining the extremists of the white Right and giving an outlet to the aspirations of conservative whites. But essentially it is a negative presence, without a workable policy, its stance is to be respected rather than admired.

Inkatha's free market economic policies and sensible objections to the interim constitution may make it an attractive option for some readers, especially in Natal, but we question Buthelezi's judgment in pushing SA so close to the brink of widespread civil disorder. There is a point where shrewd bargaining deteriorates into a dangerous recklessness.

Moreover, even though it will contest the election nationally, Inkatha is essentially a provincial party, driven by parochial concerns. If this is an unfair perception, Inkatha has left itself no time to bring about a new one.

That leaves the Democratic Party. Nothing has happened to change our view that the DP should be supported in voting for both the national and provincial assemblies.

The DP espouses sensible federalism but has displayed a pragmatic ability to accept compromise, trusting in persuasive democracy. It is the one party which has consistently supported liberal democratic principles, while coming the closest to unqualified support of free market economic policy. As its campaign posters point out — with implicit reference to the other major parties — it has no murderers, torturers and kidnappers in its ranks. Its leading members have impressive experience in parliament and in their constant opposition and electioneering against formidable odds have shown energy and intelligence.

It has proved itself as a tenacious and voluble watchdog — and is increasingly gaining a reputation for uncompromising toughness on law and order.

There may be a case for voting Nat on the national ballot to strengthen De Klerk's hand and to get as many non-ANC aspirants into the Cabinet as possible. But in our view it is not a compelling one and in any event does not apply to the provinces, where the best opposition to the expected ANC majorities will undoubtedly be provided by the DP. ■





FM 221494

mined to work together to make it better than the present"

It didn't matter who "won" the debate or what either man said the overwhelmingly warm spirit of the confrontation is what counted. It was what many voters wanted to see. Considering the level to which the encounter could have sunk, it was remarkably tame and, in a way, comforting. Though there is no suggestion that the two collaborated beforehand, it was almost as if they had an unspoken understanding that voters wanted to see a display of unity rather than animosity.

De Klerk's presentation was better because he is more experienced. Mandela was more statesmanlike because he is perceived as a patriarch. Together they came across as our best hope for national unity.

And we are certainly in need of such salvation, considering that only a few short years ago the country still floundered in the mire of Verwoerdian apartheid.

In April 1979, for example, government was wrestling with the problem of Crossroads, the mushrooming squatter settlement on the outskirts of Cape Town that so graphically illustrated the failure of influx control. A decision, pioneered by Plural Relations & Development Minister Piet Koornhof, to allow the squatters to stay was one of the first major cracks in hardline apartheid policy.

At the same time, just north of us in what was Rhodesia, an internal constitutional settlement that excluded the main black political parties had failed to hoodwink the world. But British-brokered democratic elections were still 12 months away. In the erstwhile South West Africa 15 years ago, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance also opted for a doomed "internal solution" rather than a UN-sponsored settlement.

Ten years ago, in April 1984, President PW Botha's aggressive regional domination policy effectively forced Mozambique President Samora Machel into signing the Nkomati Accord. But the move failed in its primary aim to normalise SA's political and economic relations with other states in the region. A year later, Botha ushered in our darkest period with his Rubicon address.

Five years ago, in April 1989, Namibia was on the eve of UN-organised elections that would herald independence and the end to nearly two decades of bush war.

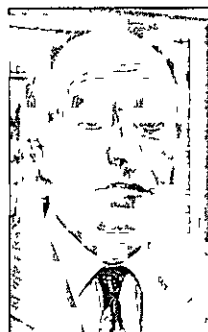
Though we were still isolated, De Klerk's reform process was taking shape. He consolidated the palace revolution launched with such speed and precision three months previously, following PW Botha's stroke and resignation as Nationalist leader. Botha was ousted as president ahead of the crucial last apartheid election in September 1989.

That poll was decisive for SA. It laid the groundwork for unprecedented political reform, but also increased the parliamentary strength of the Right. However, it is doubtful that even conservative whites who rejected De Klerk in the election knew what really lay ahead. The *FM* noted at the time that NP supporters had taken a giant leap forward

"They chose to abandon the cosy cocoon of racial privilege in favour of seeking political accommodation with the black majority" (*Leaders* September 15 1989) (11A) (15)

Many may not have known what they were doing, but there was no turning back. Four months later, in one of the most dramatic speeches parliament is ever likely to hear, De Klerk announced the unbanning of all political organisations and the release of ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

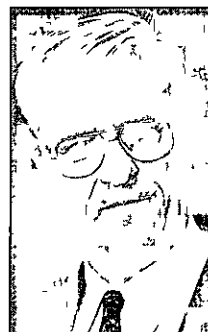
The initial euphoria over our shift towards a normal society dulled any hint of discomfort. The repeal of apartheid legislation



Krieger



Hani



Viljoen



Botha

made virtually no difference to anyone's life. Loosening clamps on political activity exposed sheltered whites to street demonstrations for the first time and there was a feeling of unease. But people became accustomed to mass action and it petered out.

Meanwhile, with Foreign Minister Pik Botha as pathfinder, De Klerk launched himself into international orbit and forged more foreign diplomatic and economic ties in two years than any previous SA leader had done in a lifetime. Back home, Mandela set about transforming the ANC from a resistance movement into a political organisation.

Pre-negotiation talks between government and the ANC began almost immediately — and dragged on for months while political violence escalated, particularly in Natal where supporters of the IFP and ANC clashed regularly. In September 1991 the main political leaders signed an historic peace accord at a special summit at Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel, but it had little effect and the death toll continued to rise.

Political violence is the one issue that neither politicians nor the security forces have been able to deal with effectively and it is now by far the biggest threat to the country's future.

Throughout the past four years the overriding view has been that a constitutional settlement will bring peace. This was the basis on which full scale multiparty talks began early in 1992. However, they were soon in trouble. The white Right accused De Klerk of crumbling in the face of ANC pressure and he lost a series of crucial by-elections. But in a move of political genius, De Klerk won Mandela's backing to hold a whites-only referendum on political reform. He was supported by nearly 70% of the white electorate and the Right was silenced.

The talks resumed and negotiators headed rapidly — perhaps too rapidly — towards announcing a timetable for transition. The process collapsed, ostensibly as a result of the massacre of squatters by hostel dwellers at Boipatong. But the underlying reasons were fundamental differences of approach on key issues and a massive degree of mistrust between ANC and NP negotiators.

Euphoria at the pace with which we were moving towards democracy turned to gloom as the ANC launched a campaign of rolling mass action. Violence and killings continued and the reform process seemed to have

ground to a halt. However, the balance of mutual need between the ANC and the NP forced the two parties back to the negotiating table and talks resumed in March last year.

But SA's worst nightmare lay ahead. On April 15 last year Chris Hani, the SACP leader and a contender for future presidency of the ANC, was gunned down by a right-wing fanatic at his home in Boksburg. For two weeks the country peered into the abyss of total chaos as ANC leaders battled to maintain some degree of discipline over supporters. Spontaneous anger could so easily have turned into uncontrollable rage.

It remains amazing that the country not only survived the tragedy of those days, but that political leaders were back at the negotiating table within weeks and had set an election date. It was as if they had been given a glimpse of the hellish future that awaits us if anarchy is allowed to take hold, and decided that time for talks was running out rapidly. That was a year ago almost to the day.

Purists argue that the interim constitution was cobbled with indecent haste. They are correct. Ideally the negotiators should have continued to compromise until all parties were reasonably satisfied. The horrific violence in KwaZulu and on the Reef is the direct result of the failure to do so.

But as the aftermath of Hani's death showed so clearly, the consequences of not moving quickly could have been far worse. In spite of the criticism, the interim constitution is arguably a better document than could have been expected under the circumstances in which we found ourselves a year ago.

It is far from perfect, but it provides a sound framework for further negotiation. It also contains unprecedented safeguards against government abuse while a permanent constitution is prepared by the constitu-

**LEADING ARTICLES**

tional assembly

There is little doubt that the ANC got the best of the negotiations on an interim constitution. An almost cynical impression has arisen that the Nats simply caved in on several issues, having neither the will nor the intellectual resources for the fight. There is an element of truth in this.

But it also has to be remembered that the NP has been working from a steadily weak-

Fun 22/4/94 (BOTA) (11A) (11B)  
ening position ever since De Klerk's radical speech of February 1990. That speech undermined the National Party's legitimacy, because it was an explicit admission that whites did not have the right to rule the majority of voteless blacks.

In short, the NP's writ is exhausted — a fact that is disguised only by De Klerk's shrewdness and personal integrity. The country longs for government, we have for-

gotten what it is like

Difficult times lie ahead, next week and after. But whatever happens, we have the certain knowledge that the alternative would have been worse — and the suspicion that, given this country's tortured history, we have got off quite lightly.

When the counting is done and the new government sworn in, the sun will still rise in the east and we will go about our business. ■



Fun 22/4/94  
 (11A) (11A)

# Coming to the end of the line?

Maybe, but it's the unions that have more to lose from a split

**Will the advent** of an ANC government rupture its strategic alliance with the trade union movement, represented by Cosatu?

The question is prompted by the post-Bophuthatswana escalation of public service strikes, which have been met with appeals by leading ANC figures such as Cyril Ramaphosa and Joe Slovo, from their government-in-waiting perch in the TEC, for a two-week moratorium on strikes until the elections are out of the way

This has been rejected by Cosatu. Sticking to its precious, hard-won right to strike, it says pointedly and no doubt correctly that "two weeks could become five years"

Cosatu's response brings to mind the stance articulated by then general secretary Jay Naidoo, who said soon after the ANC's unbanning in 1990 that unions and other organisations of civil society should not become merely "a transmission belt" for the party in power, allies though they may be

This was not long after the Soviet Union had collapsed and the Left here was analysing why. The talk was of ensuring separate identities and leaderships, even as similar goals were being pursued

With the goal of national liberation achieved, the question of union autonomy appears to have resurfaced, with clear tension between trade unionists on the one hand and the ANC leadership on the other. It

follows the inclusion of the top echelon of about 20 Cosatu leaders on the ANC's list of parliamentary candidates

There is also the experience of unions elsewhere in Africa to consider. The *uhuru*

Nyati suggests that there will in the short term be great pressure from the ANC on Cosatu general secretary Sam Shilowa to keep the alliance intact — despite his having to make radical-sounding union pronouncements. It is hard to see Shilowa, a solid ANC/SACP man, defying the ANC, more so once it has the legitimacy of being the elected government

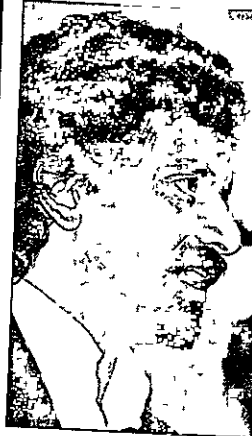
Shilowa, who was part of the SACP negotiating team at the World Trade Centre, certainly does not believe there is a need for a separate workers' party at this stage — though it could be an option if the new government is seen not to be delivering. It may be significant that it was not Shilowa but Cosatu's press spokesman who issued the statement rejecting the strike moratorium call. This fits in with Nyati's point about the union having to sound radical.

Furthermore, if the ANC government plays its cards right, it will be able, through a combination of patronage and economic growth, to contain union militancy, partly by bringing union leaders into government

Labour consultant Pat Stone believes unions will never again have the dominant position they had in the Eighties, when they came to be seen as "gladiators for a political cause". Then, the movement was better organised and more motivated in its pursuit of worker rights and a new legal framework, better conditions of service, and its "living wage" campaign. This was helped by a degree of employer guilt, the absence of black political rights made employers more sympathetic to worker demands

Yet, with an estimated 50% of the workforce unable to find jobs in the formal sector, the ANC government will have a broader constituency than organised labour to satisfy. The unions, it should be remembered, speak for a relatively well-off labour aristocracy of about 1.5m, in an eligible workforce of about 7m. So there will have to be a re-ordering of priorities.

Whether this is accepted by the unions,



Naidoo



Ramaphosa

government in Zimbabwe, for example, moved quickly to crush striking unions, in the face of what were perceived to be more pressing national priorities. In Namibia, union leader Ben Ulenga became a member of the Cabinet after independence and is now said to be impatient with any talk of strikes

Ever-rising wage demands will not fit in with the ANC's overall plan for ambitious reconstruction and development, which is based on significant capital investment. Should the unions refuse to moderate their demands, there is a danger that either the ANC's budget will be blown apart as investors decline to deliver or there'll be a showdown with the unions

According to political consultant Eugene Nyati, the ANC-union alliance was always going to be more difficult to manage after the common enemy was dispatched

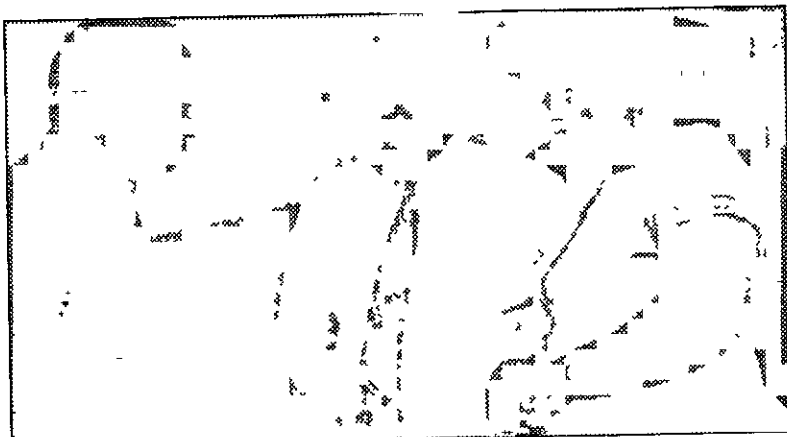
He believes, however, that the relationship can be managed, since both sides realise they have more to gain by sticking together



Shilowa



Erwin



The aura of premiership . . . The ANC's Jacob Zuma is almost certain to become the premier of Natal/kwaZulu

PHOTOS PATRICK ROYAL

**R**ISING to greet King Goodwill Zwelithini's wife Buhle Mathe, Inkatha chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the National Party's Natal leader George Bartlett at last Sunday's Jesus Peace Rally in Durban, the ANC's Jacob Zuma already had the aura of the regional premiership about him

Zuma was the first of the dignitaries to arrive at the ecumenical event, adopting the attitude of the man in the driving seat as the others entered the presidential box at King's Park Stadium

Still 11 days away from almost certain victory in the regional election, he was a man on a mission. Zuma knows that he will need to build a broad church if he is to govern South Africa's second most populous province successfully

So although shirtsleeves sufficed for Mathe, a friend of Zuma's wife from schooldays, there was respect in the elaborate gestures of greeting. For the pin-striped Buthelezi, Zuma donned his elegant double-breasted suit jacket before an apparently warm embrace and a quick one-on-one chat in the corner. Arriving just a few minutes later, Bartlett was greeted no less enthusiastically

Of Buthelezi, Zuma said "I have spoken to him many times. We have very warm relations." It was Sunday, two days before Buthelezi's decision to enter the election process, but Zuma will not write off the Inkatha chief

The agenda of the Jesus Rally was coalition building: no one would be excluded from contributing to stability and growth in Natal/kwaZulu, no matter their previous track records, no matter the legacy of enmity and bloodshed

Zuma has the confidence of a man who believes history is on his side. His conviction that he is on a winning wicket flows less from the Marxist theory he learnt from Harry Gwala on Robben Island than the progression of his own life

It's been a long road from his impoverished childhood as the son of a domestic worker too poor to send him to school to a position of influence as a leading ANC strategist. They were years of struggle and hardship. Zuma describes without a hint of pathos, always with the soft smile of a man at ease in his own ability

Almost 40 years have passed since his political education began in Cato Manor, more than 20 since his release from a decade on Robben Island, four since his emergence from the gruelling life of an underground operative

"I have accomplished an ambition to see South Africa free," he said, munching on a banana during the drive to an election rally in Pietermaritzburg's Imbali township after the Durban peace meeting. "The next task is to build the nation, to end conflict. It will centre in Natal/kwaZulu. Things could go wrong for the whole nation here — or they could go right. That is why I chose to leave politics at national level and work here."

He appears to have weathered the storm raised by the inquiry into abuse of prisoners in the ANC camps in Angola — there is no hint that he has been packed off to the provinces because he is no longer viable on the national stage

Zuma is no stranger to the art of politics, once described by the German sociologist Max Weber as the patient drilling of holes in very thick boards. He has been involved in endless

# ANC's banana boy with a slippery mission

Jacob Zuma, the ANC's Natal/kwaZulu premier, is a man at ease in his own ability — which is just as well considering the task that lies ahead of him.

**Stephen Laufer reports**



Jacob Zuma 'I have accomplished an ambition, to see SA free'

discussions and strategy sessions aimed at bringing Inkatha and the white ultrarightwing into the electoral process. The participation of Inkatha and Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front in next week's elections is in part his work. He has patiently built a relationship with King Goodwill, who he says is a Christian who wants peace. "He is troubled by the deaths," says Zuma, "he wants his people to live in harmony"

But he is not uncritical of the monarch to whom he professes allegiance. Referring to a rally in Durban's Umlazi township last Saturday at which Nelson Mandela led an estimated 20 000 strong crowd in paying homage to the king, Zuma says he asked himself "If the

king doesn't understand these are his people, then what language does he speak?"

The crowd's enthusiasm for the monarchy was genuine, says Zuma. "It electrified the rally. The king should realise some are made to look like enemies, but they love him, they respect him."

The monarchy has been manipulated, believes Zuma, not just by Ulundi's current office-holders, but by the apartheid and colonial authorities who went before. "People in general are happy to see the lost dignity of the monarchy restored," he says, referring to the ANC's constitutional proposals which accord a status similar to that of Britain's Queen Elizabeth II to the Zulu royal house

For Zuma, a modern democracy needs to continue limiting the monarch's influence, if with a new subtlety. So he seeks to temper constitutional generosity towards Zwelithini with subtle pointers to the legitimate claims of others. His knowledge of the royal houses of South Africa is an asset here, a reflection both of his roots in traditional Zulu society as the son of a member of the royal house of Zuma and his skill as a politician

When talk with church leaders turned on Sunday to the royal houses, Zuma was quick to respond to mention of the Hlubes in the Estcourt area by saying "they contest (Zwelithini's sovereignty over them), they claim never to have been defeated by Shaka". He goes on to give many other examples of royal houses with separate claims to recognition

With much of his childhood spent roaming between Durban, Mapumulo and Nkandla in the Zulu heartland, Zuma spans the spectrum of Zulu society from the traditional to the modern, from the rural to the urban. He clearly believes that loyalty to the king is the duty of every Zulu, but that democracy demands that the king be shown the limits of his power

Democracy was learnt at the knee of his half-brother Mntukabongwa, an ANC and South African Congress of Trade Unions activist at the Joko tea factory in Durban. It was the beginning of a road which saw Zuma joining Umkhonto weSizwe at its foundation, arrested while leaving the country for military training, and sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment

Released in 1973, he immediately returned to underground work to reconstruct the ANC networks destroyed by the police. Skipping to Swaziland when the net closed in, he illegally returned to South Africa several times. "If they'd have caught me they would have killed me," he says. "So I had to plan my trips in great detail, that way I could be safe"

On a bus ride in northern Zululand, Zuma came close to having to shoot it out with the police. "I'd planned to seize their weapons, but they weren't looking for me. It left me a little shaken." The risks were worthwhile, says Zuma. "You weren't running the struggle by remote control. You could shape the structures on the ground."

Shaping a new Natal/kwaZulu, and through it South Africa, will be Zuma's task in the next five years. A graduate of informal night schools and Robben Island study circles, and the father of 10 children, he is determined to give education spending very high priority. "I'd like to retire from active politics at the next election," he insists. "I'll be 57. A cottage by the sea, with the waves lapping, would be wonderful. I love the sea."

# ANC admits more guards involved in basement torture

WM 22-28/4/94 (11A)

Stefaans Brümmer

**M**ORE than one ANC security guard was involved in the abduction and torture of six people, including a 14-year-old boy, in the basement of the ANC's PWV headquarters, regional premier candidate Tokyo Sexwale has confirmed.

He said the ANC's internal investigation had been handed over to Lawyers for Human Rights.

Christopher Dube (18), of Hillbrow; Jabu Mlotshwa (14), of Berea; Matsamai Moloi, of Soweto; Buglil Ngubane (52), of Berea; Themba Khumalo (18), of Hillbrow, and Prince Pitse (17), of Hillbrow, were abducted by ANC security guards last weekend.

They were freed from a steel-barred cage — used to control access to a goods lift — in the basement of Lancet Hall in Johannesburg on Sunday night after one escaped and alerted police.

Charges of abduction and assault are being investigated.

With days to go to the elections, the NP seized on the incident to claim "Quatro comes to Johannesburg" — a reference to human rights abuses in ANC military camps — while the IFP drew parallels with "what the Nazis did to the Jews".

The ANC moved into top damage-control gear.

On Monday journalists were invited to inspect the cage and saw police investigators carry off tyres and a broken bottle.

Sexwale announced "this is a clean office", and said security guard Mxolisi Kali had been suspended.

Kali, presented to the media by the ANC, said he apprehended a man who had broken into his car in Hillbrow and brought him to Lancet Hall. But he refused to explain the presence of the others in the cage.

The IFP said most of the victims were Zulus. Representative Suzanne Vos said: "To me you can equate this with what the Nazis did to the Jews. They demonise them and then it's okay to kill them."

IFP officials who interviewed the victims said one could identify five torturers.

Sexwale said late on Wednesday an internal investigation had revealed more than one ANC security guard had been identified as being "in cahoots" with Kali.

He said Lawyers for Human Rights had taken instruction to complete the ANC investigation.

He pointed out that the basement, used as a parking garage, was used by several companies. He personally had not been aware of people in the cage "It was over the weekend."

He said "For me it was a fortunate thing to happen, not for the victims, but so that it can be demonstrated that the ANC cannot be abused for criminal activities."

Police spokesman Colonel Dave Bruce said the ANC was co-operating with the police investigation.



Tokyo Sexwale

# ANC-PAC pact against Kriel

By Quentin Wilson

BOTH the ANC and the PAC have indicated a willingness to work together should the NP emerge as the majority party in the Western Cape from next week's election

Both liberation movements have taken an "Anything but Kriel" approach to halt the present minister of law and order, Mr Heranus Kriel from becoming prime minister of the region

Horrified at the prospect of an NP victory — a real possibility according to several opinion polls — strategists from both ANC and PAC camps have begun thinking of a fresh "Patriotic Front" approach to minimise NP clout in a provincial government.  
Dr Allan Boesak, who heads the

list of ANC candidates for the provincial legislature, said last week there was "enough common ground" for both parties to "arrive at some sort of understanding"  
"We would not have a problem working with the PAC — as long as they agree to help us in the implementation of our reconstruction and development programme (RDP) in the Western Cape."  
On Monday, at a PAC press conference in Kenilworth, Mr national executive member, Mr

Barney Desai, said it would be "inconceivable" for the ANC and the PAC not to work together.  
"The ANC is a liberation movement. The PAC is a liberation movement. It is inconceivable for the PAC not to come together with the ANC in some form of agreement if the NP gets the majority of seats in the Western Cape."  
Asked how this could be achieved, Desai said it would be the "most natural thing" given the history of the two organisations in

their fight against apartheid  
"We cannot possibly leave this region in the hands of a man whose generals are involved in gun-running and violent atrocities. If Kriel were to come in, it would be necessary for the two of us to enter into a coalition to keep him out."  
Desai added that the PAC had problems with the ANC's RDP but stressed a commitment to sorting out differences.  
Q. Wilson, 76 Darling Street, Cape Town.

## South Newspaper

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# Apla may join *Star 22/14/94* national force

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The PAC has formally renounced violence, paving the way for its armed wing, Apla, to join the assembly points and the new National Defence Force

Following talks with the Government earlier this month, the PAC applied to join the TEC on Tuesday. ~~(25/1)~~

This means that the PAC had to sign a declaration formally renouncing violence as a means of achieving its or Apla's political objectives.

An emergency TEC

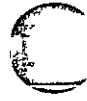
meeting yesterday agreed that the PAC could become a full member of the body ~~(11A)~~

With four days to go to the country's first democratic election, the PAC is now expected to join transitional structures, including the Joint Military Command Council

Apla representatives could attend today's meeting of the JMCC

In order for Apla to gather at assembly points and join the National Defence Force, it is to submit lists of its personnel, and eventually hand in its weapons

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)



# Accord ends threat of war

By MARLENE BURGER

AN accord which could pave the way for an Afrikaner volkstaat was signed less than 24 hours after Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen ordered his supporters to mobilise for war.

The tripartite accord, signed at the Union Buildings in Pretoria shortly after 11am yesterday, was negotiated over an eight-month period between the right wing — originally represented by the Afrikaner Volksfront and now by the Freedom Front — the ANC and the government.

Three foreign governments — believed to be those of Britam, Switzerland and Belgium — were also closely involved in the process leading to the finalisation of an agreement that will see negotiations on self-determination for the Afrikaner continue after this week's elections.

The signing of the accord was originally set down for a fortnight ago. However, it was postponed three times.

On hearing of the latest delay on Friday afternoon, sources at the Freedom Front's head office said, General Viljoen "went ballistic", convinced that the delays were a deliberate attempt to avoid signing the accord before polling day.

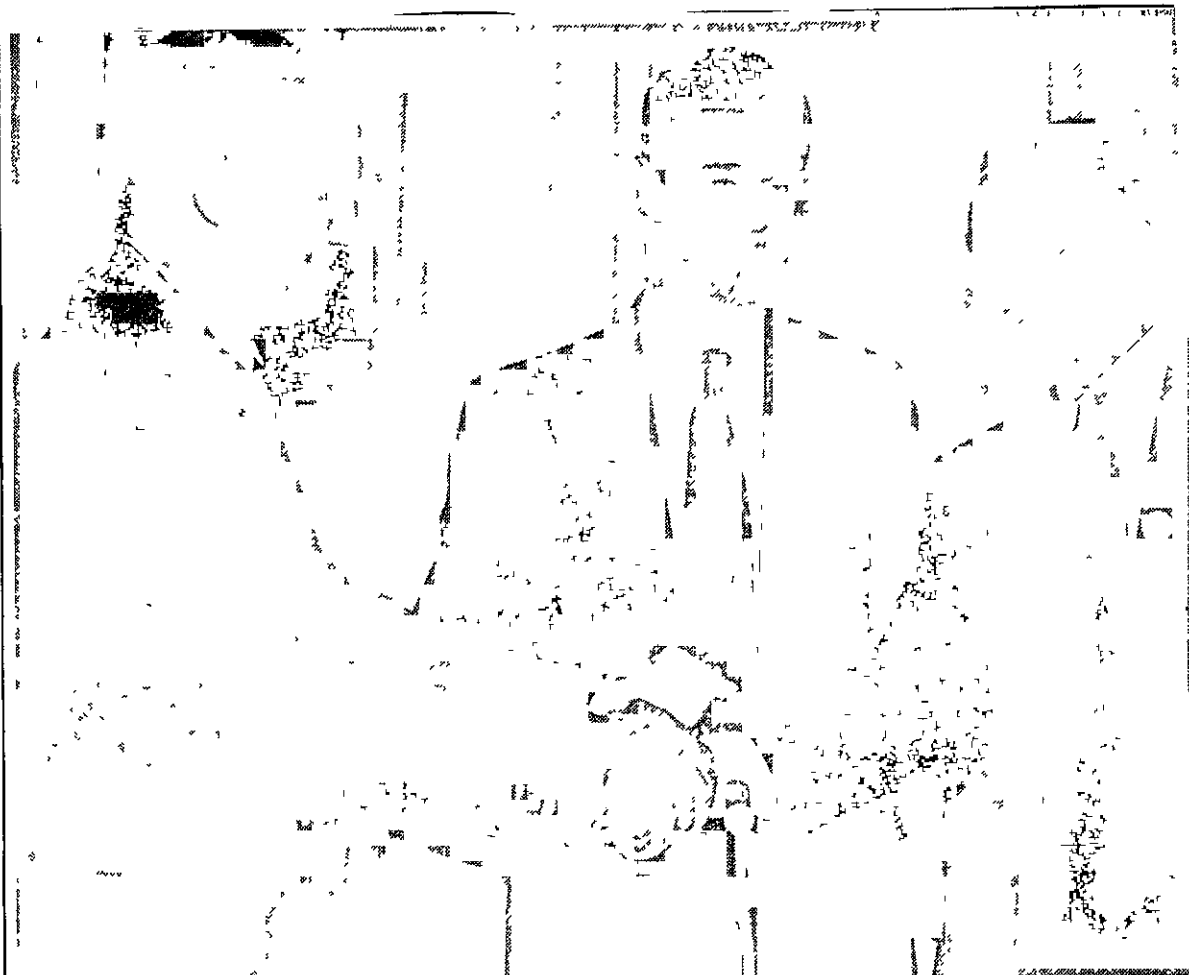
"He called his people together and told them in no uncertain terms that, if the government and the ANC did not sign by noon on Saturday, he would pull the Freedom Front out of the elections — and we would go to war," said a source.

"Our people country-wide were told to mobilise immediately."

The order to Freedom Front supporters to stand down went out shortly before General Viljoen's noon deadline yesterday.

The accord was signed at an international media conference by General Viljoen, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki.

The Accord on Afrikaner Self-Determination makes provision for:



IT'S A DEAL . Constand Viljoen, Roelf Meyer and Thabo Mbeki at the signing COBUS BODENSTEIN

● Any community sharing a common cultural and language heritage, whether in a territorial entity or any other recognised way, to demand the right to self-determination.

● The final constitution to give expression to any particular form of self-determination, provided there is proven support from within the community.

● The formation of a 20-member Volkstaat Council, to be elected by members of the National Assembly supporting the establishment of a volkstaat.

(News by Marlene Burger, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

# Last round in election for Big Four

SITING [Metro]

By NORMAN WEST

A Political Reporter says it is confident of over undecided voters — winning — albeit against the "floating vote" — the DP this week unveiled a large slice of the "floating vote", rather than going for an all-out win.

Optimistic

With the first day of the three-day voting period only 48 hours away, the NP appears to be the most optimistic about winning the overall majority, with the party's premier-candidate Mr. F. W. de Klerk claiming that his party would win a comfortable majority of seats in both the national and provincial legislatures.

Yesterday's Good Hope Centre rally addressed by NP leader Mr. F. W. de Klerk rounded off the Western Cape campaign in the ANC has rolled out the big guns in a last-dash bid to garner local support. This weekend national figures Cyril Ramaphosa, Thabo Mbeki and Barbara Masekela are in town to help win over undecided voters.

Dr Allan Boesak, the ANC Western Cape premier-designate, said the electorate was in for a surprise and "we will take the Western Cape".

The ANC wraps up its Western Cape campaign with a festival at Hout Bay harbour to be addressed by Dr Boesak and with Mr Mbeki as guest speaker.

Most observers — except for the PAC leader — predict that the PAC would be hampered by the fact that some of its members have been linked to current terrorist activities, although no case has yet been proved against any of those facing charges.

The PAC's premier-candidate for the Western Cape, the feisty Mrs Patricia de Lille, said she was "fairly confident" that the PAC would "surprise a lot of people" because of the general support for the PAC in the Western Cape and the personal support she enjoyed in the area.

Like the NP and the ANC, she believes the PAC could emerge with the majority of seats in the Western Cape Provincial Legislature.

(News by N West, 122 St Georges Mt, Cape Town)

# Uphbeat Mandela gets ready to rule

SITING 24/4/94

By EDYTH BULBRING, Political Correspondent

ANC president Nelson Mandela spent this week preparing the ground for when he takes control of government.

His message as he swept through the provinces was the need for reconciliation and the importance of starting to get the country back on its feet.

He told thousands of people around the country to support the security forces, practise religious tolerance and promised civil servants their jobs and pensions were secure.

After four months of campaigning, the ANC is certain that it will emerge victorious in six of the nine provinces — Natal, the Western Cape and the Northern Cape being the exceptions — if it can get its voters to the polls, and if their voter education has been successful.

Enormous resources and efforts have been directed at educating voters and logistical arrangements in getting voters to the polls. The higher the percentage of voters, the higher the ANC's majority will be.

The ANC's confidence was evident this week as Mr Mandela held "victory" rallies in the Eastern Cape, Border, Transvaal and finally today in Natal.

The message from the straght-talking Mr Mandela was that everybody had to work hard at peace, their jobs and their schooling to build South Africa.

The ANC had a plan to rectify the imbalances of apartheid, but everyone had to pull their weight, and lawlessness and truancy would not be tolerated by him.

Recognising that stability would be the key to successful government, Mr Mandela focused on reconciliation. Addressing a rally of 10 000 people in Thaba Nchu, he appealed to his supporters to "behave like people who are ready to govern".

"Let everybody start from the premise that we are one country, one nation, whether we are white, coloured Indian or black."

He told them to support the police and the SADF in keeping law and order. "If we want to deal with people who have committed crimes, do so through the law."

He reassured civil servants that their jobs, salaries and pensions would be safe under the new ANC government. "The ANC cannot let the civil service down. We need them for a future government."

He called for people to respect the chiefs, even those who had sided with "reactionary forces", and to respect all religions.

(News by Edyth Bulbring, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)



THE SKY IS THE LIMIT . ANC supporters during an election rally addressed by Nelson Mandela. The ANC is confident it will win six of the nine provinces. Pic CHRIS COLLINGRIDGE



# A Verwoerd may make it to Parliament — for ANC

By **NORMAN WEST**  
Political Reporter

**MELANIE VERWOERD**, who is No 83 on the ANC national list for the National Assembly, could become the first Verwoerd to sit in Par-

liament since her husband's grandfather, Dr HF Verwoerd, was assassinated in 1966

But she will not have the blessing of her father-in-law, Professor WJ Verwoerd of Stellen-

bosch and the rest of the Verwoerd clan

Professor Verwoerd, son of apartheid architect Dr Verwoerd, has also turned his back on the NP, the party that Dr Verwoerd led as Prime

Minister till his death. He has already rebuked his son Wilhelm for supporting the ANC and declared his own support for General Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front

This was revealed in a letter published on Friday in the Die Burger, the Cape NP-supporting daily

Professor Verwoerd, professor of geology at the University of Stellenbosch, has denounced Wilhelm Verwoerd jnr, a lecturer in political philosophy at the same institution, for his support of the ANC by saying that "no Afrikaner with self-respect would join the ANC"

The two have not been on speaking terms since Wilhelm jnr and his wife Melanie joined the ANC in 1992

Wilhelm jnr is a member of the ANC Western Cape regional executive

In the letter in Die Burger, Professor Verwoerd said he rejected the outcome of the elections "in advance, because I do not acknowledge the right of any other nation to rule over my nation — not the British, the Germans or a Xhosa party with a thin veneer of whites, Indians and other blacks in the top structure"

(News by N West, 122 St Georges Mall, Cape Town)

# First step to freedom

STimes 24/4/94

Change is

the only

STimes

Certainty

24/4/94

By KEN OWEN

**S**OUTH AFRICA embarks this week on a second round of revolutionary change after completing a near-miraculous transition from apartheid to democracy.

The midweek election is recognised around the world as a momentous and triumphal event, the completion of an impossible journey against the odds.

For South Africa, the election marks the end of 342 years of white hegemony, for Africa, it completes the liberation of a continent, for the world, it is the final repudiation of institutionalised European racism.

It marks a triumph of will and courage, and a glittering array of international leaders is ready to attend the inauguration of the new President — almost beyond question, Mr Mandela — on May 10.

The election also opens the door to the next phase of change, a greater transformation than the first, the collapse of vast administrative structures, not only the bastions of the apartheid era but also the provincial framework laid down in 1993.

Power, influence, authority and status will pass from white to black, from town to township, from the power-brokers of apartheid to the masses. As the rationalisation of courts and civil service throws the country into administrative turmoil the style will become more African, less European.

The task of holding the country together through this immense upheaval passes now from President de Klerk to Mr Nelson Mandela.

## FUTILITY

This shift was reflected in the rhetoric of the final stages of electioneering, Mr Mandela adopting a conciliatory and reassuring tone while Mr de Klerk, increasingly less inhibited by the cares of office, resorted to old-style Nationalist smash-'n'-bash politics.

Formal changes will take effect rapidly: the Chief Justice must convene the National Assembly within 10 days of voting. A tiny minority of white MPs scattered among the various parties, will symbolise both the futility and the end of three centuries of race-based politics.

In the nine new provinces, provincial legislatures will assemble to elect premiers and to decide whether they can govern themselves or whether they must ask for special administrators to take control.



By EDYTH BULLBRING and RAY HARTLEY

**W**ITH elections to end white rule just 48 hours away, South Africa's political leaders this weekend wound up their campaigns by bitterly attacking each other in a last-ditch attempt to woo voters.

In Soweto, ANC leader Nelson Mandela launched a scathing attack on President F W de Klerk, accusing him of being racist, religiously intolerant, divisive and having no plan to better the lives of South Africans.

In Cape Town, President de Klerk, in a final thrust to capture the crucial coloured vote, yesterday hoisted both the starry *gevogel* and *rooivogel* flags at the NP's last Western Cape rally.

Addressing meetings in the Eastern Transvaal and the Free State, Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi branded Mr Mandela and President de Klerk "brothers in political crime".

While the leaders attacked each other, right-wing participation in the elections was finally guaranteed with the signing of an accord on Afrikaans self-determination by the Freedom Front, the government and the ANC.

Today, parties will hold their final rallies ahead of the ban on further campaigning which comes into effect on Monday. But two serious obstacles to a free and fair election remain.

● Threats of violence by extreme right-wing whites; and

● The preparedness of the Independent Electoral Commission to conduct the poll.

To counter the first threat, SAP deputy commissioner Johan Swart announced this weekend that anyone suspected of planning to disrupt the elections would be arrested or detained without trial under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act until after the poll.

He said 83 000 specially trained policemen would be deployed to guard voters and voting stations. The SADF's General Gert Opperman said 67 companies of soldiers had already been earmarked for electoral duty.

Responding to concerns that the IEC would not be ready, its chairman, Judge Johann Krigeier, said his three-month-old election machine would deliver on its promises.

However, he admitted there were some serious last-minute obstacles. Key problems included the establishment of 500 additional polling stations in KwaZulu Natal, the printing and distribution of Inkatha ballot stickers and the issuing of eligibility documents to voters in remote rural areas, he said. Between one and two million voters are estimated to be without these documents.

**SADF SAVES election WORKERS**

By GEORGE MAHABER and GUS STIEGER

**E**IGHT ANC members and four IEC monitors were rescued from the KwaZulu capital Umhlati last night by the SADF after they were besieged in a police station by more than 1 000 IFP supporters.

Earlier, an ANC supporter was burnt to death in his bakke and another was shot dead. Sappo-Rutler reported that a third person died of a gunshot wound after taking refuge in the police station.

In an apparent exchange of fire between members of the rival groups, IFP supporter Alpha Ngecho was also wounded.

The SADF rescue operation was launched after IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi cut short his Free State tour to rush to Umhlati.

A KwaZulu police spokesman said the ANC supporters were confronted by Umhlati residents who objected to them canvassing for voters in the town. "I understand an ANC member took out a firearm and shot Mr Ngecho. This

□ To Page 2

# Taking the last step to freedom

□ From Page 1

departed from the message of reconciliation and peace which he had preached at meetings during the week by launching a full-frontal attack on the National Party

"Misery, division and suspicion That is the experience the National Party has," he said

He made a special appeal to coloured and Indian voters not to desert the oppressed and reassured them of their fears about security, violence and affirmative action

Addressing about 15 000 people at the Good Hope Centre in Cape Town, Mr de Klerk said "You cannot allow Nelson Mandela and

his supporters, who only know how to break down houses and schools, or their communist allies, to rule the Western Cape

"ANC supporters have ruined the education of millions of our children Their Communist Party allies support a policy that has not worked anywhere in the world You cannot support a party that is ungodly and un-Christian"

Earlier in the week, Mr de Klerk, aware that the IFP's entry into the election could cost the NP tens of thousands of votes, also bitterly attacked Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, calling him erratic and untrustworthy. The IFP, he said, was two-faced.

Chief Buthelezi told supporters in Bloemfontein that he did not aspire to any role in a new government, but hoped to be an opposition voice fighting for federalism

About 30 000 people attended an Inkatha rally at Curries Fountain in Durban yesterday and were addressed by IFP central committee member Dr

Ben Ngubane in Chief Buthelezi's absence.

Inkatha's chief problem, following its late entry into the elections, is to educate its supporters about voting arrangements and secure identity documents for them

(News by Ray Hartley, Claire Robertson, Edyth Bulbring, Norman West, Marlene Burger, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

# Natal priest targeted by mystery hit-list

By MEGAN POWER

A BRITISH-BORN Anglican dean who says he is apolitical has become the target of an unusual hit-list circulating in the small Northern Natal town of Eshowe.

The Very Rev John Salt, dean of the Anglican cathedral in central Eshowe, appeared on the list as an ANC "sympathiser".

"I'm not an ANC member but, as a priest, I minister to everyone," said Dean Salt, 52.

The pamphlet, which names 35 people living in and around Eshowe, was apparently designed to appear as if it had originated from the IFP.

But some residents believe it may be the work of right-wing elements bent on fomenting further violence in the strife-torn region.

Three Eshowe town councillors and scores of ANC activists were also named on the hit-list, and two brothers of a local ANC activist named on the list were gunned down in Geziusla township outside Eshowe on Good Friday — a few weeks after the list appeared.

The leaflet claimed the ANC would use the TEC and Independent Electoral Commission to intimidate people, rob them of their homes, jobs and dignity, burn their houses and schools — and kill them.

"They will rob you of your nation your kingdom and your King," it said. It branded the listed people as ANC

members. MK members and communists who would "give you nothing but pain and suffering".

Dean Salt, an observer on Eshowe's negotiating forum for a transitional town council, said he could not dismiss the leaflet as a hoax. "I'm a public figure and some of my movements are known, so I'm very careful," he said.

One of the town councillors named, farm manager Derek Pillay, is a delegate to the negotiating forum for a transitional council.

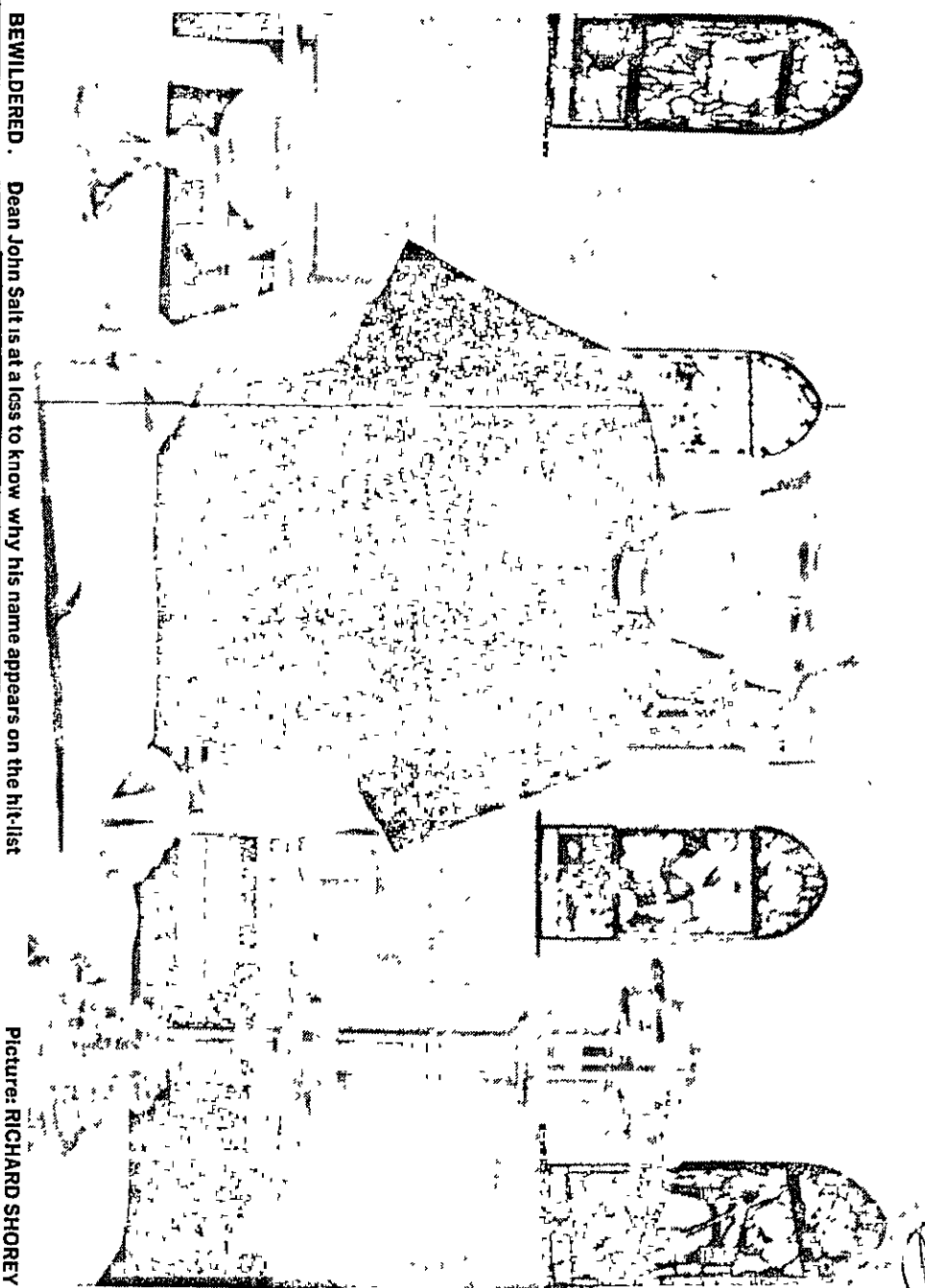
"I am outspoken, but I'm not an ANC member. I went in to the negotiating forum on a Solidarity Party ticket, but I don't represent any particular party now," he said.

One of the ANC activists named, Mr Zarnokwaka Mkhuse, fled his home in Geziusla township after continual harassment. Shortly afterwards, two of his brothers were gunned down by attackers in their home.

ANC member Yeya Sibuya said he found the pamphlet confusing because many of those named were low-profile members.

The pamphlets were apparently dumped outside shops, bus shelters and in toilets.

The matter has been reported to the IEC and the police.  
*(News by Megan Power, 18 Osborne Street, Durban)*



Picture: RICHARD SHOREY

BEWILDERED. Dean John Salt is at a loss to know why his name appears on the hit-list

ident of prison vote decision • Minister h

# FW will think again — ANC

Sowetan 25/4/94

■ **QUID PRO QUO** No link to problem of

indemnity for security force members:

**T**HE African National Congress was confident President FW de Klerk would reconsider his position that prisoners not be allowed to vote, ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said at the weekend.

Speaking in Cape Town, he told reporters De Klerk could authorise the Electoral Act to be amended today to allow prisoners to take part in this week's national elections.

Ramaphosa, who had addressed two ANC election rallies near Cape Town earlier on Saturday, said De Klerk would be holding a special Cabinet meeting today when the matter would be discussed.

He said he based his belief that input on the prisons' vote issue by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to De Klerk would make the State President "reconsider" his position.

If so, the Electoral Act would "automatically" be amended, with prisoners being informed of the decision.

Ramaphosa added he did not have information that the prisons vote question had been linked to that of indemnity for security force members (~~SAPA~~) (IIF)

This, he said, was a very complex and sensitive matter and the ANC would have to continue its discussions on the issue with the government.

"I do not hold out much hope there will be settlement right now."

He said the ANC acknowledged, and wanted to allay, the fears of security force members on the issue of indemnity. In the ANC's opinion, a balance had to be sought between specific atrocities and security personnel "who just acted under orders" — *Sapa*

(Report by CC de Villiers, Press Gallery, Parliament)

# Narrow escape for ex-squatter leader at ANC rally in Strand

VUYO BAVUMA  
Political Staff

FORMER Crossroads squatter leader Jeffrey Nongwe had a narrow escape when he was chased away by an angry mob at an African National Congress rally in Waterkloof squatter camp at the Strand.

Gunmen, including bodyguards of Transkei leader Bantu Holomisa, who was the main speaker, had to fire a volley of shots in the air to disperse the crowd which surrounded Mr Nongwe.

Earlier the mob, chanting "Phum! Nongwe Phum!" ("Go away! Nongwe!) had refused to allow the rally to proceed. Others shouted "Hamba nevoti yakhoh" ("Go away with your vote!").

General Holomisa and ANC official Tony Yengeni appealed for calm in vain.

Ironically Mr Nongwe was one of the key organisers of the rally, which was aimed at galvanising squatter support for the ANC.

Last week Mr Nongwe, who was 2nd on the Pan Africanist Congress's regional list, switched his allegiance back to the ANC.

But yesterday the angry crowd wanted him to go.

The ANC leadership resolved at an impromptu meeting near the podium that Mr Nongwe should leave for his own safety.

As the badly shaken Mr Nongwe was led to a car, the crowd broke through the barrier of monitors and marshals and surged towards their target.

At that stage the gunmen



ANC 25/4/94 (11)

**SAVE ME:** A badly-shaken Jeffrey Nongwe, former Crossroads leader, is shielded by an ANC marshal from an angry crowd at the ANC rally at Waterkloof squatter camp. Mr Nongwe was whisked to safety.

and ANC marshals, who formed a loose ring around the 67-year-old leader, fired shots in the air.

The crowd scattered. Mr Nongwe quickly climbed into the car which sped through a gate.

Minutes later the angry crowd tried to attack Jerry Tutu — another ANC leader

who was on the PAC list, but who returned to the ANC fold this week — who was in a red sedan car.

Mr Tutu remained and the rally proceeded peacefully.

Before the rally a convoy of about 400 cars and taxis drove from Gugulethu through Langla, Athlone, Manenberg and

Khayelitsha, picking up people to take to the Strand.

The convoy then drove along the N2 four vehicles abreast, blocking all other traffic, with passengers sitting in the cars' windows, shouting and waving ANC flags.

(News by V Bavuma, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)



**TAKING COVER**  
Thousands of people, above, dive for cover as gunmen fire shots into the air to protect Jeffrey Nongwe.



**Pictures OBEDE ZILWA**  
The Argus

## Red Cross on stand-by

**JOHANNESBURG** — The Red Cross is making its most ambitious plans to date for a potential emergency operation during the election, beginning tomorrow with the deployment of more than 2 000 staffers and trained volunteers at 150 first aid posts and command centres nationwide — Sapa

(News by N Lewis, 141 Commissioner St, Johannesburg)

## 6 000 new flags to be hoisted

**JOHANNESBURG** — South Africa's new flag will be hoisted at 6 000 official flag stations at dawn on Wednesday, the TEC announced.

The flag will go up at government buildings, courts, police stations, military installations, foreign missions and aboard more than 800 ships in the South African merchant fleet.

It will be raised for the first time at the nine provincial capitals at one minute past midnight on Wednesday morning. The old flag will be lowered for the last time at one minute to midnight tomorrow.

No speeches will be allowed at these ceremonies — Sapa

**GUN-TOTING, KTC leader Gladstone Niemo, left, brandishes a gun as the angry crowd closes in on embattled Jeffrey Nongwe**

# focus on alliances

Sowetan 25/4/94

**W**ITH THE WONDERMENT of someone who had just witnessed a blinding political revelation, General Constand Viljoen recently proclaimed that the African National Congress and the National Party were in a de facto alliance

He was more or less correct, of course

But this realisation should not have caused him surprise. One abiding fact about South African politics is that there could not have been, and there cannot be, any real progress on anything of importance without the ANC and the NP coming together

It is a fact of life which Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the white far right, and the now defunct homeland governments should have foreseen when they joined other parties in the constitutional negotiations at the World Trade Centre — and when they stomped out in a huff, ostensibly because of the growing scale of ANC-NP togetherness

## Agreement or compromise

Without the ANC and NP finding one another on all the crucial issues, whether by agreement or compromise, there could not have been any progress towards a new constitution, a bill of rights, or an election

To a very large extent, that remains a fact of political life in South Africa. Although, like all things, it will change in time, it seems likely to do so slowly — whatever the outcome of the election this week

As De Klerk has remarked on more than one occasion, either of the two sides has the power to wreck the country, and both sides know it

As he has tacitly implied, the best guarantee that the ANC will stick to its commitments — constitutional or otherwise — is the ANC's knowledge of the certainty that it could not survive the consequences of renegeing on any of its fundamental undertakings

## Vilification of the constitution

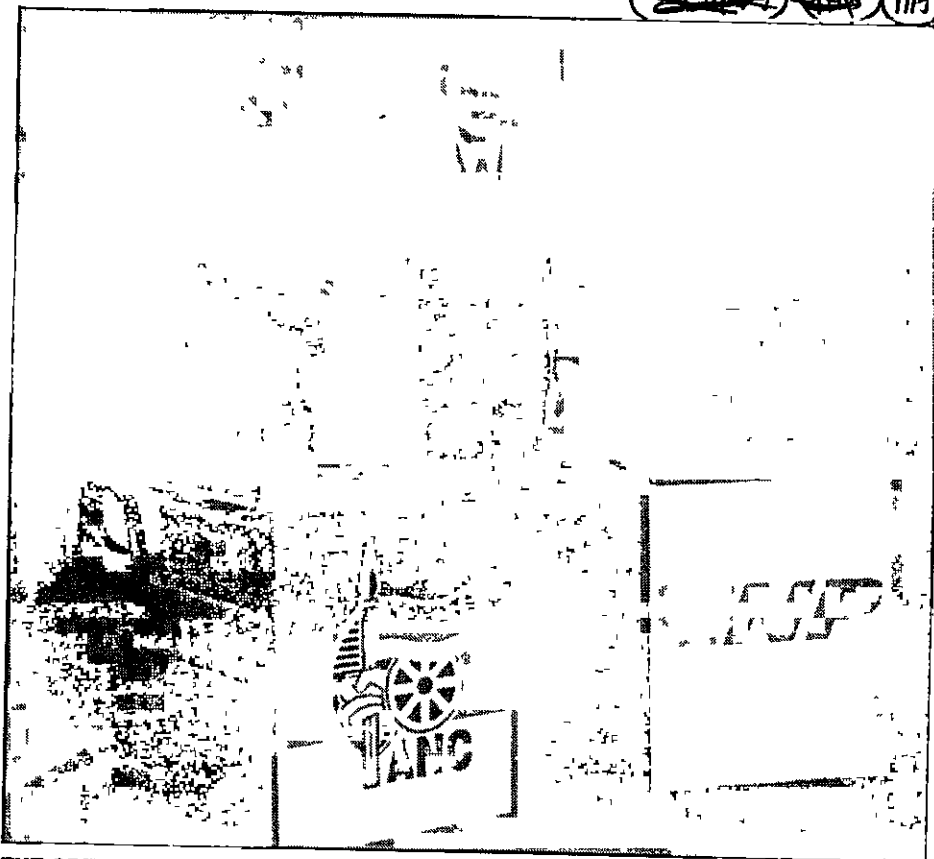
Ironically, that certainty is being hammered home by none other than the IFP and Chief Buthelezi through their current election campaign and vilification of the constitution

They are illustrating the fact that if a relatively small political party like the IFP, which all the polls indicate could not win an election even in KwaZulu, can cause as much mayhem as the IFP has, if it can send tremors through the stock exchange, then there should be little doubt about the capacity of the NP to do vastly more damage if it were provoked into doing so

It may sound cynical, but it remains very probably true, that the violence of the present may contaminate at least some of the seeds of peace in the future

The violence seems to be demonstrating to those who may doubt the fact — the radicals in the ANC, perhaps, and the nascent realists in the PAC — that the winning party next week will not hold all the levers of power and will not be

It appears to many as if the the National Party and the African National Congress have entered into an alliance of some kind. According to **Hugh Robertson**, a fact of political life in South Africa is that there can be no real progress without the ANC and NP finding one another on all the crucial issues: (~~3/4/94~~) (~~1/4~~) (1/1A)



**THE GREAT DEBATE ... Mandela's magnanimous handshake symbolised the de facto alliance which to General Viljoen seems such an astounding development.**

able to enforce policies unilaterally, or govern in the autocratic manner to which the country became inured under NP rule

While constitutional power might change in the election in favour of the ANC, to a considerable extent the balance of real power will remain unchanged, with the forces at the disposal of the NP and its potential allies in any major confrontation with the ANC, remaining formidable

No doubt without intending it, the attempt by the IFP, before its decision to participate in the poll, to disrupt the election and destabilise the country, had the beneficial effect of thrusting the NP and the ANC, and other parties, even closer together

The IFP, in effect, has set itself up as the common enemy of the rest of the body politic, at a time when nothing could have been more beneficial in concentrating national attention on

what is, after all, a threat to the very principles of democracy

## Democratic process

In the face of the IFP challenge, unity between the ANC and the NP has been greatly facilitated. They now jointly face a challenge to their own political security — a challenge that transcends even the running of the economy in its urgency and importance, for there can be no doubt that the growth of the economy will depend on resolving, by force or otherwise, the challenge of those who seek power without the benefit of a democratic process

The Great Debate on television, and the magnanimous handshake which was its high point, symbolised the de facto alliance which to General Viljoen seems such an astounding development

# Mandela in plea for unity, reconciliation

Star 25/4/94

11A

## ■ POLITICAL STAFF

On the eve of the election that is expected to sweep him to the presidency, Nelson Mandela has reached out to South Africans of all races with a plea for unity in building the new country

In an extensive interview with The Star at his Houghton, Johannesburg, home at the weekend, Mandela made his strongest commitment yet to a fair future for all race groups.

He said the success of South Africa depended on national reconciliation. Fellow leaders were urged to drop their "fighting talk" and to take steps to heal the wounds of the past

He committed himself to a style of government in which the majority would not steamroller minorities. He also lifted the lid on a number of crucial steps the ANC would consider if it becomes the majority party in the government of national unity

These were aimed at addressing fears of non-

ANC supporters and guaranteeing a stable transition, and included.

■ Indemnity for security force members involved in political crimes committed before December 1993. Details are still being thrashed out.

■ A promise to act decisively against lawlessness and violence after the election

■ A commitment to hold a referendum on support for a volkstaat after the election

■ The possibility of appointing General Constand Viljoen — "a very honest man" — to his Cabinet

■ A generous view of President de Klerk's role, and a prediction that the two could work together "very smoothly" in the new government

■ A call to whites to stay in the country and to use their expertise to help it succeed, and a plea to emigrants to consider coming home

Mandela revealed that he alone would decide who from the ANC would fill crucial Cabinet posts

"I will not be consult-

ing on this," he said.

He added that he already had a good idea of who he would like to be the ANC's first deputy president under the Interim Constitution.

Most significant among the steps being contemplated is a wide-ranging indemnity for political offenders "A form of indemnity is unavoidable. At the present moment there is a great deal of insecurity on the part of the defence force, the SAP, the civil service.

"Now we cannot even have free and fair elections if we do not get the support of the SAP and the SADF. It is absolutely necessary for us to remove this state of insecurity."

He revealed that he had been having talks with SAP Commissioner General Johan van der Merwe on the issue, and that he had discussed indemnity with De Klerk at the Union Buildings on Friday

► Now is his hour — Page 11

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)



On the eve of the founding democratic elections Mandela

# Now is his

The world, and most of this country, expect him to be South Africa's first black president after this week's historic election. On the eve of the poll ANC leader Nelson Mandela talked to

reaches out to all South Africans

# now

Shaun Johnson, Kaizer Nyatumba, Esther Waugh and Chris Whitfield about his vision of the new South Africa.

## On prospects for a peaceful election

I have assurances from both the SAP and SADF that they are going to be ruthless against anybody who tries to interfere with the elections.

They have briefed me on detailed plans which they are adopting. That does not mean that there will not be areas where it will be difficult to (have a free and fair vote), because the country is very big. The SADF and SAP may not be strong enough to deploy men throughout the country, to cover every area. There may be isolated cases where it will not be possible for people to vote at all, but generally speaking I am convinced from the plans I have seen that we have taken all the precautions that are necessary.

## On FW de Klerk

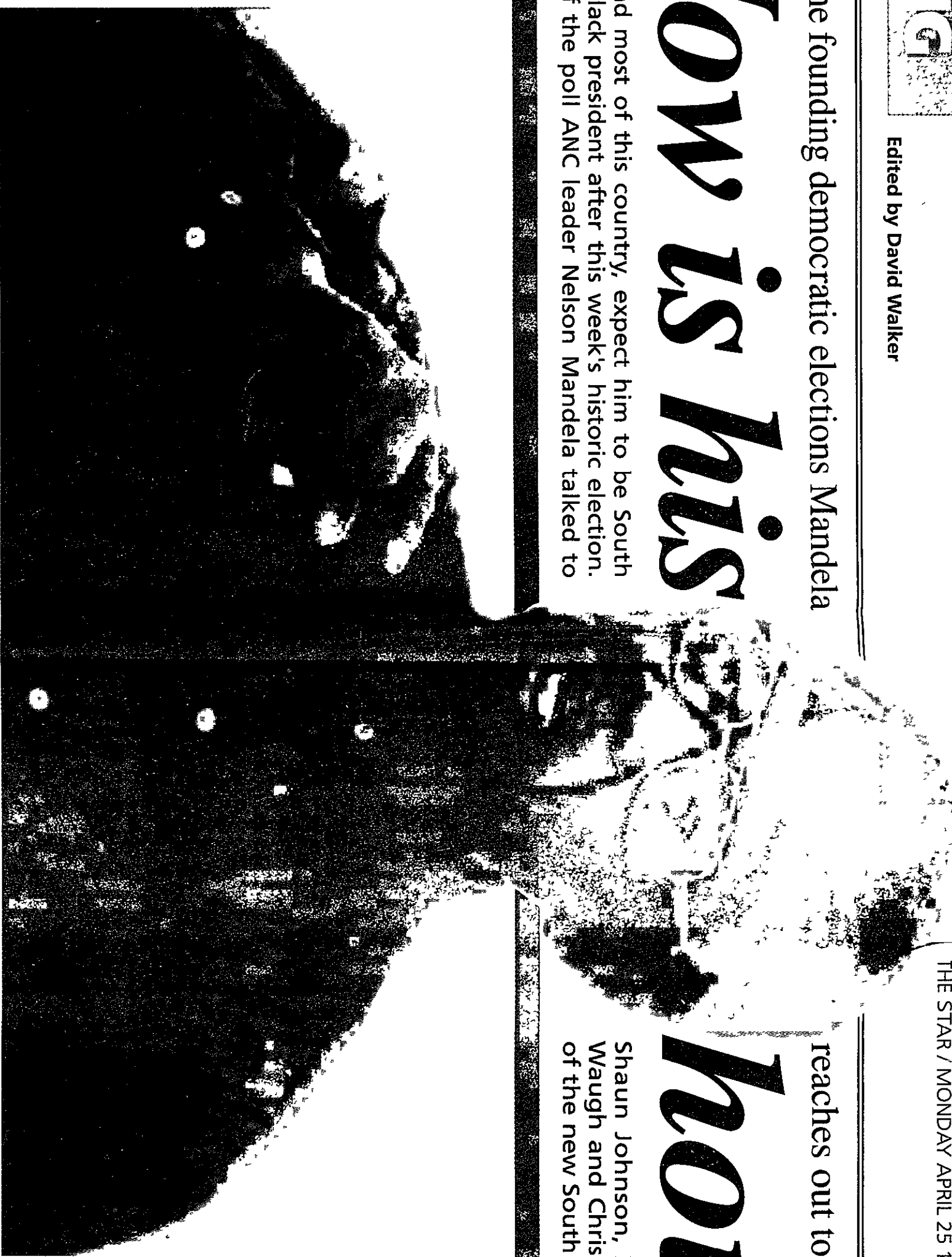
In spite of all the quarrels we've had with Mr de Klerk, he remains quite an interesting chap. He is big. Some of our most unpleasant quarrels have been on a one-on-one basis - we've said very cruel things to each other.

One of the things that (angered) me was the fact that he did not use his capacity to stop the violence, when he could do so. This was the major cause of conflict between us, but he has the capacity of quarrelling with you, and the next moment shaking hands and sitting down to coffee. I don't think we're going to have trouble from Mr de Klerk. I think we're going to work with him very smoothly.

## On the mood of the country

The people have high expectations and through we have warned them repeatedly that to address their basic needs is going to take years, nevertheless there are those expectations. It is something we must warn against. But the dominating thing is that we are entering a very exciting period and we are approaching that with real enthusiasm and spirits are high. There's been a shift in the country's mood from from fear to excitement. My impression is of a feeling of hope.

## On fears of post-election anarchy



One last call . . . Nelson Mandela urges his followers to vote for the ANC at Saturday's rally.

whites have had opportunities we have not had. They have had education, they have got knowledge, skills and expertise. We want that knowledge and expertise now that we are building our country.

That is why I have appealed to them repeatedly not to leave the country at this particular moment, and even to ask those who have left to come back. Because we are going to need them, we are going to rely on them.

## On the Government of National Unity

We bring different approaches. De Klerk is bringing the approach of an Afrikaner whose community has been dominant, spe-

committed to form a Government of National Unity which brings in those people who for 46 years applied apartheid. We are bringing their conservatism into the GNU that is one problem.

We have another coming from the liberation movement - our people who have been brought up against the legacy of resistance and who, at a time when they should now be upfront in addressing the problems of the country (and be) preparing to govern, still think in terms of resistance, and oppose everything that comes from the other side. They are not yet attuned to addressing problems.

## On national reconciliation

is going to happen to them and their families. It is worse in this country and it is the duty of the leadership to address those fears and to make sure that the minorities feel they are involved in the transformation that they are needed and that they will play their role in ensuring that we build the new South Africa. There's not going to be any discrimination against any groups. It's our task to make sure of that.

## On criticism of ANC/SACP links

It is of course difficult to convince people of the reality of our alliance with the Communist Party. The alliance between the ANC and SACP is based on mutual respect and some of the most important contributions have actually been made by members



PICTURE: AFP

further to say Parliament will have a discretion to grant an indemnity to people who have committed crimes between October 8, 1990 and December 6, 1993. We are saying let's forget the past, let's think in terms of the present and the future. (But) what we cannot do is give indemnity to people who after December 1993, have been killing people. We are working out details. In Chile for example, people were able to come forward and say we did so and so, without publishing their names. We (could) then look at what they have done, and decide whether we should give indemnity.

## On amnesty for Chris Hanis's killers

we have many problems. A surprising number of our people do not have IDs.

## On his possible successor

We have a lot of talent in the ANC. People like Thabo Mbeki, Cyril Ramaphosa, Vally Moosa, Joe Slovo and Mac Maharaj. These are very capable people who stand head and shoulders above everybody else. Leaders will come and go but the policy of the organisation will continue. It is set in the Freedom Charter. It is not individuals that are crucial, it is the organisation. I have not the slightest doubt that if the president resigns either because of old age or something happens to him, the policies of the organisation will continue.

## On the ANC deputy presidency

This is a question I have to decide. I have to set up the Cabinet and from that angle, I am not going to consult anybody. If I am elected, if my party emerges with a majority, I will decide who should fill what position. We have a wide choice. I can't go into the matter now, but I have an idea of who should be the first deputy president, if the ANC wins. It is not an easy thing to decide because we have people who have so many talents, who deserve that position. My problem is the talent that we have. I like all our people.

## On a possible volkstaat

We have said we will not accept a volkstaat. But we have made a concession that, after the election, there can be referendums on the question because we would like to hear the views of the community on behalf of whom these people say they are speaking. We are convinced that they are in a minority but we would like that to be demonstrated by democratic means.

## On General Viljoen for Cabinet

Oh yes. General Viljoen is a very honest man, and I would welcome him in a Government of National Unity. It would strengthen the government. He may not be so astute politically - he is a soldier - but he

ing that after April 29, our people are going to run riot attacking property and individuals and that there is going to be chaos. I don't think so. I've been warning against that. People must not concentrate very much on what happened in Bophuthatswana. I condemned that in the strongest terms. I said if we find any member of the ANC to be involved in such activities, we will expel him because we don't want criminals in our organisation. So now we are taking precautions to ensure that our people are properly informed as to how to behave if we manage to be victorious in this election. Our people have written to all the regional executive committees indicating programmes in which our people should be involved, so they should not think in terms of looting and other forms of lawlessness.

### On the future of whites

We attach a great deal of importance to whites. In spite of all the criticism we have made about apartheid, the reality is that

### Nelson Mandela's Houghton home, Saturday, April 23, 1994

The first black South African president-in-waiting wears light linen trousers, slip-on shoes and a fashionable red shirt, holding open casually round the waist.

Unhurried and gracious to his guests, he seems not to have a care in the world, smiling his dazzling, world-famous smile and offering tea.

Outside in his suburban garden the southern African sun is shining but the bite of winter is ahead in the air. It is a tranquil, commonplace scene - save for the fact that in this august, lined, septuagenarian face are etched the tumultuous resolution of nearly 30 years of brutal, foolish and heroic history.

Soon, so very soon, Nelson Rholahla Mandela's followers will be in to dismantle apartheid and the nameless discrimination that preceded it, in honour of it down incrementally as they drop their folded ballot papers into steel boxes across the length and breadth of the country, one by one.

He, of all people, feels the gravity of that prospect, and the weight of presidential responsibility about to descend on his shoulders. He knows also that from he will be, for a while, the most sought-after human being on earth - quite literally beset.

tradition of a freedom fighter who has struggled against apartheid. I think we will be able to resolve the gap between the two of us. Especially because we will not be alone. We have a very good team from the ANC and from the NP. There are men in the NP who are prepared to serve South Africa, very sincerely. So we must not concentrate on two people. Organisations are not run by individuals, they are run by a team of men and women. We've got highly talented people like Thabo Mbeki and Cyril Ramaphosa. And strangely enough, in spite of the perceptions, a chap like Kobi Coetsee, people like Roelf Meyer - whatever their record has been in the past, I don't think there are going to be such sharp differences as to paralyse government.

### On the toughest challenges ahead

We are faced with two problems. We are

through (with the IFP) and it is hoped that leaders will have a better chance of uniting the country. What is encouraging is the emergence of men and women from all racial groups who are bound in their common fatherland. That is what we should be emphasising. Healing the wounds of the past, not opening wounds at this critical moment. I have been saying (to my followers) throughout this election do not disrupt the meetings of other political organisations. Remember that these men, although we are fighting an election, we are going to work with them in the GNU.

### On his acceptance speech

It is of course difficult to know what form the (acceptance) speech would take, but the question of lawlessness is one that should be uppermost in our minds. Because what has concerned me throughout are the concerns of the minorities. Whenever there is a transformation in any country, the minorities are worried about their positions, what

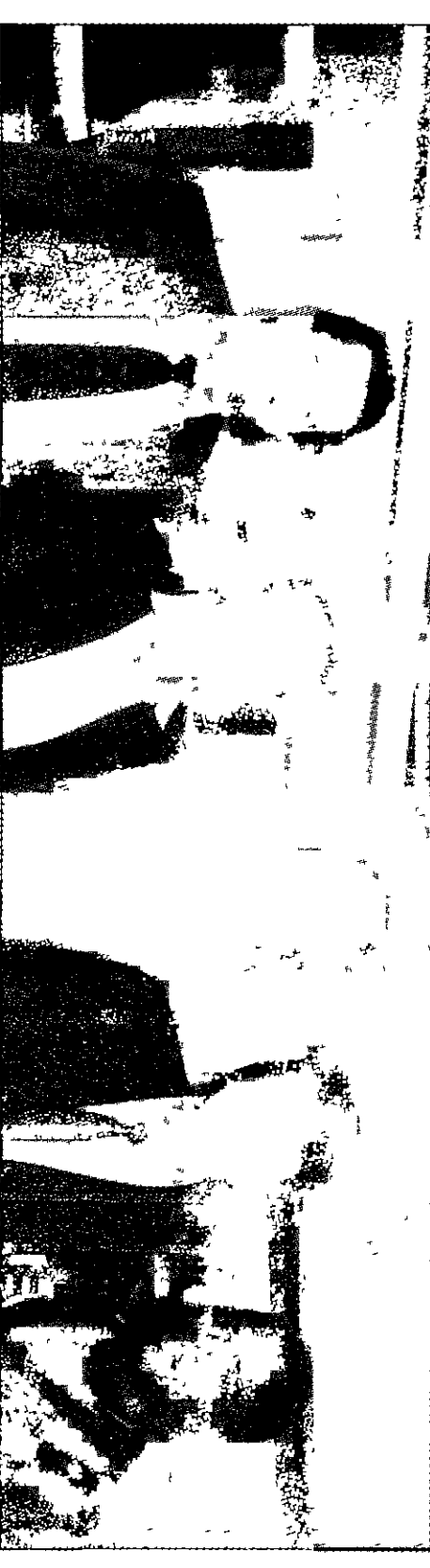
### On amnesty for security force members

This is a very sensitive question. A form of indemnity is unavoidable. At the moment there is a great deal of insecurity in the SADF, SAP and the civil service. Now we cannot even have free and fair elections if we do not get the support of the SADF and SADF. It is absolutely necessary for us to remove this state of insecurity.

### On the ANC's election prospects

I am discussing with (SAP commissioner General Johan van der Merwe) this question of indemnity and the question of making sure that we have the support of the police, because the people who have committed crimes before October 8, 1990, are really worried that a new government is going to put them on trial. We have gone

# The Old Man waiting patiently for power



On the eve of the election... ANC president Nelson Mandela talks to the Star's political team, Chris Whitfield, Esther Waugh, Shaun Johnson and Kaizer Matsumba.

On the eve of the election... ANC president Nelson Mandela talks to the Star's political team, Chris Whitfield, Esther Waugh, Shaun Johnson and Kaizer Matsumba.

ends casually on a matelphi... It shows Mandela standing on a rubber-green Transkei hillside, looking at his ancestral village home of Qunu. If he has kept the official pictures of meetings with the world's leaders, he has chosen not to display them in this homely, personal room.

Mandela's epic life story is one of the best known of the 20th century, and needs no repeating. But how is he feeling now, on the very brink of a dream - a dream that could finally blot out the nightmares of Bulhoek, Bethal, Sharpeville, Soweto, Sebokeng, Bopeteng, Bishop and so many others?

If he could live life over again, would Mandela do anything differently? Does he have regrets? "It would be easy to say I would have done just the same. But we must be realistic. There have been moments when we doubted that the ideas for which we were suffering were going to

triumph... but this is going to be our greatest moment, 27 April. "I hope I would do the same again, though it has not been easy. To see your family, your children being persecuted when you are absolutely helpless in jail - that is one of the most bitter experiences, most painful experiences, I have had. Your wife being hounded from job to job, your child being taken out of coloured schools, police breaking into your house at midnight and even assaulting your wife.

So I wondered sometimes whether I had made the correct decision - I had not anticipated the repression in relation to my family. But at the end of the argument I felt, no, it was correct. My commitment was proper. Shortly Mandela's face is wreathed in smiles again, as he answers a blunt question about when he might return. "This depends on my colleagues," he says. "If they think I have done what is expected of me, that it is time to resign, I'll obey them. It is their decision, not mine." But he gives an indication, via an anecdote, that retirement is not imminent.

**IMPORTANT  
ELECTION INFORMATION**

**THE ROLES AND  
DUTIES OF  
ELECTION OBSERVERS  
AND MONITORS**

**OBSERVERS**

Nearly one hundred local and foreign observer organisations have been accredited with the IEC, including the major umbrella body - the National Association of Westminster (NACW). The following provisions

**MONITORS**

The Chief Director : Monitoring will stipulate the times and places where the electoral process, including political meetings, canvassing, advertising and other campaigns will be monitored.


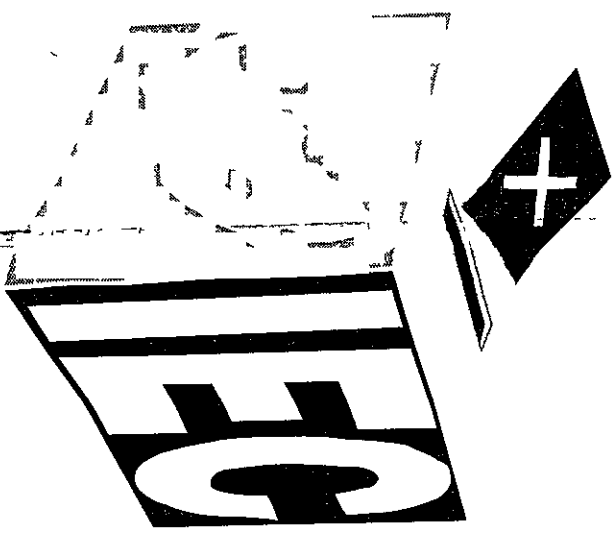
govern the activities of Observers

- Observers have the right to enter voting and counting stations or political meetings
- Observers are limited to a total of three persons at any one venue
- Observers are allowed access only when wearing the proper identification
- Observers are not allowed to wear identification of any other party, organisation or body
- Observers' registration can be cancelled if they
  - Fail to comply with the lawful instructions of the IEC
  - Are publicly biased in favour of any party
  - Hinder any electoral officer or voter
  - Infringe the Code of Conduct for Observers published by the Chief Director : Monitoring of the IEC

- Observe and report on the electoral process
  - Investigate and resolve complaints
  - Intervene and mediate in disputes
  - Comply with the relevant Acts
  - Adhere to the directives and instructions of the Chief Director : Monitoring
  - Discharge all these duties in the utmost good faith
- If you have any queries or require any further information, please contact the Independent Electoral Commission on its tollfree number 0800-11-8000.

**IEC TOLLFREE**  
**0800-11-8000**

Call this number if you have any questions or if you need any information about the election process

**INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION**  
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**BRIBING**

The PAC has been written off as a no-hoper in the election, but its president, Clarence Makwetu, is optimistic. Political Correspondent Kaiser Nyatumba spoke to him

# PAC: We always mean what we say

Star 26/1/94

**F**ven at the best of times, Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) leader Clarence Makwetu is not the most expressive of men. His friendly smile is engaging, yes, but his answers are usually short. He is not exactly an interviewer's dream.

On this occasion, however, just days before South Africa's first all-race election, he is more than willing to talk. In fact, he even seems to be enjoying it.

But as all politicians at this phase of the campaign will tell you, time is not a commodity he has in abundance these days. As we speak he keeps looking at his watch. Within the next half hour he has to be on the plane on his way to Durban to continue drumming up support for his organisation.

## Uphill battle

It has been an uphill battle all the way, and the odds stacked against his organisation are quite considerable — but he is not about to throw in the towel and concede defeat even before polling begins.

He fancies his organisation's chances, pronounces that "on the whole" the PAC's campaign has been successful, and confidently predicts that the organisation will win "the majority of the nine provinces".

His office is small and sparsely furnished, and the formal reception at the organisation's new headquarters — it has had to change offices early this month — tells of a party barely surviving.

Not for the first time, poverty has come knocking at the door, but love and dedication have not gone out through the window. The men and women milling around the reception area, all praying for a miraculous PAC victory in the election, have given freely of their time. There is a labour of love.



Clarence Makwetu... pays little attention to opinion polls. PICTURE ANTON HAMMERTL

11A

Makwetu, sitting in his office, is a man from whose chest — as he often likes to say — hope springs eternal. He pays little attention to opinion polls whose findings have not been very encouraging.

What percentage does he think the PAC will get in the election?

"I will not be able to put a percentage, really. Normally you judge your success or failure by the enthusiasm of the crowds, the number of people flocking to the rallies. However, it is not wise for one to assume that simply because people attended rallies they will vote for you. That is not a wise assumption."

But the key players of the organ-

sation do their work, and that is why we are confident. Even on voting day they are the people who will see to it that voters get to the polls," he says.

Makwetu is confident the fact that the PAC's name is the first on the ballot box is an advantage for the organisation. However, he will not say whether he would accept a position in the multiparty Cabinet of national unity if the PAC made the required 5 percent cut-off point.

After all the PAC, he says, is opposed to the concept of power-sharing, which he finds to be the same thing as the envisaged government of national unity.

"We will have to consider that position (whether or not to accept a Cabinet seat), but we do not aspire to that," he says.

In the event of a PAC victory, he has already compiled his Cabinet. And if the PAC wins the election, at least two aspects of the Interim Constitution would be changed: the power-sharing arrangement and the entrenchment of property rights.

Makwetu hastens to add, however, that his organisation is not opposed to coalitions and alliances.

With the election now just around the corner, what have been his main problems at the hustings? His rejoinder is swift. "Biased coverage" by the media — especially the SABC — and lack of funds.

"Our main problem has been, and continues to be, resources. We have found it difficult to implement our schemes. We are tied down and thus has hampered our work. We feel that right up to now the playing field has not been levelled," he says.

Makwetu welcomes the Inkatha Freedom Party's last-minute entry into the election race, and insists it will not affect his organisation's fortunes.

He confirms that the PAC's military wing, the Azaman People's Liberation Army, will be part of the new South African National Defence Force, and says he can work well with any party after the election as long as that is not the incumbent "racist regime".

He is also critical of politicians who promise the electorate heaven and earth now in order to get more votes, and says promising people things politicians know cannot be fulfilled "is tantamount to saying the people you are addressing are not intelligent enough".

## 'Ready to die'

Asked why anyone should vote for the PAC, Makwetu concludes: "They should consider that the PAC has been the most consistent of all the parties, throughout the struggle and right up to now, and we have at no stage ever doubted the intelligence of our followers."

"For instance, when we had problems of finances, I think we were the only party that came out to tell our people that this is the problem. We were never shy about it."

"Even our past record shows that we always mean what we say. Therefore if anyone is wise, they should vote for a party that is principled, that is consistent, that is prepared to die for the African people."

(47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)



# Apartheid is dead — and buried

South News  
By Vuyelwa Motlali  
and Joslyn Titus

27/4-31/4

(IIA)

PEOPLE usually go to funerals when someone die. But in Eerste River they came to bury apartheid.

Forming a guard of honour, ANC supporters chanted freedom songs as they buried, in all solemnity, "Brother Apartheid" on Sunday.

In a procession led by Pastor Jacky Jooste of the Methodist Church in Belhar and Pastor Amos Dladla of the Apostolic Mission

Church in Kuils River, the black coffin with the word "Apartheid" written in white, was brought to its last resting place.

The service was brief because it was obvious that the "mourners" of about 150 wanted to see the "brother" disappear from the face of this earth as swiftly as possible.

Jooste said in his address: "We cannot forget the times when they called us 'Hotnots' and 'Boesmans'."

V Motlali & J Titus 76 Darling St Cape Town

# PAC: one-promise party

By Barbara-Ann Boswell

South 2414 - 315/94



PATRICIA DE LILLE

THE PAC's only election promise is that they would give back the land to who it belonged, the party's candidate for premiership in the Western Cape, Ms Patricia de Lille, told pupils at Excelsior Secondary School in Belhar.

"Our biggest problem is that we don't have an identity," she told about 500 pupils from Excelsior, Belhar, Bishop Lavis, Bellville South and Perseverance Senior Secondary Schools

"We are the only people in the world who don't know where we come from and were classified as coloureds and Indians," she said.

She said the National Party had used divisive racist tactics in

its election campaign and claimed it was ahead in the Western Cape because it had the coloured support (IIA)

"But you must remember the coloureds make up only five percent of the country's population and the Western Cape is not an island. It is part and parcel of the country," De Lille said.

"If you put the two minorities — the coloureds and the whites together they won't even win eight percent of the seats in parliament"

"You will have to do a lot of work to improve our country. But a vote for the PAC is a vote to return the land taken away from us in 1652 to the people who it belongs to"

She said the PAC made no promises to the people and urged potential voters to look closely at the leaders they were planning to vote for.

De Lille said the PAC was not against whites, but "against white domination".

Also speaking at the meeting, Mr Franklin Sonn, rector of the Peninsula Technikon in Bellville, asked the students to look at anti-ANC propaganda in a critical light and point it out to their families and friends

B Boswell, 76 Darling St, Cape Town



# NP thugs beat up cleric

## 'Take him out!' yells FW de Klerk

By Quentin Wilson



Photos: Yunus Mohamed

VIP TREATMENT: Moulana Faried Essack is beaten (inset) and dragged from the Good Hope Centre at FW de Klerk's request

**P**OLITICAL intolerance, and NP racism, emerged at president FW de Klerk's final election address at the Good Hope Centre on Saturday when a leading Muslim leader, Moulana Faried Essack, was punched and kicked by an angry section of NP supporters.

De Klerk did little to defuse the situation. He blasted from the stage: "I will not be shouted at. I will not be intimidated by the ANC. Take him out! Take him out!"

The trouble began when De Klerk walked in. Instead of joining the standing ovation, Essack remained seated in the stands with arms folded.

Then came the apartheid anthem, "Die Stem". While others stood up to sing, Essack refused to participate because of its "Volk-like connotations".

"People swore at me," said Essack. "The woman behind me kicked me in the back and other people punched me."

"It felt a bit funny to sit down during 'Die Stem' because, after all, it is a hymn. But I could not stand up because of its connection with apartheid."

heid."

Essack, who is the co-ordinator of the Cape Against Racism, said he had also wanted De Klerk's wife, Mrs Marise de Klerk, to explain her notorious comments about coloureds, whom she had called "left overs" and a "negative group".

"When I realised I was in serious danger from the crowd I stood up to attract the attention of the marshalls so they could help me," said Essack. "They bawled, but they also beat me up."

The marshalls escorted him but they continued "punching me in my side, all the way out".

While Essack was being carried away, sections of the crowd followed him, trying to get in a punch and to shout abuse.

"Ons sal nooit vir 'n kaffer stem nie," shouted one as he lunged towards Essack. "Ons sal jou vrek maak, jou slams!" shouted another.

One Australian observer for the election, Mr Adrian MacDonald, was "disgusted" by what he saw.

"I knew when I saw this crowd that there could be trouble — so I can't say I was surprised." MacDonald was upset that a religious leader had been treated in such a manner.

Monitors from the Independent Electoral Commission were clearly upset at the conduct of NP marshalls during the fracas.

"These guys were completely out of hand," said one. "They should have been the ones protecting him. Instead they were the ones doing most of the damage."

Q Wilson, 76 Darling Street, Cape Town

# UPPERCUT

SENSATION!





ates cast their votes

# 'Killers can't stop us'

*Sowetan 27/4/94*

**By Mzimasi Ngudle**  
Political Staff

AFRICAN National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday said he was confident the security forces were doing everything possible to ensure the safety of the voters during the elections.

Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg, Mandela said he was convinced the security forces were doing their best to bring to book the perpetrators of the bomb attacks that shook the country on Sunday and Monday.

He urged people to vote and not to be intimidated by "mad men" (IA)

"Our surest way to stop them is to cast our vote. We will not let a handful of killers steal our democracy," he said.

Responding to reports of an ANC/Government deal to grant amnesty to those who committed political offences before December last year, Mandela said the matter would be considered by the new parliament.

He said people who committed political and related offences this year would not be pardoned. Only those who committed crimes before December last year would be able to apply for indemnity.

"There are three categories. The first is those who committed political and related offences prior to October 8 1990. We have agreed that they must be indemnified, including those who committed crimes in defence of apartheid.

"The second is those who committed such offences between October 8 1990 and December last year. Their cases will be decided by a new parliament which will have a discretion on whether to grant indemnity.

"In the third category falls people who committed crimes this year and who will have to answer for their crimes. We are not prepared to indemnify them," Mandela said.

# The Kriel who won't vote NP

By Quentin Wilson

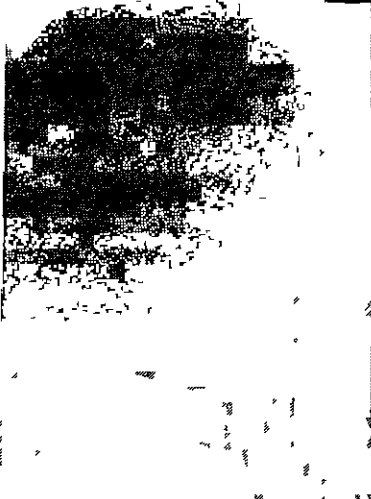
WHEN Mrs Ivy Kriel casts her vote in Bonteheuwel this week, the memory of her slain son, Ashley, will be uppermost in her mind.

Ashley is one of the many anti-apartheid activists who died for the vote. He was an MK member, who was killed in his home by the security police in 1987.

According to Mrs Kriel, she will be voting ANC for the memory of her son.

"It will be a very emotional moment for me. This is what Ashley, and so many others, gave their lives for during the struggle against apartheid. How I wish he could be with us today to enjoy this moment.

He would have been so excited. One of his favourite slogans "Freedom or Death — Victory is Certain", is finally being realised. Everything he strived for is finally happening. It is a pity that he can't



IVY KRIEL

be here

"I'm very proud that he was a soldier against the evils of apartheid. He did not fight only for me, he died for all South Africans."

Kriel said her son "would turn in

his grave" if the NP were elected to power.

"People must realise that we can't go back to how things were. Apartheid must be buried once and for all — and that cannot happen with an NP government," she said.

Another vote that will go against the NP is that of Mrs Wilhemina Williams, also of Bonteheuwel. Her daughter Coline, is another martyr of the struggle, who lost her life fighting in 1989.

"I will be sad and overjoyed at the same time," said Williams. "I am glad we finally have the vote, and part of that is because of Coline and so many others. But I am sad that she can't be here. I feel proud to be her mother."

Williams said she would be voting ANC "not only for Coline, but for myself, my grandchildren and all my people — particularly all the fallen comrades".

Q Wilson, 76 Darling Street, Cape Town

# Heal our sick land — De Lille

*Southeaster (suppl to Sunday)*

2714 - 315194

after April 27



*Patricia de Lille*

**BY SABATA NGCAI**

**THE STRUGGLE** only begins on April 27, said Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) candidate for premier in the Western Cape, Mrs Patricia de Lille.

Speaking at a rally at Guguletu stadium on Saturday to mark an end of the PAC election campaign, she warned a crowd of 1 000 PAC supporters to vote "wisely" and not be misled by "false promises" that there will be freedom and houses

"Our land is sick On Wednesday you'll cast your vote to heal our land," Mrs De Lille said

"For any sick person it takes time to heal The struggle only begins on April 27"

Several speakers identified "the return of land to the Africans" as a cornerstone of the PAC struggle for freedom

Mrs De Lille said the PAC proposed to distribute land by constitutional means

"If the settlers refuse to be moved by legal means we will invade," she said

Mrs De Lille warned that there would be no peace in South Africa until the land had been returned and the dignity of Africans restored

She urged her supporters to vote for the PAC because it was the only organisation that represents the aspiration of the people

Mrs De Lille predicted a 50 percent win for the PAC both regionally and nationally

The PAC election campaign closed off with a colourful march through the streets of Guguletu

*S Ngcai, 76 Darling St, Cape Town*

APRIL 27 to May 3 1994

# Late support *Southeaster (suppl. to South)* boost for ANC

BY VICKY STARK

ANC PRESIDENT Mr Nelson Mandela smiles at Cape Town from thousands of lamp posts.

"We are positive that we're going to win in the Western Cape" said regional executive member, Mr Willie Hofmeyr "We've hosted over 1 000 events in the past three months

— more than any other party in the region" *27/4 - 3/5/94*

"The support has been overwhelming Large numbers of undecided voters have been coming our way In the last three weeks we had a dramatic increase in support

"People have responded to our warnings that a National Party victory in the region would be a social and economic disaster"

The ANC says that it will get between 85 and 90 percent of African votes, between 55 and 60 percent of coloured votes and between 10 and 12 percent of white votes in the Western Cape.



**AFFECTION:** Nelson Mandela and singer Vicky Sampson at the ANC's Athlone rally

Their last public rally was held at Athlone Stadium where ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela addressed 25 000 cheering supporters

Mr Mandela condemned the NP publication — "Die Winde van Verandering" — which was banned by the Independent Electoral Commission because it fosters racial hatred *(IIP)*

"They say that they are the new NP but they are up to their old tricks, trying to divide our people," Mr Mandela said

The ANC rounded off its election campaign in the region with a festival at Hout Bay harbour on Sunday

V Stark, 76 Darling St, Cape Town

# Mbeki, Boesak make waves

By Shannon Neill

**T**HOUSANDS of people joined to the smooth sounds of Bazil Coetzee and others as the ANC wrapped up its election campaign with a music festival at Hout Bay on Sunday

The atmosphere was exuberant as parents "celebrated in advance the ANC's victory in the Western Cape" Children did a brisk trade exchanging badges of the leaders The going rate two Boesak badges for a Mandela

The highlight of the event was the arrival by fishing trawler of ANC national chairperson Mr Thabo Mbeki and Western Cape premier candidate Mr Allan Boesak.

The jubilant crowd cheered and thronged to the edge of the wharf to catch a glimpse of Mbeki who, dressed in green overalls and a yellow windbreaker, could have been mistaken for one of Hout Bay's own fisherfolk.

Opening the rally and introducing Mbeki, Boesak denied newspaper reports that the ANC had brought

out its "big guns" for its final campaign day

To the amusement of the crowd, he said: "The ANC only has big guns What is FW? A water-pistol!"

Smiling modestly Mbeki, said "I'm not a big gun I'm just an ordinary fisherperson

"When the fisherpeople gave me this clothing they said I must wear it because they have confidence that an ANC government will take care of them and their families

"An ANC government will be a government of all the people of the Western Cape — white, coloured, whatever," he told the cheering crowd

As he spoke of the "evils of apartheid committed under National Party rule" an old fisherman in the crowd broke down and sobbed.

With tears running down his cheeks, he said "We suffered so much in the past but now I have hope.

"I am 76 and for the first time in my life I can vote I am going to vote for the ANC because all those years I suffered, Mr Mandela and



**AHOY!: The crowds cheer as Thabo Mbeki and Alan Boesak arrive at the dock in Hout Bay harbour**  
Photo Yunus Mohamed

the other leaders suffered with me I trust the ANC."

Mbeki emphasised that Boesak and Mandela wouldn't rule to have "big houses and big cars" but to ensure everyone led a better life Referring to the ANC's Recon-

struction and Development Plan, he said there would be enough jobs and houses in the future and no-one would lose theirs.

He emphasised that the most important aspect of an ANC government would be its accountability

to the people "Ours will be a government with cars and it will use those cars to hear what people are saying Then it will implement what the people want," he said.

S Neill, 76 Darling St, Cape Town

South 27/4 - 3/5/94

# Parties that have what counts

(~~DP~~) (IF)

In the battle for votes in the Cape, four parties look set to share most of the spoils of provincial power. Here, in brief, are their histories. Compiled by **SHANNON NEILL** and **QUENTIN WILSON**

## The African National Congress (ANC)



Formed in 1912 as the South African Native National Congress, the ANC grew to become the most powerful force against the government's policy of apartheid.

Banned in 1960, the ANC formed its external mission in Zambia under the leadership of Mr Oliver Tambo. After 48 years of protesting against white minority rule peacefully, the ANC, from December 1961, opted for a more confrontational approach against apartheid.

Rallying support from the international community, building secret underground structures inside the country and launching military strikes against government installations, were the key features of ANC strategy.

This together with mass action inside the country, particularly from 1976, provided the bulk of pressure to force the NP government into negotiations in 1990.

When the struggle against apartheid peaked in 1986, Nelson Mandela wrote a letter to the government from behind prison bars, saying negotiations should begin.

In 1988, the ANC drafted the Harare Declaration which set out a process to a negotiated settlement. In November last year, that settlement was finally concluded.

After rebuilding itself as an organisation inside the country, the ANC is regarded as

South Africa's most popular party and is a runaway favourite to win this election

## The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC)



In 1959 a faction led by Robert Sobukwe left the ANC Youth League and formed the PAC.

It advocated a policy of "Africanism" in which Africans took control of their destiny.

It criticised the ANC's struggle through the Congress Alliance because it was multi-racial. And it rejected the Freedom Charter.

While the ANC campaigned for economic upliftment, the PAC called for status equity for Africans.

In 1960 it began an anti-pass campaign and was banned the same year.

Its armed wing, Poqo, planned a revolt for April 1963 but it failed when the leadership was arrested after the PAC released details of the revolt two weeks before it was due to happen.

In 1968 the new armed wing, Apla, was formed.

In 1985 Johnson Mlambo changed the image of the PAC, saying whites would be part of a future dispensation.

It was unbanned in 1990 and in the same year Clarence Makwetu became president.

The PAC calls for redistribution of land and wealth, better education, affirmative action and quota programmes in the workplace, more power for the previously oppressed over management and state services and the socialisation and democratisation of business.

## Democratic Party (DP)



WHEN the Democratic Party was officially launched on April 8, 1989, it brought together all the different white parliamentary groupings who were to the left of the government.

This was after its predecessor, the Progressive Federal Party, lost status as the

"official opposition" in the white parliament during the 1987 tricameral elections to the Conservative Party.

Traditionally the home of white, middle-class, English speaking liberals, the DP has tried to broaden its support base to make an impact in this election.

When the NP stole much of its policy in 1990, the DP was faced with an identity crisis. While many of its supporters and members have crossed to either the ANC on the left or the NP on the right, the remaining DP members, under the leadership of Dr Zach de Beer, have decided to position themselves as South Africa's leading liberal party.

They believe in an economy based on principles of private entrepreneurship and minimum state involvement.

## National Party (NP)



IN 1948 the NP came to power, implemented apartheid and ruled South Africa until now.

It entrenched white Afrikaner power, appealing to ideals of a volk.

In the early 1960s it began to soften its approach to attract English speaking whites to the party. In the early '70s it experienced an internal power struggle and a group of ministers left to form the Herstigte Nasionale Party.

In 1981 it won 57 percent of the white vote. In 1983 won two-thirds of the white vote and changed the constitution to the tricameral one.

In 1949 the NP prohibited mixed marriages, in 1950 implemented Group Areas, in 1951 took the vote from coloureds, in 1952 strengthened influx control, in 1953 implemented separate amenities and in the '60s created the homeland policy.

It now admits past mistakes and promises to stimulate economic growth, provide decent facilities for millions of people, encourage reconciliation and ensure political and civil rights to all.

**POLITICAL ROUNDUP** Nelson Mandela votes ● *Accusatio*

# Madiba casts ballot at Inanda

*Sowetan 28/4/94*

**LIBERATION NOW** ANC chief

By Musa Zondi in Durban

**M**R NELSON MANDELA couldn't have chosen a better place to cast his vote at 75 years

He cast his ballot just after 7am at Ohlange High School in Inanda, near the grave of ANC founding father Dr John Langalibalele Dube — Umafukuzela

Just before 7am, Mandela arrived and drove straight to the grave which is behind the polling station and laid wreaths on Dube's grave. He talked to members of his family for a few minutes and proceeded to the polling station.

He walked into the polling booth and emerged a few minutes later to a crowd

*first pays homage at grave of founder:*

**WIA**

of hundreds of journalists and cast his vote

"This is for all South Africans an unforgettable occasion," he said. He added that this was the realisation of hopes and dreams that had been carried over decades.

He said "We are starting an era of hope, reconciliation and nation building. The results of this election will give hope to all South Africans who realise we are one nation."

He repeated the famous words from the Rivonia Trial "I have throughout my life fought against white domination and against black domination."

He cherished the idea of a new South Africa where everybody would be equal and work together for peace and democracy.

Mandela took his time talking to security personnel who were manning the station. He spoke to individual soldiers and policemen and shook their hands.

## Bitter Makwetu slams IEC

PAN Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu said yesterday the election was rigged and blamed the Independent Electoral Commission for "not doing their job" *Sowetan*

Makwetu and his wife Mandisa cast their votes at the Mosupatsela Secondary School in Kagiso *28/4/94*

A sombre Makwetu said his party was investigating irregularities and would decide whether or not to contest the freeness and fairness of the elections

Launching a bitter attack on the IEC, Makwetu said the commission was "conniving" in rigging the election by allowing, for example, African National Congress members to wear uniforms at polling stations

The unsmiling PAC president said "Today was nothing to be emotional about. This is the beginning of a phase marching to a final phase and the return of land to the people."

Makwetu queried his provincial ballot. An election monitor assured him his paper was acceptable and would not be affected by a "mark" on it *(11A)*

Makwetu said bomb attacks were likely to continue because forces were working to disrupt the election. He said it was the responsibility of "the regime" to end them.

More than 1 000 people voted at the school — *Sapa*

(News by M Schnehage, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)



# Buthelezi may be deputy president

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi might be one of two of South Africa's deputy presidents after the election if he does "reasonably well" in next week's poll, according to reliable ANC sources.

The sources said Buthelezi, whose party made a sensational last-minute entry into the election race this week, was being seriously considered in ANC circles for the position of one of two executive deputy presidents.

The offer would be made to him in the interests of peace and national unity, especially if he had a fairly respectable showing in the election.

## Forfeit

He would then join National Party leader F W de Klerk as the country's deputy president, with the ANC forfeiting its right to appoint the first deputy president — something to which it will be automatically entitled to if no more than two parties get over 20 percent each in the election.

The sources stressed, however, that this was just one of the options being considered in certain ANC circles, although not everyone in the organisation's national executive committee (NEC) was happy about it.

The ANC begins a two-day meeting of its extended NEC today, where the first deputy presidency of the country and Nelson Mandela's tentative Cabinet will be discussed.

Within the ANC itself, national chairman Thabo Mbeki and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa are the two main candidates, with each man's supporters lobbying very strongly for their man.

Because of the divisive nature of the designation of a deputy president, this issue has so far been discussed in hush-hush tones within the ANC.

Mbeki's supporters, mostly in the ANC Youth League, point to

the fact that he was placed second on the lists which came from the various regions across the country.

They say the list which saw Ramaphosa leap-frogging to the second spot had been a result of the national conference attended by party bosses and therefore did not represent "the will of the people".

Responding to a question at a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Ramaphosa — like Mbeki a week ago — said he and his colleagues in the ANC were not inclined to talk about themselves and what positions they might hold in future.

He confirmed, however, that the process of putting together an ANC Cabinet was under way.

The sources said Mbeki, who was "presently the most senior person in the ANC and commands a lot of respect from all sectors", was a clear favourite for the job.

Another "very senior and powerful job" had already been earmarked for Ramaphosa.

## Maverick

However, ANC sources yesterday told The Star there was now a possibility of maverick information and publicity chief Dr Palo Jordan becoming a compromise candidate for the first deputy presidency to avoid a showdown between Ramaphosa and Mbeki.

This would be similar to what happened at the organisation's July 1991 congress in Durban where Walter Sisulu was elected deputy president to stave off a potentially divisive battle for the position between the late Chris Hani and Mbeki.

Approached for comment yesterday, Jordan said: "I have not heard about it."

"However, I would not be a compromise candidate because I am very uncompromising."

Asked what his reaction would be if he were nominated for the position, he said he would "seriously consider it".

(47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

**PASSING THE MANTLE:** Veteran ANC leaders stand down in favour of the younger generation

# 'Tata' moves off centre stage

11A WMM 29/4-5/5/94

Octogenarian Walter Sisulu is about to retire from the ANC deputy presidency, joyful at having lived to see the democracy he fought for. **Stephen Laufer reports**

**A**S the battle for the hearts and minds of South Africa's voters draws to a close, a gentle white-haired man looks on from the wings, making no effort to suppress his joy at having lived to see the fruits of a life of political struggle and personal sacrifice.

"I lack words to describe the feeling," says Walter Sisulu, who will be 82 in May. "I have always been interested in history, and I cannot say how important this is in the context of the end of colonialism."

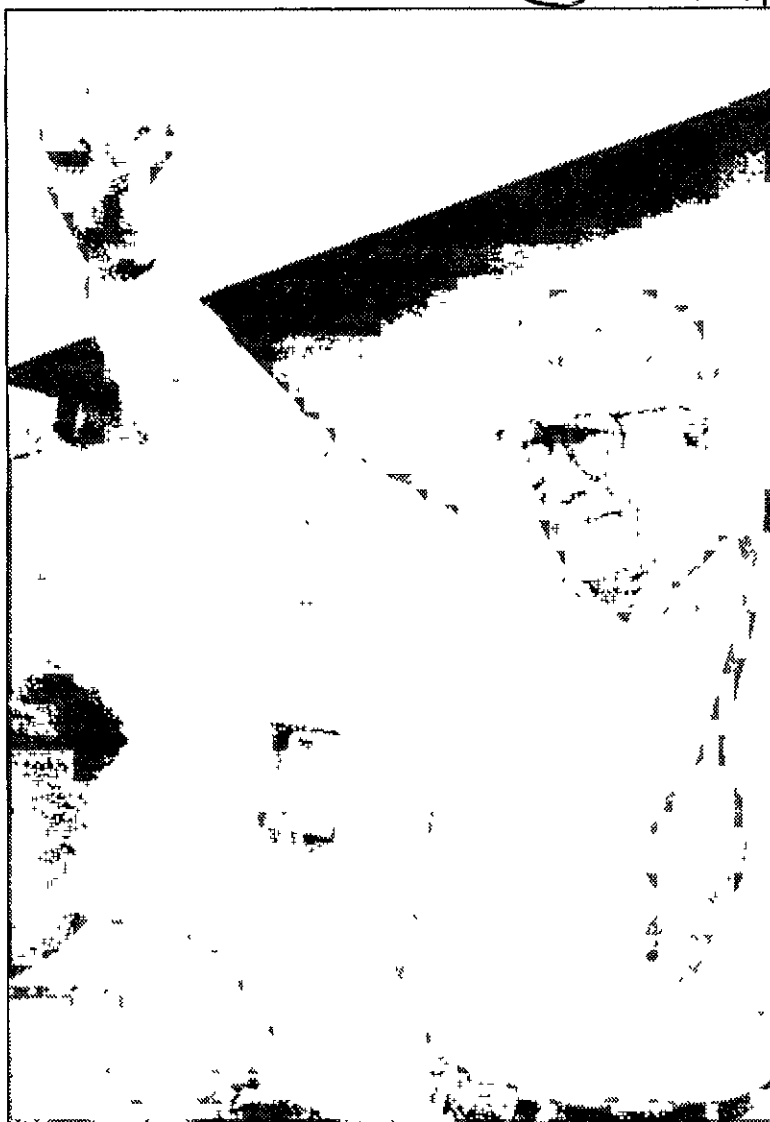
Sisulu's political biography has been intertwined with Nelson Mandela's for half a century, from the radical 1940s Youth League takeover of the ANC leadership via the treason trial to Rivonia, Robben Island, and his release from prison as a trail blazer for the ANC president. Now, as his friend prepares to take power, Sisulu has chosen to leave centre stage.

His movements have slowed, his secretary — herself a veteran of the battle for justice in South Africa — makes early appointments because he tends to tire later in the day. But although he plans to relinquish the ANC deputy presidency and his seat on the national executive at the next congress, Sisulu is far from being sidelined.

He laughs at the suggestion that any one of a dozen plum jobs could be his for the asking. An ambassadorship perhaps? Rome? Paris? "Those people who suggest that are very unkind to me," he says. "I can do better here."

It is a simple sentence which says much about Sisulu's understanding of himself. A politician most his life, there is nothing about him of the lust for power, the inflated ego commonly associated with late 20th century politicians.

For Sisulu, life has been and will continue to be about service to the people, although characteristically, he never uses the words. There is no cant, no self-delusion, no hyperbole. Just the quiet pleasure of being able



Walter Sisulu ... He 'paid a high price' but now he is finally voting

PHOTOGRAPH GIDEON MENDEL

to sit back and allow the history of which he has been an active participant to pass review.

He acknowledges the hardships of underground and prison, and that "we had to pay a high price" for liberation.

But with his lifelong passion for history, he is philosophical when describing the context. "South Africa is the key to Africa and the colonial powers realised they had to keep us away from majority rule in order to hold Africa."

The decision to form Umkhonto weSizwe and embark on the armed struggle was not difficult morally, insists Sisulu. The nature of the apartheid state was such that there was no alternative.

"We were not Ghandi-ites, but we had made non-violence a tenet of our struggle," he says, recalling the

debates leading to MK's founding. "Luthuli had just received the Nobel Peace Prize, were we exposing him? We were worried about tarring people with the MK brush. We asked ourselves how we would tell Helen Joseph, a Christian, that we were taking to arms."

Luthuli understood immediately, says Sisulu, making it clear to the younger ANC people that physical force was not foreign to him if the circumstances required it. "He got angry at one time, saying 'if anyone doubts me, let them try to take my chickens. They'll get to know me.' He realised why we had to take this line, he was worried about the fate of the movement."

The arrest of the MK high command at Rivonia brought "no feeling of disaster, it was a natural course of events", says Sisulu.

"I knew I would face arrest sooner or later, we were aware that the final word would be death or long jail terms. That knowledge makes you stronger. It doesn't pounce on you, you are prepared, you take it as part of your life."

Which is not to deny the pain. "You miss the good things, family, children. You are happy serving the cause. But it is most painful missing the children."

Hope and courage came from international developments and the rekindling of the struggle at home, says Sisulu. Soweto 1976, the 1980s, the Portuguese revolution, Mozambican, Angolan, Zimbabwean independence, the defeat of the South African army at Cuito Caneval.

Today, Sisulu clearly luxuriates in the ordinary things of life. Showing a photograph of James Mpanza, the founder of the squatter movement which precipitated the creation of Soweto, he speaks with passion of Orlando, which he made his home at its founding in 1934, and where he still lives. "I associate many important meetings with Soweto. The formation of the Youth League, many important visits from around the world. I have a great attachment."

The task ahead for South Africa will require "a strong, disciplined government and ANC", says Sisulu. Smiling, he insists the ANC's experience is such that "we can be an inspiration to our partners in the government of national unity."

Unity will be an issue for the organisation internally in the future, believes Sisulu. "I don't think the ANC can remain a broad church. The SACP will go it alone. We have a remarkable unity, there is no greater unity of the leadership anywhere else. But that doesn't mean we won't go different ways at some time."

Sisulu will keep an office in Shell House, where he is universally known as "Tata" — father — in a mixture of love and respect not enjoyed by the more aloof Mandela.

"There is no need for me to go to parliament," says Sisulu.

"I can do my work without holding office. I am not retiring in the ordinary sense, but it is time to make way for the fine young people we have developed. There is much to be done within the ANC, it is a big challenge to help organise."

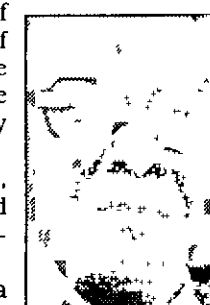
## Mbeki leaves National Assembly to youngsters

Shadley Nash

GOVAN MBEKI'S latest book, *Sunset at Midday*, would already have been completed if he hadn't been called in to help with the ANC's election campaign.

Mbeki has been working on the book for the past 20 months. Now on the last chapter, he expects it to be in bookshops by the end of the year. It's a history of the ANC during the turbulent 1970s and 1980s, a period he describes as one "that blew the lights of democracy out, when the country was plunged into darkness".

Mbeki has already penned two other books which chronicle the struggle for liberation, from the formation of the Union in 1910 and the subsequent birth of the ANC in 1912,



Govan Mbeki

with background coverage of the periods 1850-1909, up until the late 1960s when the ANC was already deep underground.

Nominated for a position on the senate

in the Eastern Cape, Mbeki is content to leave the business of running the country to others.

"There are so many younger people that should be in the National Assembly, I have left that for them, they should be there," he says.

But he believes he has a role to play in the country's future — "in or out of parliament" — although he says this will be decided at a later stage.

Looking back on the ANC's long struggle he says: "We have made mistakes, but by and large I think the ANC had a good grasp of things and developed policies to meet that situation. In my opinion the ANC has done that fairly well."

The ANC now faced a "serious challenge": implementing its Reconstruction and Development Programme.

Mbeki has appealed to all South Africans to play their part to "contribute to making South Africa what it should be: a prosperous, peaceful country for all its people". — Ecna

# Round one in the deputy president bout

The ANC faces a tough — and hotly contested — choice of deputy president from two very strong, and very different, contenders  
**Anton Harber reports**

ONE of the first post-election decisions the ANC will have to make is the choice of a deputy president. This sets the scene for a crucial title fight between two heavyweights: general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa and national chairman Thabo Mbeki.

The constitution entitles the two biggest parties in parliament — probably the ANC and the National Party — each to designate one executive deputy president. Although the constitution is vague on the roles of these deputies — saying only that they will do those tasks assigned to them by the president, these will be crucial positions of power and influence.

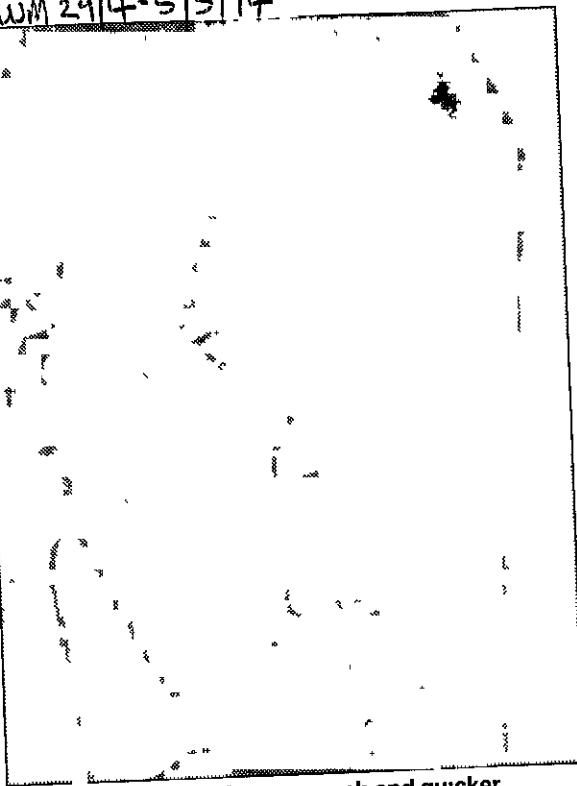
If Nelson Mandela, as is likely, wishes to play the role of national statesman of reconciliation and unity, he will want to stay aloof from the hurly-burly of cabinet politicking. In this case, he will want to designate one or both of his deputies to run the daily business of government.

Deputy presidents are also members of the cabinet: have the right to address any house of parliament and one of them will serve as acting president when necessary.

The NP's choice for its deputy presidency will be straightforward: party leader FW de Klerk. But the ANC will be forced to face the delicate question of who is the likely successor to Mandela — a hotly contested issue.

ANC insiders say that the jostling between the two obvious candidates has already marked many national executive committee meetings.

In one corner is Cyril Ramaphosa whose rise to power has been nothing less than meteoric. Ramaphosa combines an outward charm with a ruthless political instinct, sharpened in the tough years when he headed the National Union of Mineworkers. He is a seasoned political infighter, and there are not many politicians who will survive close combat with him. His allies call him shrewd, strong



Cyril Ramaphosa .. Longer reach and quicker

and hard-working. His opponents in the ANC, particularly those who he has had against the ropes, call him a political thug. He commands an enormous amount of respect, within and without the ANC, but has more than his fair share of enemies.

One of them is Peter Mokaba, probably because Ramaphosa was the only leader prepared to stand up to Mokaba and Winnie Mandela. In an ironic twist, Mokaba is now backing the moderate Mbeki.

Of course, Ramaphosa is no less moderate than Mbeki, having proposed and backed many a compromise with the NP and Inkatha Freedom Party. But he has the knack of maintaining the image of a radical trade unionist and is more popular among the rank-and-file.

Mbeki, in the other corner, is the suave and experienced diplomat. Having spent most of his life in exile, he is used to the gentlemanly exchanges of diplomacy rather than the vigorous infighting of internal politics. He was ANC president Oliver Tambo's right-hand man and spearheaded the movement's successful international campaigns of the 1970s and 1980s.

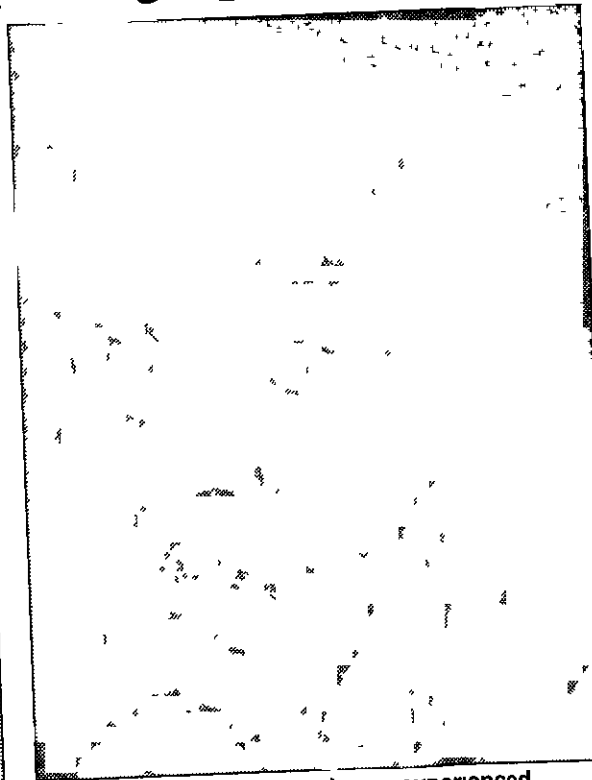
This makes him a favourite for foreign minister, but he has indicated privately that this is not the post he wants.

He has some strong support for the higher post of deputy president but would also have a claim to the finance ministry if the incumbent, Derek Keys, is not kept in place. Mbeki has a masters degree in economics from Sussex University.

He does not have a strong popular base, having not been involved in much day-to-day branch activity since his return to the country in 1990. But he does wear the tie of the exiles' old boy network.

Interestingly, both Mbeki and Ramaphosa have had complicated relationships with the South African Communist Party. Mbeki sat on its central committee in exile, but allowed his membership to expire after the SACP's unbanning. Ramaphosa was a provisional member before 1990, but chose to stand back once membership became public. However, he chaired the party's homecoming rally in 1990 and won its strong backing when he ran for secretary general.

The choice between these two men is partly a choice of styles. Does the



Thabo Mbeki .. Heavier and more experienced

ANC want a deputy president who, with diplomatic aplomb, can spread the message of unity and reconciliation and draw together the disparate members of the cabinet? Or does it want a rough and crafty infighter, who will run the cabinet with a firm hand? Does it want someone with the image of a moderate and a conciliator, like Mbeki, or a deputy president with the tougher image of Ramaphosa?

Both candidates have powerful supporters. Personal dynamics have a lot to do with this. Mbeki is close to Jacob Zuma and together they are seen as the moderate wing of the national executive. Ramaphosa usually has Joe Slovo at his side.

Mbeki is closer in style and temperament to Mandela, but it may be that Mandela sees himself playing the unifying role and wants a different kind of deputy. On the other hand, Mandela is not that fond of Ramaphosa, having campaigned against him when he ran for general secretary.

It is not a question of ideology, since there is no great distance between the thinking of Ramaphosa and Mbeki, nor of ability, for both have established reputations for their skills and

talents.

It probably has more to do with infighting — and on this level Ramaphosa wins hands down. The coup he scored this month in the Natal/kwaZulu negotiations has considerably upped his chances of scoring a knockout.

Mbeki and Zuma, the ANC candidate for Natal premier, had been leading the negotiations with the IFP and King Goodwill Zwelithini. But two weeks ago, as the matter was coming to a head, Mandela sent Mbeki overseas on a separate mission. Ramaphosa moved in — and he and Slovo were able to tie up the deal when it mattered.

That followed a reported behind-the-scenes difference of opinion, with Mbeki having agreed to terms of reference for international mediation that made no mention of the issue of postponing the elections. Ramaphosa argued that the issue could not be left open — and this provided the breaking point that led to the failure of mediation, and in turn last week's success in forcing Buthelezi's hand.

This typifies the kind of behind-the-scenes jostling going on between Ramaphosa and Mbeki at the moment. It should come to a head at the ANC national executive meeting planned for May 3 and 4.

The ANC could opt for the kind of compromise that allowed it previously to avoid the question of secession. Faced with the issue last year after the death of the then vice-president Oliver Tambo, the ANC made the safe, short-term choice of Walter Sisulu. But the ageing patriarch is now firm in his desire to retire from active politics.

Mandela could offer a deputy presidency to Buthelezi, thus accommodating him and avoiding the Mbeki/Ramaphosa showdown. However, the deputy presidencies seem too influential for Mandela to relinquish them. He would be more likely, if he felt the need to accommodate the IFP president, to change the constitution to allow for a third deputy.

So an Mbeki/Ramaphosa title fight seems inevitable. At the weigh-in, Mbeki was heavier, but Ramaphosa had the longer reach, Mbeki more experienced, but Ramaphosa quicker on his feet. There goes the bell for the first round!

Dm 29/4/94

hope has, however, been dashed by this week's deadly bomb blasts, thought to be the work of forces opposed to the election

While Buthelezi claimed the switch was done altruistically in the interests of SA, this was hotly contested. (HS) (IA) (S) (S)

Buthelezi, however, immediately cautioned, as he launched into a frenzied six-day election campaign, that violence will not disappear after April 27

While Inkatha may have U-turned on participation, its campaign platform remained substantially the same opposition to the interim constitution, the need for an "indestructible" Bill of Rights, greater regional autonomy under a federal rather than unitary State, and a noninterventionist economic system to prevent, in Buthelezi's words, "the ANC destroying SA through central government tyranny Ours is the rallying cry for free enterprise and democracy"

In spite of the difficulties of a condensed election campaign, Inkatha election field director Farouk Cassim predicted a good showing. 55 seats in the national assembly and outright control of Natal The party was also bullish about support in the PWV and western Cape

Inkatha, Cassim added, rejects the idea of an alliance — initially mooted by Natal NP leader George Bartlett and Pik Botha in the Transvaal, but shot down by NP leader F W de Klerk Cassim scoffs at Bartlett's suggestion of an NP/Inkatha deal to freeze out the ANC

"Apart from the fact that we expect to win Natal, the Nat suggestion again demonstrates that the party's cynical quest for power supersedes principle First they work with the ANC to freeze us out, now they want us to help them against the ANC It's just not on." Cassim believed much of the Inkatha support would come from the NP, the DP and the rightwing — in addition, of course, to the groundswell of loyal followers who would have boycotted the election at Buthelezi's behest

Not everyone agrees, however University of Natal political analyst Sandy Johnston said it was highly debatable whether Inkatha would be able to recapture many of its original supporters who resigned themselves to voting for other parties

"Inkatha has not come in trailing clouds of glory The way the party has conducted itself during negotiations and the boycott, plus the fact that it has come into the election without any substantial gains at all, means that they are unlikely to take many white and Indian voters from the DP and NP Further, they will struggle to get back whatever they had before Even the bedrock constituency seems to be in some disarray and seems not to have been heavily mobilised and geared to voting," says Johnston

Nevertheless, he still expected the party to make a substantial showing at the polls And Inkatha's entry could have woken up disillusioned white and Indian voters, who had written off the election as a foregone ANC victory in Natal, into turning out at the polls

INKATHA — 1

Dm 29/4/94

### Hope springs eternal

There was a palpable air of relief in Durban following the signing of the tripartite agreement last week, while Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi returned to Ulundi to a hero's welcome. (HS) (IA) (S) (S)

The general feeling was that Inkatha's last-minute decision had transformed the outlook for the election and transition from one of spiralling strife to one of hope Such

### CURRENT AFFAIRS

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Johnston added that, while Inkatha rejected pre-election overtures for an alliance with the Nats, such a coalition should not be ruled out after the election. (IA) (HS) (S) (S)

Johnston feels that victory in Natal will still go to the ANC — though Inkatha's return is a general stimulus to the campaign and will make it a much closer contest

The chances of a hung parliament in Natal, Johnston feels, might depend on the performance of the DP "It would be an interesting situation if the DP held the balance of power between an Inkatha/NP coalition and the ANC The DP has turned into an anti-ANC party — but spends the rest of the time slanging the Nats One wonders which way it would go"

ANC GOVERNMENT  
 Fm 29/4/94  
**Sensible or sinister?**

In a bid to ensure control and direction over all ministries in the new government of national unity — to be appointed in all likelihood by incoming president Nelson Mandela next week — senior ANC figures have been fine-tuning a plan to set up an inner Cabinet office presided over by a top figure of the organisation

The thinking is that Mandela should be above this arrangement, in order to devote his time to conciliation and nation-building in the new SA. The major function of the Cabinet secretariat will be to monitor and ensure implementation of Cabinet decisions

Assuming that about a third of the new Cabinet will be drawn from parties other than the ANC — in terms of proportional representation a party with at least 5% of the vote in this week's election is eligible for a Cabinet seat — the idea of an ANC inner Cabinet or politburo could be dangerous in that it will not encourage Cabinet collegiality (11A) (249)

And if, as expected, the NP is entitled to three or four portfolios, at least one of them will have to be high-powered

The interim constitution already contains the questionable provision in terms of which the party — not the elected MPs — will call the tune, since an MP who decides to buck the party line may be expelled by it. It all points to rule by the party managers, in this case, by the Shell House ANC

On the other hand, many governments do make use of inner caucuses comprised of the top Ministers, so the idea is not necessarily a sinister move to ensure tight central control. While central control may well be instinctive to the ANC, the organisation is doubtless aware of the pitfalls of encouraging partisanship at Cabinet level. It could hobble a government whose urgent task is to make good to the masses its reconstruction and development priorities, and one which must work by consensus

Cabinet managing, says Wits political scientist Tom Lodge, doesn't necessarily imply caucusing. It may simply be that the

Fm 29/4/94  
 ANC is trying to avoid conflict or preparing to regulate it (11A) (249)

Which is why it would make sense for the job of Cabinet secretary to go to ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki, who is perhaps more soft-tongued than the other main contender for the job, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, who is perhaps a wiler, more efficient organiser

In the rivalry stakes between the two, Ramaphosa is widely seen as having trumped Mbeki by calling the bluff of Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi over the terms of reference for the international mediators recently

No doubt there will continue to be ideological groupings in the ANC and conflicts over policy may be expected, as in any ruling party or government. For example, the ANC's trade union MPs will push hard for reconstruction and development and won't be too perturbed about whether high levels of expenditure attract foreign investors or not. Hopefully, they will be balanced by wiser heads in the Cabinet

Observers seem convinced that Mandela, at least, will discourage caucusing in an ANC-led government, which, apart from containing Ministers from other parties, expects anyway to be faced with a hostile bureaucracy ■

INKATHA — 2  
 Fm 29/4/94  
**Goodwill sold short**

The real reasons behind Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's last-minute decision to join in the general election have not yet emerged. But reports claiming that Buthelezi was forced to capitulate after Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini said he would accept the ANC's offer guaranteeing his position, seem plausible enough (11A) (249)

At the very last meeting of the multiparty negotiating council on April 20, called to adopt formally the constitutional amendments affecting the king, Inkatha and the KwaZulu government were represented by Walter Felgate and Prof Harriet Ngubane. The council welcomed Inkatha's decision, but there were tough remarks by the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa and his government counterpart, Roelf Meyer, concerning Inkatha's apparent cynicism and the fact that "700 lives" had to be lost before Buthelezi changed his mind. Ramaphosa read from a *Pretoria News* report that day which quoted Felgate as having told the BBC that "the IFP's strategy was to hold out for as long as possible. Millions of rands could not have got us this publicity"

"I find it tragic that a high-ranking official of the IFP said that," said Ramaphosa, adding that Inkatha should no longer be treated with kid gloves

A somewhat cowed Felgate said Inkatha had "sought only to bring about the best possible amendments to the constitution". He said his remark about free publicity was

Fm 29/4/94  
 in answer to a question about the short time Inkatha would have for campaigning

If Inkatha only wanted to get the best constitution, Roelf Meyer wanted to know, why did they not accept the April 11 draft agreement on the status of the Zulu king, worked out at Skukuza?

"It was turned down publicly by Chief Buthelezi. I don't understand it," said Meyer. "Now the IFP and the Chief Minister suddenly accept far less than was spelled out in the Skukuza draft, which included specific powers and constitutional protection for the Zulu king. They owe the country an explanation." As Meyer saw it, only one deduction could be made: "It was all about postponing the election." He pointed out that Inkatha's central committee had again called for a postponement on April 9. "And when mediation failed, the IFP changed its mind and came in (11A) (249)"

What did Inkatha actually achieve for holding out?

First, the constitutional principle (XIII) — which recognises and protects the institution, status and role of traditional leadership according to traditional law — is amended by adding "Provisions in a provincial constitution relating to the institution, role, authority and status of a traditional monarch shall be recognised and protected in the constitution." Nothing there relates to the Zulu king specifically

Second, the section in the interim constitution dealing with provincial constitutions brings in the following proviso: "Provided that a provincial constitution may provide for legislative and executive structures and procedures different from those provided for in this constitution in respect of a province, and, where applicable, provide for the institution, role, authority and status of a traditional monarch in the province, and shall make such provision for the Zulu monarch in the case of the province of KwaZulu/Natal"

In terms of the earlier Skukuza draft, the parties had undertaken "to actively promote the dignity of the Zulu king and monarchy," and to ensure that within the KwaZulu/Natal constitution the king and Zulu monarchy "shall have and enjoy a suitable position"

In particular, the parties undertook at Skukuza to ensure that the king shall be recognised as king with constitutional powers, prerogatives, rights and obligations which shall extend throughout the province; have and exercise such rights and powers as determined by Zulu custom and tradition, as well as ceremonial powers and prerogatives specified in the provincial constitution

Further, the provincial legislature would annually have been required to approve a budget to cover the expenses of the king and Zulu monarchy and establish by law a royal guard responsible for his security

To clinch it all the agreement would have been "filed with the Security Council of the UN" to ensure its implementation

None of these special provisions was in the final agreement ■

# First task is to raise living standards of blacks, says Mandela

VUYO BAVUMA  
Political Staff

THE first task of the new government will be to raise the living standards of blacks to the same level as that of whites, says ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Interviewed on CNN today, Mr Mandela, who is expected to be the country's next president, said people would have to be patient while the process of meeting their needs was being set up.

Commenting on the reported R5-billion capital flight from the country, Mr Mandela said he hoped businesses would change their minds once they saw the new government could restore order and stability.

South Africa was different from other African countries because it had a well-developed private sector and an advanced telecommunications system.

"Recently we published an investor's guide with guarantees for the investors. We hope investors' fears will be allayed as time goes by."

Asked whether his life would be complete if he were elected as president, Mr Mandela said he still had many cherished dreams "just like the one of being elected as president", and would go on having them

Responding to the question of what would happen to the ANC when he died, Mr Mandela said the ANC did not rely on individuals, but on teamwork.

He was part of a team that carried out the policies spelt out in the ANC documents and from input from the Na-



Mr Mandela  
ARG 29/14/94  
tional Executive Committee  
The changing of an individual leader would have no effect. Mr Mandela refused to comment on whether he would be reconciled with his estranged wife Winnie, because this was a personal matter. Regarding his religious beliefs, Mr Mandela said that during his 27 years in jail he attended religious services every single week but one — "because I was sick".

Ystergarde personnel are ex-SADF

# ANC lodges complaint with IEC

*Sowetan 29/4/94*

**■ LOCKED UP** Farmer alleged to have prevented workers from voting:

*(WPT) [scribble]*

**By Ike Motsapi**

**T**HE ANC HAS LODGED a complaint with the Independent Electoral Commission about an Eastern Transvaal farmer who allegedly prevented his workers from voting on Wednesday.

ANC local premier candidate Mr Matthew Phosa said the farmer had locked up his workers during the voting on his farm on that day.

He said police and IEC officials, accompanied by ANC representatives, would visit the farmer. The delegation was due to visit the farm yesterday afternoon.

Phosa said they were concerned about the security of the boxes containing the ballot papers and the ANC would discuss the matter with the IEC.

Phosa boasted that his organisation had convincingly captured the Eastern Transvaal region during the first day of voting on Wednesday.

"There is no doubt about the outcome. The one thing that is clear is that the ANC has won this region with a landslide majority," said Phosa.

But the Pan Africanist Congress said the results would be very close.

Local PAC official Mr Bhekisisa Mchunu said "We are doing very well and, according to our sources, many people voted for us."

Phosa said the ANC scooped the majority of the votes in the region on Wednesday when thousands of people — including farm workers who "escaped" from their workplaces — flocked to the polling booths.

# Posts for leaders of PAC, Azapo - Mandela

Star 2/5/94

(11A)

~~2/5/94~~

BY AGGREY KLAASTE  
and MATHATHA TSEDU

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday said he would offer Cabinet posts to leaders of the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation.

Speaking during the

first interview after it became clear that his organisation was leading the election, Mandela said both organisations had contributed significantly to the struggle against white domination and oppression

"I find it painful that

the PAC should not show strength in these elections. There are men and women in the PAC who have suffered and it is only proper that a role should be found for them in government. This applies to Azapo as well," he said. "Both have outstanding leaders, who

should play a role in the new society."

He said that while this was his personal opinion, he was going to put it before the ANC executive committee

The PAC had polled less than 2 percent by last night, while Azapo

boycotted the elections

Turning to the implementation of the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme, Mandela said that the plan would involve forums where affected communities could determine the priorities

1/3/1



# Mandela's offer to PAC and Azapo

Sowetan 2/5/94

## ■ CABINET POSTS Recognition

By Aggrey Klaaste and Mathatha Tsedu

for those who helped in struggle:

**A**NC PRESIDENT Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday said he would offer cabinet posts to leaders of the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation

Speaking in an interview with *Sowetan* — the first interview after it became clear that his organisation was leading in the election — Mandela said both organisations had contributed significantly to the struggle of black people against white domination and oppression

"I find it painful that the PAC should not show strength in these elections. There are men and women in the PAC who have suffered and it is only proper that a role should be found for them in government. This applies to Azapo as well. Both have outstanding leaders, who should play a role in building the

new society," Mandela said.

He said while this was his personal opinion, he was going to put it before his colleagues in the ANC's executive committee. The PAC had by yesterday polled less than 2 percent, while Azapo boycotted the elections.

Mandela said while he felt elated by the prospect of victory, he was filled with a feeling of sadness because many other leaders, such as Oliver Tambo, Chris Hani, Mangaliso Sobukwe and Steve Biko, who had fought hard, died before the victory that was being celebrated

Turning to the implementation of the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme, Mandela said the

(11A)

immediate plan would involve forums where communities who are to benefit from the schemes would determine priorities themselves

Mandela paid tribute to the role of the media, and *Sowetan* in particular, and said his government would support measures such as the Freedom of Information Act to ensure maximum accountability by politicians

He said violence within the black communities needed political, police and social answers

The ANC was engaged in discussions with the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Zulu king Zwelithini to establish relationships, he said

● See page 7.

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Latest poll standing of  
 all the parties  
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Mystery of the missing  
 ballot papers solved  
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Kwazulu results hold  
 key to peace in SA  
 page 6

SA's likely regional  
 premiers in profile  
 page 14 & 15

# ANC poised for victory

Sowetan 215194 (11A)

By Mokgadi Pela

**T**HE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS was last night headed for victory in South Africa's first democratic elections, but conceded it had lost to the National Party in the Western Cape.

Provisional results issued by the Independent Electoral Commission continued to trickle in yesterday but by 10pm just less than 5 million votes had been counted and results from the major urban centres of Durban and Johannesburg had yet to come in.

By 11pm last night, the ANC commanded a comfortable lead of 54 percent, while the NP followed with 33 percent and the Inkatha

Freedom Party a mere 4,5 percent.

ANC information secretary Dr Pallo Jordan told a news briefing last night his party would win at least 58 percent of the national vote. He said the ANC would be happy with 28 percent of the vote for the Western Cape provincial assembly.

Reports of electoral irregularities mounted. They included the discovery of hundreds of thousands of unused ballot papers hidden in warehouses on the East and West Rand and the use of "pirate voting stations" in the Durban area.

In a statement later on Sunday, the IEC said the investigation into missing ballot papers and distribution mechanisms in the PWV would soon be completed and the results would be made public.

The Pan Africanist Congress' poor election re-

sults throughout the country so far has shocked many analysts. The organisation has polled just above one percent by 11pm last night.

Observers attributed this to its poor election strategies, lack of financial resources, disunity in the organisation and lack of a charismatic leader of the calibre of PAC founder, the late Mr Robert Sobukwe.

Meanwhile, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela spent the day yesterday fielding questions from a string of local and foreign journalists on the future of the country.

Mandela told journalists he would offer the PAC and Azapo cabinet posts in recognition of their contribution to the struggle.

● See pages 2, 3, 7, 10, 14 and 15.

**John Player Special**  
*A special kind of pleasure*



THE election campaign is over but the hectic life of ANC president Nelson Mandela never stops. As Mandela prepared for the country's highest office yesterday, he found time to meet another Madiba, Sowetan Editor Mr Aggrey Klaaste, for an interview that is either the last before his inauguration as president, or the first after the results showed lead for the ANC. See pages 2 and 7.

# NEWS ANC president filled with sadness ● Exhausted IEC officials expect more work

## News in brief

### Airport damage

DAMAGE estimated at about R2 million was caused by the car bomb explosion at Jan Smuts Airport near Johannesburg on April 27

Managing director of Airports Company Limited Mr Braam Loots said at the weekend "The damage has been assessed and construction work has already commenced. Fortunately, little structural damage was caused. Temporary repair work is expected to be completed by May 9

However, as a result of the unavailability of certain items, final repair work will only be completed by June"

### Keane is buried

AFRICAN National Congress PWV regional executive member and regional parliament candidate Susan Keane (37) — one of the victims of the Bree Street car bomb — was buried at West Park Cemetery in Johannesburg on Saturday

Hundreds of mourners, including top ANC leaders, attended the requiem mass at the Catholic Cathedral of Christ the King. For over an hour mourners filed past the plain unvarnished pine coffin, draped in the new South African flag and the ANC flag, to pay their last respects in the full glare of local and international media

### Free and fair

THE International Confederation of Free Trade Unions has declared South Africa's elections free and fair. The ICTU said its team of more than 200 observers deployed across each of the nine provinces believed the election augured well for a peaceful, prosperous and democratic South Africa

### Ban welcomed

THE Oceanographic Research Institute in Durban has welcomed the provisional banning of so-called fun vehicles on beaches.

ORI spokesman Mr Rudi van der Elst said they were concerned about the damage done to the sensitive coastal zone by beach buggies, four-wheel-drive vehicles and scramblers. In terms of Friday's government promulgation, a permit system could be introduced for responsible drivers — *Sowetan Correspondents and Sapa*

### next

## Talkback

### topic

TODAY'S *Sowetan*-Radio Metro Talkback Show is an open line. Phone show host Tim Modise between 7pm and 8pm to share your views.

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Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Tholoe Newsbills, sub-editing and headlines by Mike Tissong and Sy Makarange. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg. The reproduction or broadcast without permission of articles published in this newspaper on any current economic, political or religious topic, is forbidden and expressly reserved to Argus Newspapers Limited under Section 12(7) of the Copyright Act 1978



**CLOSE WATCH**... Members of the South African National Defence Force escort officials of the Independent Electoral Commission as they move ballot boxes to a counting station at the exhibition centre in Johannesburg yesterday.

PIC: PAT SEBOKO

# Mandela's offer to PAC and Azapo

*Sowetan 2/5/94*

## ■ CABINET POSTS Recognition

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● See page 7

# PWV count going well after initial hiatus

By Bongani Mavuso

ARMED members of the SA National Defence Force and the South African Police guarded Nasrec Showgrounds in Johannesburg, where counting of votes for the PWV region was being carried out. The showgrounds were the main counting station in this region, the largest in South Africa

Exhausted Independent Electoral Commission officials described counting as "going on smoothly". Many said some political parties contesting the elections had complained about "irregularities" in the counting process

"Counting of votes for the various regions had proceeded very well. The

counting process was derailed by officials of some parties who made repeated complaints about irregularities. Overall, the counting is proceeding well," an IEC official said

By late yesterday afternoon, counting was under way at the showgrounds. Journalists from the international media were also out in full force. Press photographers were allowed five minutes to take pictures of the counting process

"We spent the whole night here," an IEC official at another counting room said. "We hope to finish by the early hours of tomorrow."

People milled around the showgrounds with the hope that results of the PWV region in South Africa's first in-

clusive elections would be announced

"I am optimistic the party I voted for will win the elections here because this is our region. I woke up as early as 7am to come here and obtain first hand information about which party has won in the PWV," said Mr Jabu Mthethwa of Mofolo in Soweto. Most election observers *Sowetan* spoke to said no incidents took place at the showgrounds. Most complained of fatigue

"This is hectic work. We have been here for about six hours now and are afraid more work still needs to be done. But we are prepared for the worst since these elections are more important than the strain we are going through," a group of observers said

# Not so free

By Isaac Moledi

MAJOR political parties were cautious about pronouncing the elections "free and fair", with the Pan Africanist Congress being the most critical of the whole process

The PAC said it felt duty-bound to accept the outcome of the election although they knew that they had not been free and fair

PAC director of publicity and information Ms Siphwe Sithole said her party filed a number of complaints with the Independent Electoral Commission but nothing was done to resolve them

"But we will have to accept the counting as the PAC might be labelled reactionary," said Sithole

The Democratic Party said although it lodged certain procedural complaints against the IEC, it had to withdraw these after the peaceful manner in which the elections were conducted

The Inkatha Freedom Party described the whole election process as a "circus without a ring master"

IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillet said: "The whole election administration was caught between bureaucratic incompetence and malpractice

"We will reserve our judgment until the results are published," Tillet said.

The National Party said it was too premature to comment about the freedom and fairness of the elections as the counting had not yet been completed.

# US aid for SA

UNITED STATES President Bill Clinton has announced he will this week unveil an aid package — expected to be R550 million a year or more — to boost the new South Africa

The "substantial" increase in funding would help SA "navigate a course for all its people", Clinton said in his weekly radio broadcast to the nation

He cited the South African transition as an example of why it was so vital for the United States to remain engaged in world affairs

NP's showing defies expectations

# ANC on track B1 Day 215194 for 60% victory

THE ANC appeared late last night to be headed for a 60% majority in the National Assembly with the NP making an unexpectedly strong showing which could see it ending with more than 25%.

But the high combined ANC/NP share of the total vote — with just more than 4 million ballots or about one-fifth counted — pointed to a poor performance by the smaller parties — the DP, Freedom Front and PAC.

With only about 3% of the KwaZulu/Natal votes counted, observers said it was impossible at this stage to make any educated projection of the Inkatha Freedom Party's chances.

HSRC vice-president Lawrence Schlemmer last night predicted that the ANC was likely to achieve a 57% to 62% majority with the NP in the "upper 20's". Opinion polls consistently predicted 20% or less for the NP.

NP candidate Marthus van Schalkwyk predicted the ANC would fail to gain a two-thirds majority, while the NP's final tally would be 25% to 28% of the total vote.

By 9:30pm, Inkatha had won 4.7% of the DP 2.8% and the PAC 1.2%. The NP last night had about 33% of the 4-million national votes counted and the ANC 53.3%. But a large proportion of these votes — more than a quarter — were cast in the Western Cape where the NP had put up a very strong showing, with more than 60% of the vote. Van Schalkwyk said it would be difficult for the NP to hold on to that proportion.

Schlemmer said the trend seemed to show people voted symbolically — blacks seeing it as a "liberation election" while whites and middle-class coloureds and Indians voted defensively to protect their

TIM COHEN, ADRIAN HADLAND, STEPHANE BOTHA and BILLY PADDOCK

rights and privileges, limited as they were. ANC information chief Pallo Jordan said last night that irrespective of whether the ANC obtained a two-thirds majority at the national level it would seek an inclusive final constitution.

President FW de Klerk said late yesterday afternoon the NP was doing better than opinion polls had predicted.

He told reporters in Pretoria that he was just as frustrated about delays in the

With 4 760 553 votes counted nationally for the National Assembly, the leading parties were:

|               |                   |
|---------------|-------------------|
| ANC           | 2 568 222 (54.7%) |
| NP            | 1 492 996 (31.8%) |
| IFP           | 212 214 (04.5%)   |
| Freedom Front | 172 947 (03.7%)   |
| DP            | 117 167 (02.5%)   |
| PAC           | 57 005 (01.2%)    |

counting of votes as the public "The NP is doing relatively well but we have to wait for the counting to be completed before we can say more."

Sapa reports DP leader Zach de Beer told a news conference at Gallagher Estate last night "We are very disappointed. It is much less than we hoped for."

He remained optimistic, however, that his party would continue to play an important role as a "watchdog" over human rights and democracy.

De Beer attributed his party's poor performance to NP propaganda campaigning which called on the electorate to vote for the NP to prevent ANC domination.

He said another reason for the DP's low count was the "huge ethnic vote coming

(for the ANC) as expected"

Jordan said the DP's election campaign to vilify the ANC had backfired, and caused frightened DP supporters into moving to the NP. However, the still-awaited returns from major urban areas could improve the DP's fortunes, he added.

Freedom Front spokesman Steve Manger said it was quite possible his party would gain more than 1-million votes which would give it a clear majority of the Afrikaner vote.

In terms of the Front's agreement with other parties, it would have to show "substantial support" to open talks on a "volkstaat". The party seemed set to achieve this with many votes to spare, he said.

The significant showing for the Freedom Front demonstrated that the party had effectively taken over the overwhelming majority of CP supporters.

Reuter reports Jordan said the ANC had not said it "would ever entertain the notion of a volkstaat". However, the ANC was prepared to discuss the idea of a volkstaat "with a view to ensuring that those who want to pursue (it) do not engage in unconstitutional and armed activities to attain their objectives".

"It doesn't mean that we will ever embrace the notion of a volkstaat itself," he said.

The PAC, which many assumed would, due to a "he factor", show around 5% support rather than the 2% shown in most opinion polls, was dealt a devastating blow — polling just more than 1% of votes counted. The preliminary results showed the party had failed to gain significant support even in areas where it had a strong following.

All the small parties formed before the elections failed to gain a significant num-

To Page 2

## ANC victory B1 Day 215194 From Page 1

ber of votes and predictions were that none would gain a seat in Parliament other than possibly the African Christian Democratic Party with 0.6% of the vote.

Frances Kendall's Federal Party and Amichand Rajbans's Minority Front had both won about 0.1% of votes counted.

The ANC was set to gain more than two-thirds of the vote in five of SA's nine new provinces, although it was dealt a stinging blow by the NP in the Western Cape.

By early yesterday evening, the NP seemed set to gain the overall majority in the Western Cape, and remained convinced it could also become the most popular

party in the Northern Cape despite the ANC's majority at that time.

In Natal the vote count was not sufficiently high to predict a result.

Jordan conceded that the ANC was unlikely to make much headway against the NP in the Western Cape and estimated a final ANC total of about 28% in the region.

The ANC was on a course to breach the two-thirds barrier in Eastern Cape, the North West, Free State, Eastern Transvaal and Northern Transvaal.

Jordan predicted the current level of ANC support in the PWV region would drift from 64% to around 60%.



De Klerk concedes defeat

# Let's get

# SA working,

Bibey 315/94

# says Mandela

(11A)

DAVID GREYBE and  
ADRIAN HADLAND

NELSON Mandela last night claimed victory for the ANC and called on all South Africans to roll up their sleeves and tackle the country's problems

Mandela, addressing a crowded victory celebration at the Carlton Hotel, said he had been contacted by President F.W. de Klerk, Gen Constand Viljoen, Zach de Beer and PAC vice-president Johnson Mlambo, all conceding defeat, offering congratulations and pledging their full co-operation for the new government of national unity.

"People of SA, this is indeed a joyous night. I thank you all for your support and look forward to working together with you for our beloved country," Mandela said to applause.

He said a new government would implement the ANC's reconstruction and development programme.

Resistance by partners in the government of national unity would cause serious strains, he said. But, he added, he wanted all participants to feel part of the "machine" that would rebuild SA.

Earlier in Pretoria, De Klerk conceded defeat and pledged constructive support to President-elect Mandela.

However, he said the ANC could not ignore the NP's demands and wishes. "Just as we could not rule SA effectively without the support of the ANC and its supporters, no government will be able to rule SA effectively without the support of the people and the institutions I represent."

Mandela congratulated De Klerk for the NP's "strong showing" in the election. "I congratulate him for the past four years where we have worked together, quarrelled and dealt with sensitive matters and

still afterwards been able to shake hands and drink a cup of coffee," Mandela said.

Mandela made a pledge to SA to use all his strength and ability to live up to the nation's expectations as well as the ANC's. "We ask you all to join us — go back to your jobs in the morning. Let's get SA working," he said.

He referred to the calm and tolerant atmosphere that prevailed during the elections, saying South Africans might have their differences but they were one people with a common destiny in a rich variety of culture, race and tradition.

"People have voted for the party of their choice and we respect that. This is democracy," he said.

He asked the other political parties and their leaders to join the ANC in working together to tackle the nation's problems. He also commended the security forces for their "sterling work." "This has laid a solid foundation for a truly professional security force, committed to the service of the people and loyalty to the new constitution."

De Klerk said Mandela would "soon assume the highest office in the land with all the awesome responsibility which it bears." "He will have to exercise this great responsibility in a balanced manner which will assure South Africans from all communities that he has all their interests at heart."

De Klerk said Mandela deserved the congratulations, good wishes, and prayers of all South Africans, adding he looked

## Mandela

Bibey 315/94

From Page 1

forward "to working with him constructively within the government of national unity." "I hold out my hand to Mr Mandela in friendship and co-operation" (11A)

Government's greatest challenge would be to defend and nurture the constitution. "Our greatest task will be to ensure that our young and vulnerable democracy takes root and flourishes." This would be achieved by vigilance against "any attempt by any level of government" to erode any aspect of the constitution or any individual, minority or religious rights.

"The courts, including the strong Constitutional Court, would be charged with building a sound basis of case law in order to provide further guarantees for the maintenance of constitutional rights.

"We must also ensure we adopt the right approaches in the economic and social spheres. We need a strong and vibrant economy based on the tried and tested principles of free enterprise."

Only then could enough wealth be generated to address the pressing social needs of large sections of the population.

De Klerk said that, while he would be stepping down as President next Tuesday, his political task was just beginning. "I shall be handing over the presidency to Mr Mandela, but I shall not be leaving govern-

ment. I shall be surrendering power not to the majority of the moment but to the SA people."

The spirit of the relationship between Mandela and De Klerk, which had become a symbol of the ability of South Africans from widely different backgrounds to cooperate in the national interest, would be essential to the success of the government of national unity.

The NP's objective, however, was to prove by the next national poll in five years time that it had become the largest party in the country. "We have the recipe for the future," De Klerk said.

The election had been an important milestone in SA's history, "perhaps the most important that we will ever see." It was now up to political leaders to join together for the good of our people and to complete the task of healing and reconciliation.

De Klerk thanked the security forces and the Independent Electoral Commission for their work during the elections.

LLOYD COURTS reports that in townships around Durban last night, hundreds of people were already celebrating the ANC's national victory with singing, firecrackers and gunshots. In Kramashin, revellers fired green tracer bullets from AK-47s and burned tyres in the streets.



# NEWS PAC denies interna

## Why we did badly

### — PAC

Sowetan 4/5/94

By Joe Mdhlela

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday blamed alleged election irregularities, lack of funds and leadership ineptitude for its bad showing in the elections.

PAC deputy president Mr Johnson Mlambo said large-scale irregularities had been reported to the Independent Electoral Commission. (IIA)

These would have to be dealt with "satisfactorily" before his organisation could declare the elections free and fair, he said.

The complaints included the alleged use of loud hailers by other parties near polling stations to influence voters.

Mlambo said they had received funds totalling less than R4 million and this was only made available to the PAC in March this year.

"You must realise that without funds one cannot run an effective election campaign," he said.

Mlambo refuted allegations by the PAC "Revolutionary Watchdogs" that internal wrangles within the organisation appeared to be having a negative effect.

#### Some watchdogs returning

"Nothing is further from the truth. In fact, some of the members who styled themselves Revolutionary Watchdogs are rejoining the organisation," he said.

Reports from sources within the Revolutionary Watchdogs, however, still insist that Clarence Makwetu has "usurped the PAC leadership", and that it was a question of time before Makwetu was toppled.

The Watchdogs have elected their own leadership, with Mrs Neo Chepane of Vosloorus as president.

Assistant general secretary of the Watchdogs Mr Mzwandile Bosaku described "the Makwetu faction" as "captives of the De Klerk regime".

"The fact that they did so badly in the elections is indicative of their lack of support. Never mind the excuses they make for their poor showing, Makwetu knows he has lost support," he said.

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# PAC is admitted <sup>(11A)</sup> as a TEC member <sup>CT 4/5/94</sup>

PRETORIA — The Pan-Africanist Congress has been admitted as a member of the Transitional Executive Council

According to a proclamation by President F W de Klerk in a special Government Gazette yesterday, the PAC is now a participant

Although the TEC has finished with its sittings — its management committee may meet on Monday — the move will give the Pan-Africanists a seat on the Joint Military Command Council which is planning the new South African National Defence Force

The PAC will now be entitled to have its Azanian People's Liberation Army cadres included, in the new SANDF — Sapa

# Azapo vows support

(11A) 21/5/94

THE Azaman Peoples Organisation yesterday congratulated ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on his party's election victory, pledging to be supportive, but critical, of an ANC-led government of national unity

Azapo president Prof Itumeleng Mosala warned the government was incapable of meeting the aspirations of the black majority

"Our people did not choose a government They merely endorsed a settlement," he said

The interim constitution compromised the demands of the black majority on land and the transfer of

power A coalition government could not deliver desperately-needed socio-economic transformation

He had noted Mr Mandela's offer to accommodate leaders of the PAC and Azapo in his Cabinet, but no formal offer had yet been made

"Azapo will receive whatever gesture is made in the spirit in which it is made We will consider the matter and respond," he said

● The South African Chamber of Business and the Afrikaanse Handel-sinstituut also congratulated Mr Mandela and the ANC — Sapa



# Bruising fight for top post

Own Correspondent

**JOHANNESBURG** — A bruising fight for the deputy presidency has developed between ANC chairman Mr Thabo Mbeki and ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, while Defence Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee and Finance Minister Mr Derek Keys are likely to hold their posts, ANC insiders speculated yesterday.

## Ministers likely to keep jobs

The speculation coincides with a meeting yesterday between President F W de Klerk, who will hold the other deputy state president's post, and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Mr Mandela, who is due to announce his cabinet next week, is likely to select between three and five "cabinet secretaries" who will oversee various cabinet departments and be the ANC's exclusive "inner sanctum".

The people tipped for these posts are either Mr Mbeki or Mr Ramaphosa, (whoever is not made deputy president) to oversee foreign affairs and defence and ANC department of economic planning head Mr Trevor Mannel to oversee economic and finan-

cial matters and SACP chairman Mr Joe Slovo to oversee judicial and constitutional issues.

Other cabinet secretaries will oversee welfare, education, social services and administration.

This "cabinet within a cabinet" will leave Mr Mandela free to leave Mr Keys and Mr Coetsee in their current posts by making them responsible to higher but less experienced, authorities.

The debate about whether there should be a reconstruction and development portfolio, which some argue would cut across too many portfolios is still ongoing. Should such a portfolio be created, the favourite to win the post is former Cosatu general secretary Mr Jay Naidoo.

Other good bets would be Law and order, Mr Sydney Muzamali, trade and industry, Mr Tiro Mbonani, mineral and energy affairs, Mr Marcel Golding, health, Mr Nkosazana Zuma, post and telecommunications, Dr Pallo Jordan, science and technology, Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa, women and youth, Ms Gertrude Shope, information, Ms Gill Marcus, sport, Mr Steve Tshwete.

Other NP members included could be Foreign Minister Mr Pk Botha, Constitutional Affairs Minister Mr Roelf Meyer and Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers. Speculation that Mr Botha will retain foreign affairs is understood to be unfounded.

Mr Mandela has already indicated his desire to reserve a special place to satisfy rights-wing whites and farmers and could retain Agriculture Minister Dr Knaai van Niekerk or his deputy Mr Tobie Meyer.

He has also indicated his desire to include a PNC member in the cabinet and could be constitutionally required to include Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. Several minor cabinet posts including transport, water affairs and forestry could go to these candidates.



**PEN PALS** Mr Nelson Mandela displays two pens given to him by the National Union of Mineworkers. The NUM asked him to use the pens when signing the new constitution. *Picture AP*

## Aides hope Mandela's voice holds

**Staff Reporter**

**PRESIDENT-ELECT** Mr Nelson Mandela is nursing a cold and his aides are hoping his voice will hold out until his inauguration next Tuesday.

Usually when he gets a cold his voice goes because he talks so much and he gets laryngitis. But at the moment all he has is a bit of a cold," said a spokeswoman from his office.

On Friday Mr Mandela is due to give three speeches in Cape town after being elected president.

The spokeswoman said his doctors had told Mr Mandela to stay home and nurse his cold — but there was little chance of this happening.

## Billion to see Mandela sworn in

**PRETORIA** — President elect Mr Nelson Mandela will be sworn in at the Union Buildings on Tuesday before leaders of more than 100 countries.

More than a billion people worldwide are believed likely to watch a live global TV transmission of the event.

National Inauguration Committee spokesman Mr Patrick Evans said 188 invitations were sent to foreign governments and 42 had replied that they would

send their heads of state.

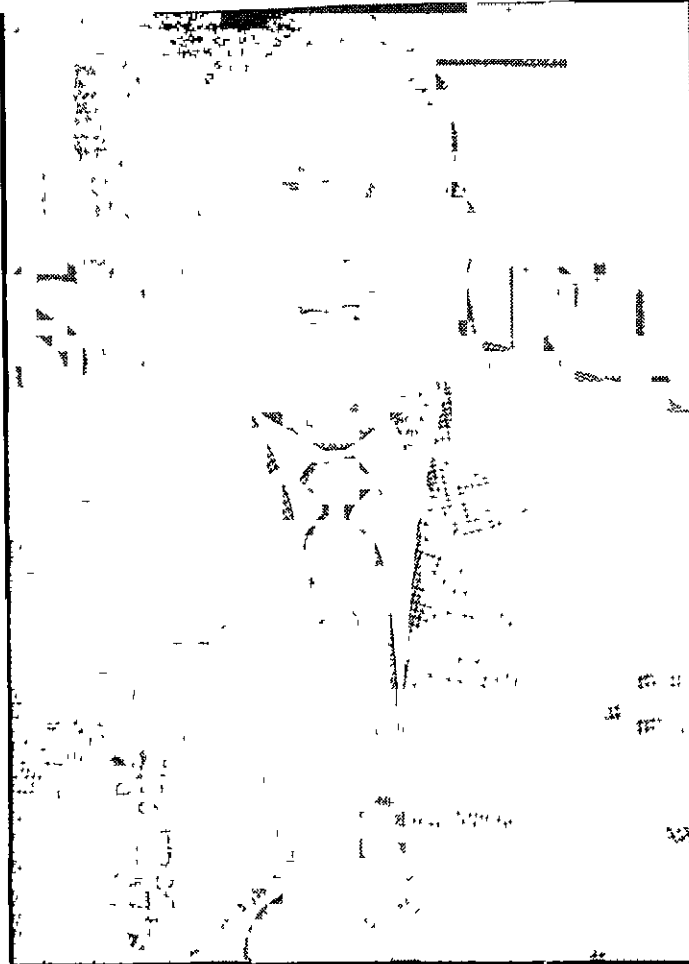
Mr Evans said it would be "the largest gathering of heads of state in the world".

Dignitaries expected include US Vice-President Al Gore and Mrs Hillary Clinton, wife of President Bill Clinton.

Reports from the US last night said there was stiff competition in Congress and SA-interest circles to secure places in the big US official party, which will be named today or tomorrow.

Former Australian prime ministers Mr Malcolm Fraser and Mr Bob Hawke will represent their country. Prince Philip will represent the United Kingdom.

Festivities will be led by 3 000 performers, 300 sangomas and 100 African drummers. The 2½-hour "Many Cultures — One Nation" inauguration concert will also feature top South African writers, poets and music groups — Sapa Own Correspondent.



Picture LEON MULLER, The Argus

**WATCHDOG:** Azapo president Itumeleng Mosala promises to watch the ANC government to ensure it lives up to its election pledges.

# Azapo will 'sit on ANC's neck' until it delivers the goods

VUYO BAVUMA  
Political Staff

(11A) ARG 4/5/94

THE Azanian People's Organisation will "sit on the ANC government's neck" to ensure it delivers on its election promises, says the Azapo president Itumeleng Mosala

But Azapo would not "act as spoilers" bent on frustrating the ANC's reconstruction and development programme, he said

Azapo, which boycotted the elections, was concerned that the ANC government owed a debt to the people who elected it power

It did not believe the government of national unity would be able to meet the needs of the people

Professor Mosala said "The poverty and alienation of our people is so desperate that you need an effective government. This settlement has betrayed the interests of our people"

Asked whether Azapo would use force against the ANC government, he said that would depend on the "attitude" of the new rulers

"We'll adopt a wait-and-see attitude. But we have no intention of fighting the new regime. We'll see only when we get political space"

Azapo favoured a constitution which would prevent the private ownership of the land

Before the elections, Azapo had hoped there would be a collaborative effort between the liberation movements before they tackled the common enemy - President De Klerk's government

Commenting on the PAC's poor showing in the elections, Professor Mosala said the odds were heavily loaded against the movement because it did not have enough resources

It was foolhardy of the PAC to take part in the elections before the playing fields were levelled

"These elections weren't for every party. These elections were clearly for De Klerk and Mandela. Finance was available for them from overseas"

"The PAC were losers before the elections started"

He said Azapo congratulated the ANC for winning

*Will it be Mbeki or Ramaphosa?*

# Mandela, ANC at odds over deputy

*Star 4/5/94*

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

State President-designate Nelson Mandela has come under strong pressure from sections of the ANC to appoint Thabo Mbeki as the country's first deputy president, according to ANC sources

The sources said Mandela, "who is known to favour" ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa for the position, had asked various sections of the ANC, including components of the tripartite alliance, to make suggestions on the country's first deputy presidency and the Cabinet.

When the suggestions came, ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki was the overwhelming first choice

Reasons given in favour of Mbeki were that he was senior to Ramaphosa and had

wider experience

"We think he (Mandela) will find it difficult to resist pressure from the alliance that Thabo should be the deputy president," one source said

Ramaphosa's (IIA) backers argue that he would be the ideal person to counter-balance National Party leader F W de Klerk, who will be the second deputy president

According to the sources, the 75-year-old Mandela preferred Ramaphosa because he had "very high regard for Cyril's performance in negotiations" and he wanted a non-Xhosa for the position

The sources said Mandela asked the two men to come to an agreement between themselves last week, but no progress was made

According to the sources, Ramaphosa's most ardent

supporters are those who were members of his negotiating team, notably SACP chairman Joe Slovo, who differs with the party on this issue, Mac Maharaj and Mohammed Valli Moosa

The sources said Moosa was eyeing for himself the Constitutional Development and Provincial Affairs Ministry earmarked for Ramaphosa if he did not get the deputy presidency

The issue is expected to come up for discussion at the ANC's two-day national executive committee (NEC) meeting, which begins today, but the sources emphasised the final decision would be Mandela's alone to make

"Some of us are beginning to suspect that he (Mandela) may overlook both men and look for someone else," one source said.

in the case of public works job-creation. However, this criticism does not apply in all cases — the estimates for spending on education clearly deal with new expenditures,

By applying a 10% inflation rate, it is flying in the face of "traditional costing methods". Estimating the cost of the schemes at constant prices gives a price tag over five years of R345,1bn, still way ahead of the ANC's R39bn. In any event, it makes no real difference which method is used, as ordinary government revenues will rise in line with inflation,

It takes no account of the contribution of the private sector to expenditure. The ANC, for instance, expects about half the cost of its homes project (total cost over five years of R25bn) to come from the private sector, and

It ignores the role of cross-subsidy through user charges. The ANC expects its electricity and water projects to be self-financing largely through increased charges for corporate users.

Roelof Botha, the RAU economics lecturer commissioned — along with former economic adviser to the British Conservative Party, Tony Kerpel — to do the NP's estimates, says there is some leeway for private-sector funding for projects, or the shifting of costs to corporate users. But Botha believes that these large users will pass on the costs to consumers.

It is unlikely that the ANC can significantly reduce spending on existing items to help finance its programme. Says Mathison & Hollidge economist Tracy Ledger: "Large amounts of money will have to be spent on other areas, such as the infrastructures for the nine new regional administrations. And rationalising of existing structures would also involve large costs, such as retrenchment packages, but savings over a longer period may be possible." ■

ANC PROGRAMME FM 6/5/94

## Apples with apples? (11A)

The ANC dismisses the estimated cost of its social upliftment programmes by the NP on several grounds but it has not effectively disposed of the criticisms. It won't until it provides more details to substantiate its own claim that only R39bn will be needed over five years.

The NP estimates (*Economy* April 22) that the ANC's Reconstruction & Development Programme will cost R600,5bn over five years with R70,6bn spent in the first year.

The ANC's four main criticisms of the NP's costs exercise are

It fails to distinguish between existing and additional expenditure in many cases, as

# Azapo greets ANC victory

Sowetan

b15-10/5/94

(11A)

By Shannon Neill

AZAPO congratulated president Nelson Mandela and the ANC on its runaway victory at the polls and has expressed its willingness to establish links with the ANC in the near future.

Azapo president, Professor Itumeleng Mosala, told SOUTH. "Now, as always before, Azapo will give critical support to the ANC

"We've never been completely unsupportive to them and we're now promising them the same support we gave them when they were a liberation movement."

He said he had heard rumours Mandela was going to offer Azapo a seat on the National Assembly but could not comment on whether or not the movement would be interested in the offer until it was official

He indicated that he hoped the ANC would attempt to create unity between the national liberation movement and itself in the near future.

**THE myth about the Pan Africanist Congress' political support in has been rudely exposed and found wanting.**

In fact, for several months, the radical Africanist movement basked in the glory of its supposedly huge support which, it said, would surprise many at the polls.

On many public platforms, its fiery speakers cynically shot down gloomy election predictions, describing them as "inaccurate and unrepresentative" and also boldly vowed to surprise many people by winning the elections.

Alas, these highly optimistic assurances were not to be realised, as the PAC polled a paltry 1.2% of the votes, winning five seats throughout the country.

Even in the Western Cape, which is supposed to be a PAC stronghold, the same poor trend continued. The region, led by outspoken Patricia de Lille, could muster only 1.1% of the votes and failed to win a seat in the area.

What could have driven the voters from the PAC — the organisation that espouses policies which address the core demands of the "dispossessed, oppressed and exploited"?

Was the uncompromising stance of the PAC — "we won't sell out on the land issue" — not attractive enough?

Or, did the ordinary man in the street fail to find solace in the controversial slogan — "one settler, one bullet" — the PAC's favourite war-cry?

To some commentators, the bulk of the PAC's problems originated from its inability to clarify its policies — especially what it meant by the divisive term "settler" — to its supporters, especially the over-zealous youths.

Many were either at high school or unemployed and unable to fully comprehend the true meaning of a settler. And, their understanding consequently smacked of racism as they tended to be wantonly hostile to many white people — contrary to the movement's nonracial commitment.

Last year, radical Pan Africanist Students Organisation president Tseisi Tseite acknowledged in a newspaper interview that Paso members might be interpreting the slogan as whipping up anti-white sentiments.

Although the PAC emphasised "high discipline and high morals" in its supporters, its image was repeatedly tarnished by several violent incidents linked to its members.

# Voters expose old PAC myths

After a disastrous performance in the country's first nonracial elections, the radical Pan Africanist Congress' much-vaunted claim of being an authentic representative of the "masses" has been dealt a huge blow. A report by **VUYO BAVUMA** of the Weekend Argus Political Staff.

(IWA)  
PACU 7/5/94

To some, this was because there was a very thin line between the PAC's supporters and 'skolite' elements with sinister agendas who masqueraded as political activists.

The most infamous violent event linked to the movement was the killing of American student Amy Biehl in Gugulethu last August.

Although the PAC strongly denied its members were involved, five of them were arrested in connection with the killing. The trial of three is still continuing in the Supreme Court.

And, contradicting the PAC leadership, scores of youths led PAC chants during court appearances of the accused and jeered at the parents of the slain American student.

Last September, the PAC was slapped with a R30 000 claim after Paso members returning from a rally at the University of Cape Town ran amok and damaged cars, many of which belonged to students.

In Gugulethu in February, several cars were stoned after a rally addressed by fiery secretary-general Benny Alexander who called for the dismissal of Reserve Bank head Chris Stais.

Recently, a woman was raped on a train by a gang of youths believed to be returning from a PAC rally. Several other youths attacked people in the city centre and tried to grab their bags.

Although the PAC distanced itself from the

crimes attributed to them, the claims lingered. Unlike its more resourceful counterpart, the African National Congress, the PAC was beset with financial problems.

Locally, it faced eviction from its office in Salt River because it owed R3 000. Phones were disconnected.

From September until December, the movement did not hold any public rallies, although it was planning to fight an important election.

There was a tense, low-key stand-off between the pro-elections lobby and opponents within the organisation. But, the decision was to take part in the elections.

The PAC suffered a severe blow when the popular head of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, Sabelo Phama, died in a car accident in Tanzania, weeks before he was due to return here.

Another setback for the PAC, although on a lesser scale, was the refusal of Philip Kgosana, who made international headlines by leading an anti-pass law march in Cape Town in 1960, to take part in the elections under the movement's banner.

Botswana-based Mr Kgosana argued that, as an employee of the United Nations, he was an international civil servant who should not take part in party politics.

Eleven weeks before the elections, the PAC launched its manifesto — chiefly based on land first — but its electroneering machinery remained rickety.

Crippled by the lack of resources — attributed to the Western countries' shunning of the PAC — the movement soldiered on with attempts to win votes.

Unlike the ANC, the PAC had far too few decentralised offices to disseminate its views throughout the Peninsula.

Except for small flags and a few hundred of Mrs De Lille's posters, PAC advertising was hardly seen.

Much of its campaign relied on Mrs De Lille — billed as a simple woman who does not live in Constantia — and fiery Mphazamo Yonana who addressed several rallies.

The PAC tried to get a foot into the squatter stronghold by persuading discarded ANC Crossroads leaders Jeffrey Nongwe and Jerry Tutu to join their ranks, but the move backfired when the two returned to the ANC.

Towards the end of the campaign, Mrs De Lille, realising the association of the PAC with violence was counter-productive, appealed to the state to speed up the trials of the movement's activists arrested in connection with the Heidelberg and St James killings.

# PAC stalwart quits Nat Assembly list

11A

09/17

JOHANNESBURG — PAC stalwart Philip Johnson Mlambo has resigned his position in the National Assembly, according to the final list of representatives released by the IEC.

Mr Mlambo was number two on the PAC's first national assembly list. Mr Gora Ebrahim moves to number two position behind PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu. PAC secretary general Mr Bennie Alexander moves to serve in the PWV regional parliament — Sapa

# focus on NEW ERA

Sowetan

(11A)

10/5/94

**A**S THE new democratic government took its historic first steps in Cape Town yesterday, it was obviously the beginning of a new era with former enemies assuming collective responsibility for South Africa

It was also obvious that two of the most important players in the African National Congress had been sidelined, deliberately or systematically

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa was excluded from the cabinet of the National Assembly as it gathered in Cape Town Jay Naidoo, the fiery former general-secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions, is Minister Without Portfolio

While it is said Ramaphosa's omission was at his own request, it indeed has a far-reaching effect on the ANC-South African Communist Party-Cosatu alliance

## Chart the power

Added to that is the fact that Naidoo was tipped for the portfolio of Minister of Manpower in the ANC government

It is prudent, therefore, that an attempt be made to chart the power design of the ANC alliance, as led by man-in-the-middle President Nelson Mandela

● Ramaphosa shouldered the primary responsibility of negotiating the new dispensation on behalf of his party He was second on the ANC list after Mandela and as such was the natural choice for first executive Deputy President However, the riddle remains Ramaphosa accepted his current post in the ANC in 1991 on the workers' ticket He was then general secretary of the powerful National Union of Mineworkers which formed the bulk of Cosatu membership

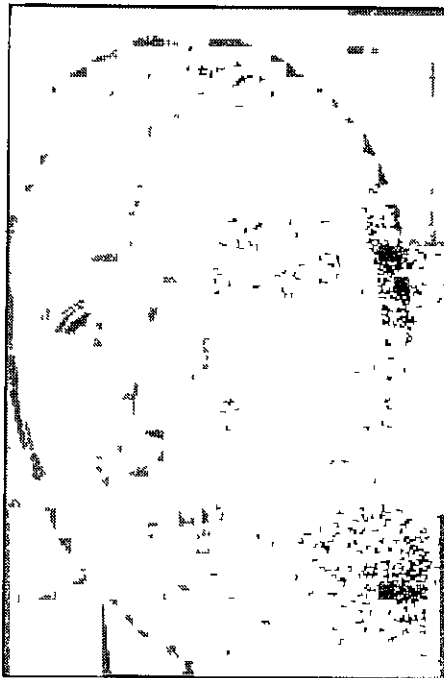
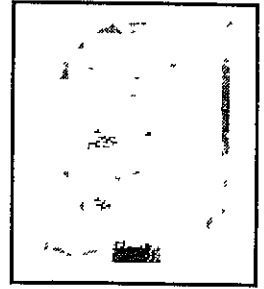
● Naidoo once intimated in an interview that he was the person most employers loved to hate And he was depicted in some newspaper cartoons as the devil incarnate, complete with horns

It was, after all, Cosatu that designed the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme Therefore, argument is that the RDP was watered down considerably before being accepted This indicates trade unionists, or workers, in the alliance were being pressured down for pushing hardline economic policies The fact of the matter is that Cosatu bolstered the ANC election campaign when it agreed to fight the poll under its banner There are other pertinent factors to the ANC power design, namely, the ANC's internal wing during its twilight years in exile

## Premier posts

● The United Democratic Front held the movement's banner, especially bringing to a head the country's politics in the mid-1980s While it is not surprising that important former UDF leaders Popo Molefe and Patrick Lekota were nominated for premier posts, it becomes clearer that this sector of the broader ANC movement was

While all eyes are on the fledgling democratic government now, keep an eye on Cyril Ramaphosa and Jay Naidoo, two of the ANC's most important players who have been sidelined, writes Political Correspondent **Themba Molefe:**



Cyril Ramaphosa ... not in the cabinet.



Jay Naidoo ... minister without portfolio.

being appeased, or accommodated, in the power design

Molfe is premier for the Northwest province, while Lekota heads the Free State parliament The two men were instrumental in resistance campaigns, which saw them being jailed in the marathon Delmas Trial in the aftermath of the 1984 anti-high rent unrest in Vaal Triangle townships The argument goes even further

## Criticism

● The appointment by Mandela of ageing former ANC secretary-general Alfred Nzo to the post of Minister of Foreign Affairs has been met with wide criticism Debate surrounding his appointment, albeit political, emphasises another attempt to accommodate the ANC's former exiled leadership in the cabinet Charismatic Thabo Mbeki, executive Deputy President-elect, falls in this category even though he was favoured for the Foreign Ministry portfolio Dr Pallo Jordan was the obvious choice for Minister of Information as head of the ANC's department of information and publicity

● Then there is the ANC's "old guard" —

Mandela's men, so to speak Here one refers to the Rivonia trialists, but the only conspicuous appointment is that of Govan Mbeki as Eastern Cape premier Poignantly, if workers within the ANC alliance were to ally themselves with the Ramaphosa-Naidoo cabal — which is not formal, perhaps not yet — a powerful anti-ANC party on the workers' ticket could emerge But it is Ramaphosa who will be in focus post-May 10 He has yet to explain why he "requested" not to be in the cabinet as Mandela announces his men and women in government in Pretoria tomorrow It is also widely believed Ramaphosa turned down the offer of Foreign Minister after he failed to become Deputy President

Another argument, however, is that although he did a fine job as NUM general-secretary there is a view among the ANC youth leaders that he was not really in "the struggle" because he negotiated with management in the comfort of boardrooms Indeed, as the celebrations end and after Mandela has reluctantly sipped the ugly-smelling stuff called champagne at the Union Buildings in Pretoria, Cyril Ramaphosa and Jay Naidoo will be the men to watch



# Alexander 'has quit PAC post'

Star 10/5/94

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Pan Africanist Congress PWV regional MP Benny Alexander resigned his position as secretary-general of the organisation yesterday, reliable sources said last night.

However, he had asked to be allowed to remain a member of the organisation's national executive council (NEC) and to continue as the PAC's sole MP in the PWV legislature.

The resignation was handed to PAC deputy president Johnson Mlambo, the PAC sources said. They added he was on the verge of being ousted from his influential office.

The sources said that at the organisation's last NEC meeting Alexander came in for a particularly vicious round of criticism and was "even called names".

Among the barrage of criticism was that he allegedly disappeared at the height of the election campaign last month without anybody in the organisation knowing where he was.

His deputy, former PAC chief representative in Harare Thobele Gola, is likely to replace him until elections are held some time this year. Alexander could not be reached for comment.

PAC leader Clarence Makwetu, who is one of five PAC MPs in the National Assembly, has also come in for scathing criticism from within the ranks of NEC members, most of whom hold him responsible for the organisation's disastrous performance in last month's election.

The sources said that if Makwetu did not "do the honourable thing and resign, he would then be pushed out" so that a replacement could be found.

11A

# PAC's Khumalo settles in Britain

WTM 13-19/5/94 (11A)

Steuart Wright. Port Elizabeth

IT was a short election campaign for the Pan Africanist Congress' chief representative in Britain, Dabi Khumalo

Allocated a place on the party's national list, he arrived in South Africa in the dying days of the election campaign — and hotfooted it back to his legal practice in London just days after failing to win a seat in the new parliament

PAC executive member Mfanasekhaya Gqobose confirmed that Kumalo left about a week ago and had "no intention of returning presently"

He said Kumalo, formerly of Uitenhage, would retain his PAC position in Britain. As in the past, he would receive no payment from the party, whose funds have all but dried up

At a press conference marking his second brief return to South Africa during about 20 years of exile, Kumalo told reporters he was uncertain what number he was on the list and wouldn't commit himself on whether he would remain in the country after the election

Gqobose did not know the circumstances which drove Kumalo into exile in 1965, an issue Kumalo skirted in his press briefing saying "The less said about that the better" — Ecna

# 'Misunderstood' PAC opts for new image

THE PAC has vowed to fight on despite being relegated to near oblivion in the elections. It will start with a major image change, party officials say.

The party gained only four seats in Parliament after winning 1,3% of the poll.

The "one settler, one bullet" slogan — never officially sanctioned but widely used by PAC members — has been jettisoned in favour of "one child, one education".

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke said the PAC had made particular errors in its election campaign, including not countering effectively the perception

31/5/94  
13/5/94  
TIM COHEN

that it was a racist organisation.

It was felt that people thought it prudent to support a single party to guarantee victory for the liberation movement. The PAC was also not seen as focusing on bread and butter issues, but "more as a war horse than a race horse." There was also a feeling within the organisation that the leadership was not understood.

The PAC would fight on and focus particularly on the 1999 election, when it hoped to boost its support to about 10% of

the electorate, he said.

Meanwhile, the PAC has denied that secretary-general Benny Alexander has stood down, saying the organisation had turned down his request to relinquish his duties so that he could devote his time to the PWV parliament. Alexander confirmed he had made the request. (11A)

The PAC also denied reports that its deputy president, Johnson Mlambo, had resigned, saying confusion arose from the fact that Mlambo withdrew from the PAC's parliamentary list in order to concentrate on building the party.

# Growing pressure for ANC to dump Boesak

S Times [Cimetro]  
15/5/94

Sunday Times Reporter

THE ANC in the Western Cape is under growing pressure from within its ranks to start grooming a successor to Western Cape regional leader Dr Allan Boesak in the wake of the party's humiliating defeat by the NP at the polls last month.

Long considered the bastion of liberalism in South Africa, the Western Cape, along with Natal where the IFP won power, is one of only two regions where the ANC did not win the majority vote.

Now, as post-mortems of the election take place in the region, Dr Boesak is being increasingly blamed for the ANC's poor performance.

Leading activists have already begun a behind-the-scenes campaign for the party to start grooming a successor to Dr Boesak, well-placed sources disclosed this week.

The man being punted as a successor is Ebrahim Rasool, the newly-appointed regional Minister of Health and Social Services in the Western Cape Cabinet.

Because coloureds are in the majority in the Western Cape, ANC strategists believe the next regional leader must be coloured if the party hopes to win back their support from the NP.

While he does not enjoy Dr Boesak's high profile, Mr Rasool is considered to be a hard worker with considerable influence among ANC activists.

Mr Rasool, who was regarded

as an effective and successful activist within the defunct UDF, also enjoys much more support in the black community than Dr Boesak.

Mr Rasool also enjoys the support of left-wing elements in the region who initially supported Mr Dullah Omar, the new Minister of Justice, as the regional premier candidate.

The first hints of Mr Rasool's promotion within the ranks came when he was included in the regional cabinet. His name had not been on the original list, but was added after an urgent session of the regional executive committee hours before the cabinet was named last Friday.

"We always knew Dr Boesak and his history was a risk, but we thought his assets would outweigh his liabilities," one source said this week.

The organisation incorrectly believed Dr Boesak's high profile would draw substantial support from coloured areas.

"Indications are that we polled about 30 percent of the coloured votes in the Mitchell's Plain district and about nine percent of the rural votes. Those were Dr Boesak's supposed strong areas," the source said.

A crucial mistake during the election campaign was the manner in which the ANC concentrated

ed its campaign around Dr Boesak, a source claimed.

ANC sources disclosed that the party's own internal polling on the eve of the election showed Dr Boesak did not have as much support among coloured voters as had previously been thought.

But at that stage it was too late to make major changes to the ANC's campaign.

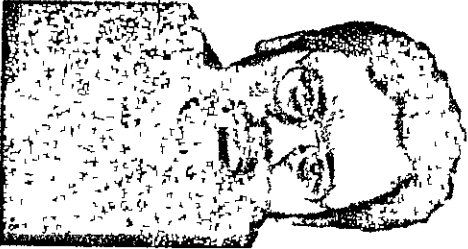
In an 11th-hour attempt to salvage the situation, other prominent coloured leaders — like Peninsula Technikon rector Mr Franklin Sonn and teacher union boss Mr Arche Verboom — were hastily pressed into battle for the ANC. They were also featured in the ANC's advertising campaign at the last moment, in the hope that they would boost coloured support.

ANC strategists now believe baggage that came with Dr Boesak was a millstone around the organisation's neck and they have already started promoting other regional leaders at his expense.

Dr Boesak's appointment as regional ANC head came after the personal intervention of President Nelson Mandela, who told the party's Western Cape congress in 1992 that the leadership should reflect the area's demographic composition.

Later Dr Boesak became involved in a leadership tussle with former ANC secretary-general Mr Tony Yengeni.

The resultant tension caused Dr Boesak to temporarily consider returning to the pulpit but church authorities made it known that he was not welcome.



**EBRAHIM RASOOL**  
Tipped to rise in local ANC ranks

## man in court

A KROST allegedly spray-painted lions walls around Cape in a Gardens synagogue, week. faced charges of mal- sity, housebreaking and d to May 25 sneaked into Schoender al times and slept there for cheese and drinks n officer of a Cape Town r complaints from the dens and the Schoender



**ALLAN BOESAK**  
Blamed for W Cape election disaster

## WEATHER



## WATCH

THE Weather Bureau's forecast for today  
Cape Town and vicinity  
Fog this morning becoming  
partly cloudy later, with little

OPEN  
QUALITY  
LONGER  
PROTECT  
PERFORM

# Return of exiled group

ET 16/5/94

JOHANNESBURG — The exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azanian will return to South Africa to merge with its internal but separate counterpart, the Azanian People's Organisation

Publicity and information secretary Mr Vuyisa Qunta said in a telephone interview from the BCMA's headquarters in Harare on Friday his organisation would return at the earliest possible date

The future of the BCMA's armed wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army, would be addressed after returning to South Africa

"We are coming back home to strengthen Azapo in its fight against deprivation of the black people, to strengthen it in its fight against the landlessness of the black people, their non-participation in the economic life of the country and their generally

poor social conditions"

Azapo boycotted the April election, saying it would only justify the inequalities created by apartheid

Asked to comment on the 20% showing by the National Party in the elections, Mr Qunta said it showed the critical role that needed to be played by Azapo in urging blacks to be self-reliant and not regard the white man as the "baas" of the old days

# BCMA exiles will return home soon

*Sowetan 18/5/94*

**By Themba Molefe**  
Political Correspondent

■ **ARMED STRUGGLE** Pledge to strengthen relationship with Mandela:

**T**HE FIRST BATCH of members of the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania will re-enter South Africa any day, it was announced yesterday

"It is now appropriate that members of our sister organisation (the BCMA) should come back and wage the struggle from here," said Azanian People's Organisation deputy president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe

Azapo and the BCMA also pledged to strengthen relationships with President Nelson Mandela's new Government of National Unity

But Azapo warned that the relationship "with the new administration depends on how it deals with violence and issues affecting the daily lives of

the black majority" Addressing a Press conference in Johannesburg, Nefolovhodwe said a decision on armed struggle would be taken in about two months when all BCMA members and cadres were back inside the country Registration of exiled members with United Nations agencies in various countries has already begun (IA)

However, the black consciousness movement's decision implies that the BCMA's armed wing, the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azanla), has effectively suspended its activities

This was strengthened by Nefolovhodwe's statement yesterday that Azanla would not attack the present

Government. "But this does not mean we have abandoned the struggle for the liberation of the black majority," Nefolovhodwe said

- The decision on the return of the only remaining South African exiled political organisation was taken in Harare after a joint Azapo-BCMA meeting held on May 7 and 8

## Our telephone number

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaasi headlines by Mike Tissong and Sy Makaranga Johannesburg. The reproduction or broadcast of this newspaper on any current economic, political or social issue is reserved to Argus Newspapers Limited under s

# 'Armed struggle

## now over'

Star 18/5/94

The Black Consciousness Movement's armed struggle has ended, Azanian People's Organisation deputy president Pandelani Nefolohodwe indicated yesterday.

Its armed struggle has been conducted by the Azanian National Liberation Army, the military wing of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania. Azapo's Harare-based sister organisation,

Nefolohodwe warned, however, that the armed struggle would become an option if the Government banned the BCM for its programmes to uplift blacks. Azapo boycotted last month's election.

Sapa.

(IA)

# Why the exile was elevated above the activist

Star 2015/194

**TOUGHNESS** lies behind the smiling, pipe-smoking exterior of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who exudes charm and intellect, writes Patrick Laurence

(11A)



Ramaphosa "blooded" political ally in South Africa

Thabo Mbeki, South Africa's newly un-  
 gurated first deputy president, shares  
 two traits with Cyril Ramaphosa, the  
 man who was reported to be his main chal-  
 lenger.

Like Ramaphosa, Mbeki has a bewitching  
 smile he uses to great effect when he wants  
 to charm or reassure an audience or a polit-  
 ical interlocutor. Associated with the smile is  
 an infectious laugh founded on a well-deve-  
 loped sense of humour.

The second trait which the two men share  
 is a calm demeanour. When people around  
 them are agitated, they remain calm. The  
 colloquialism "cool" does not rest uneasily  
 on their shoulders.

These attributes account for their front-  
 line role as negotiators. Mbeki, the ANC's na-  
 tional chairman, led the ANC team which en-  
 gaged Afrikaner nationalist leader General  
 Constand Viljoen in dialogue over demands  
 for a separate Afrikaner state. Ramaphosa,  
 the ANC's secretary-general, led the ANC  
 team at the multiparty Negotiating Council.

These comparisons raise two interrelated  
 questions. What differentiates Mbeki from  
 Ramaphosa? Why has Mbeki been preferred  
 by President Mandela as first deputy?

Aged 51, Mbeki is 10 years older than Ra-  
 mphosa. He is a Xhosa, the second largest  
 black national group after the Zulus, and for  
 years the driving force behind the ANC. The  
 dominance of Xhossas in the upper echelons  
 of the ANC — especially until the ANC's 1991  
 general conference — has caused his polit-  
 ical foes to dub it a Xhosa organisation.

Mbeki's selection by Mandela as first dep-  
 uty president — the second deputy president  
 is National Party leader F W de Klerk — is  
 seen by some observers as evidence of the  
 ANC's pro-Xhosa bias. But Mbeki's Xhosa

origins may have counted against him. Man-  
 dela, anxious to counter perceptions that the  
 ANC favours Xhossas, is reported to have  
 leaned towards Ramaphosa, who is a Venda.  
 Another key difference relates to their re-  
 spective contributions to the struggle against  
 apartheid.

Mbeki's major experience has been with  
 the ANC's external mission. During most of  
 the 30 years of armed resistance, he served  
 in the ANC president's office as the ANC's di-  
 rector of information and as its director of  
 foreign affairs. He is very much part of the  
 ANC bloc dubbed "the exiles" by journalists.

Ramaphosa's profile differs. He was  
 "blooded" politically in South Africa, as a  
 student activist, a trade union leader and an  
 important member of the pro-ANC United  
 Democratic Front (UDF).

There are political observers who tot up  
 the number of exiles in Mandela's Cabinet  
 and repeat the exercise for the UDF.

There may be some basis to these calcu-  
 lations. Exiles do outnumber former UDF  
 members. But the real reason for Mbeki's  
 victory lies in the greater support given to  
 him in the ANC's 26-member working com-  
 mittee and in the ANC generally.

Mbeki's success may have been due in  
 part to the backing of two powerful blocs  
 within the ANC — the ANC Youth League  
 (which until recently was headed by the con-  
 troversial Peter Mokaba) and the radical fac-

tion headed by the controversial Winnie  
 Mandela president of the ANC Women's  
 League and disputatious Harry Gwala, an  
 unrepentant Stalinist.

His allies must have embarrassed the  
 pipe-smoking and pragmatic Mbeki. His mes-  
 saged tones and considered statements, josta-  
 uneasily with the militant rhetoric of Mokaba  
 — who popularised the slogan "Kill the Boer,  
 Kill the Farmer" — Winnie Mandela and  
 Gwala.

Their support of Mbeki is prompted as  
 much by a dislike of Ramaphosa as admi-  
 ration for his rivals. Winnie Mandela in particu-  
 lar is driven by dislike for Ramaphosa. She  
 believes that he headed a "cabal" bent on  
 hounding her out of the ANC and reducing  
 her husband to a figurehead. Whatever the  
 incoherence of their support it has been a  
 factor of Mbeki's success in securing winning  
 appointments, first as national chairman and  
 then as deputy president.

Mbeki's backers do not include the South  
 African Communist Party. Mbeki, a former  
 member of the SACP central committee, is  
 one of several ANC men who, disillusioned  
 with communism, formally disassociated them-  
 selves from the party after it was unbanned  
 in 1990. Since then they have scrupulously  
 absented themselves from SACP functions  
 and conferences including the watershed  
 1991 SACP conference in Soweto.

Mbeki, the son of ANC elder statesman  
 and SACP stalwart Govan Mbeki, is today

the favoured son of the business community.  
 His urbane manner, his sartorial elegance  
 and his pragmatism commend him to South  
 Africa's wealthy classes.

Yet Mbeki remains popular, grassroots sup-  
 port, thanks in part to the backing of the  
 vociferously radical populists like Mokaba  
 and Mandela. In all popular elections in  
 the ANC he emerges in the first three places.  
 Mbeki's ability to rub shoulders with the  
 rich and famous does not prevent him from  
 endorsing ANC policy on the need for a  
 fairer distribution of wealth, for dilution of  
 the concentration of economic ownership in a  
 few hands and for anti-trust laws.

An MA graduate in economics at the Uni-  
 versity of Sussex, an impeccable left-wing  
 qualification, Mbeki makes these pronoun-  
 cements calmly and charmingly. To the  
 wealthy the words sound reasonable, rather  
 than threatening, from his mouth.

Mbeki, like many ANC leaders, including  
 Mandela, hails from Transkei in the heart-  
 land of Xhosa-speaking South Africa, where  
 he completed high school in 1959, having had  
 to study at home because his school was  
 closed down after a strike.

The main milestones in his early career  
 have been recorded by Shiekh Gasraw in  
 her *Who's Who in South African Politics* —  
 he worked secretly for the ANC in South  
 Africa after it was declared an unlawful or-  
 ganisation before being ordered to leave the  
 country; thereafter he rose steadily in the  
 ANC's external mission, serving in various  
 ANC departments, including the presidential  
 office, receiving military training in the So-  
 viet Union and studying at Sussex.

Today he is poised to succeed Mandela,  
 unless Ramaphosa, who chose to stay out of  
 the Cabinet and consolidate his control over  
 the party machine, can stop him.



Mbeki's major experience was with the ANC external mission



# focus on the PAC

Sowetan 23/6/94

**S**YDNEY HLOPHE is a cadre of the Azanian People's Liberation Army but when he returned last month after seven years in the bush his comrades doubted his credibility

In fact, the Pan Africanist Congress branch leaders in the East Rand township of Wattville are demanding he produce his membership card and are simply snubbing him, saying they first want to "clear him with head office"

He's been waiting since April 4 and is a lonely freedom fighter

Justifiably, Hlophe's confusion could well explain why the PAC polled a disgraceful 1,3 percent in the April 27 election. It could even confound all political and academic analyses abounding right now

Hlophe put it thus "It is obvious the branch leaders do not know about me or else they are proving a point that bad leadership at regional and branch level cost the PAC dearly when it could have done better"

He does not however believe the Wattville leaders do not know him because the township is small, the community closely-knit where everyone knows everybody else

"Maybe it is true then that there is a certain rivalry between those of us who went into exile and those who remained inside," Hlophe said as he tried to find answers

What hurts him most was that on April 15, one of the most important days on the PAC's calendar, the branch leadership prevented him from attending the Africa Day celebrations because he had not been "cleared"

What, it may be asked, does this illustration have to do with the election disappointment of the season?

Argument is that the PAC lacks strong leadership at the top and that might be the reason why it could not convince the electorate to make crosses next to the picture of Mr Clarence Makwetu

Since election day the focus has only been on how the PAC's national leaders faled the party, but never on the grassroots, the leaders on the ground and the followers, all of whom are the power behind the throne

## Campaign was lack-lustre

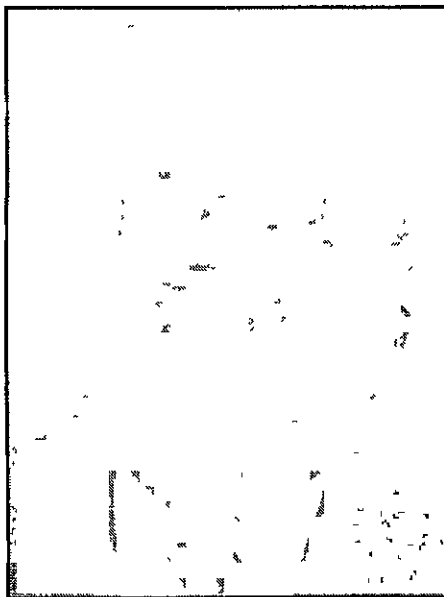
A discernible explanation is that the PAC's campaign was lack-lustre and almost non-existent; media advertising was nil. Even the few posters mounted were obscure

While experts also believe that the PAC was too smug, took it for granted it had the support on the ground, there is a slow political awakening in the organisation's support base

Some would find solace in the fact that it is the rank and file members who are taking the blame and, who surprisingly, have expressed a vote of confidence in their national leaders, especially Makwetu

In fact, Makwetu was stabbed in the back by

Reflecting on the PAC's dismal showing in the election, political correspondent **Themba Molefe** explains how the left hand never knew what the right hand was doing and considers criticism from within the organisation:



Clarence Makwetu ... two hours late for meeting.

his own followers, said one branch leader

Several branches have started strategic planning meetings

The Sebokeng branch, one of the biggest in the PWV, holds its first reconstruction meeting at Mphatlalatsane Hall in Zone 14 at 10am tomorrow. The Tembisa branch held one last week

Said Sebokeng branch chairman Mr Aubrey Motsoari "The PAC of Azania is down but not yet out

"We have made mistakes which cost us dearly but we will be ready for the 1999 general election"

It is perhaps Motsoari's forthright logic which rather cancels out any proficient explanation from the experts

He went for the jugular "The PAC's refusal to participate in one of the most important transitional structures, the Independent Electoral Commission, left us open to dominance by other parties in the electoral process. We were left out and hoped for the best

"Meanwhile, we were aware that even our allies across the borders in Africa were rooting for the ANC," he said

But Motsoari does not consider this as the

**The strength of the PAC branches determines the strength of the PAC, but in the Vaal, for example, this power was undermined**

most important reason for the election embarrassment "The strength of the PAC branches determines the strength of the PAC, but in the Vaal, for example, this power was undermined by disjointed regional structures during the campaign"

He gave an example "On April 15 president Makwetu came to Sebokeng to visit patients at the local hospital. When he arrived there neither the superintendent nor the chief matron had been informed and were therefore unavailable to welcome him

"At 2pm that day the president was scheduled to address a rally at Sebokeng Stadium. Supporters had been there in large numbers, but when he arrived he was two hours late and only a handful of diehards had waited," said Motsoari

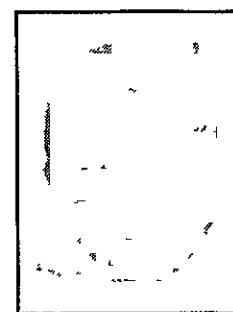
He pointed out that it was not Makwetu's fault but poor organisation by the Vaal regional coordinating structures and shoddy planning

This is typical of the PAC branches. In Atteridgeville, a stronghold of the party, Makwetu found himself waiting in a house while the local leadership ran around frantically trying to get people into Super Stadium nearby. Makwetu appeared in the evening news on television addressing what looked like children who had not even reached voting age

Motsoari counsels "The strategy should change, attitudes must change and we must start small — get away from competing with the African National Congress. When they went to a stadium we did the same but we had not organised people to fill it. Why didn't we go to a hall instead?"

Indeed, the PAC might find itself really down and out if it does not heed the advice from one of its own members. After all, 1999 is only five years away

11A



# Ramaphosa named for key post

CT 23/5/94

(11A)

THE ANC parliamentary caucus elected ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday evening to chair South Africa's Constitutional Assembly, which will draw up the country's final constitution

Ms Bridgit Mabandla is to be the ANC's nomination for deputy chairman, but this post may still be given to a National Party member

## First time

As the ANC holds majorities in both houses, Mr Ramaphosa is certain to be appointed to the powerful position, which is equivalent in status to a cabinet posting

Mr Ramaphosa's unanimous election at a special session of the ANC's parliamentary caucus effectively charges him with overseeing the process that will give South Africa's new constitution its final shape over the next five years

Mr Ramaphosa, who turned down a cabinet posting in President Nelson Mandela's government of national unity in order, he said, to strengthen the ANC, was the party's chief negotia-

tor at the multiparty negotiations that drew up South Africa's interim constitution

The Constitutional Assembly, comprising the 90-member Senate and the 400-member National Assembly, is to meet for the first time tomorrow before President Nelson Mandela opens the lower house's working session with a state of the country address tomorrow afternoon, to be followed by a four-day debate

The assembly will then recess until June 20, when it will reconvene to pass the national Budget by July 10, then recess again to reopen in August

## Earmarked

ANC chief whip the Rev Arnold Stofile told a press briefing after the caucus meeting that Mr Ramaphosa would act as a "political rudder" to ensure the principles laid down in the interim constitution, as well as the ANC's own principles, were adhered to

Mr Ramaphosa had been earmarked for the position "all along" He would also remain ANC secretary-general, Mr Stofile said — Sapa-AFP

# Mandela vows to implement RDP to uplift SA's blacks

11A

S TAR

23/5/94

President Mandela on Saturday vowed to go ahead with his Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) as a tribute to fellow countrymen who had sacrificed themselves in the anti-apartheid struggle.

He was speaking in Soweto at the funeral service of his former Rivonia trial co-accused and fellow Robben Island prisoner Elias Motsaedi, who died on May 10, the day Mandela was sworn in as president.

Mandela said delivering on the ANC election promises was the best tribute to the victims of apartheid and the ANC's stalwarts.

The RDP has come under criticism after experts predicted that it would cost between R80 billion and R90 billion, more than twice the initial ANC costing of R39 billion over five years.

Mandela said the Government of National Unity was constituted by people from different backgrounds, with well-meaning white colleagues not used to huge expenditure to meet the needs of African people.

Defending the RDP, Mandela said the ANC leadership came from a background of squalor and misery and understood the deprivation of black South Africans better than their white colleagues who had had a wealthy and comfortable upbringing.

"Delivery on the RDP should not threaten the property of minorities and their living standards, but have to meet the expectations of people within a reasonable space of time.

"There are minorities who believe the implementation of this programme will lead to falling living standards."

But a balance had to be maintained between uplifting the



**Farewell . . . an MK soldier at the coffin of ANC stalwart Elias Motsaedi at Orlando Stadium. PICTURE MPH0 MPH0TH0**

black majority and not destroying South Africa's wealth.

Paying tribute to Motsaedi, he said the ANC stalwart had helped ordinary people regain their pride and dignity and had

inspired hope

"We are honouring a man who helped to end South Africa's isolation," he said.

Motsaedi's experiences should inspire young people to

know that an ordinary person without education could pull himself up by his bootstraps to become a national figure.

Among those gathered at Orlando Stadium to pay their last

respects were PAC president Clarence Makwetu, ANC stalwart Walter Sisulu, first deputy president Thabo Mbeki and human rights lawyer George Bizos — Sapa.

# 6 000 Apla cadres to join SANDF

By Themba Molefe  
Political Correspondent

Sowetan 27/5/94  
■ PAC LEADER Announcement

after meeting with President Mandela:

**U**P to 6 000 Azanian People's Liberation Army cadres had applied to join the new South African National Defence Force, PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu said in Cape Town yesterday

Addressing journalists at Tuynhuys after holding discussions with President Nelson Mandela, the Pan Africanist Congress MP and party president said that 10 000 Apla soldiers would eventually sign up with the SANDF

Mandela announced that Makwetu would hand over a list of PAC members who would be placed in various departments of the revamped civil service

This would include placings in the diplomatic corps and this meant PAC members could be appointed to ambassadorial posts throughout the world

Mandela said his meeting with

Makwetu, whose party polled a mere 1,3 percent in the April 27 election, was part of his strategy of total unity despite Apla's late application to join the SANDF (IIA) ~~(SFA)~~

Yesterday's announcements, made on the second day of parliamentary debate on Mandela's historic "state of the nation" address of national reconciliation, underscored his commitment to accommodating those parties on the left and right which had stayed out of the transitional structures created through multiparty negotiations

These parties, said Mandela, would be accommodated subject to the interim constitutional provisions

To crown his commitment, Mandela on Wednesday also met Conservative

Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg on the question of "the Afrikaner demand for a *volkstaat*"

That meeting, held at Tuynhuys, is a forerunner to full-blown talks between rightwing parties, CP, Freedom Front and Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging scheduled for Monday in Pretoria

Those talks would be an historic first four-way encounter between FF leader General Constand Vijoer, AWB chief Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche, Hartzenberg and Mandela. Meanwhile, debate continued in the 490-member National Assembly yesterday on the President's address and will end today

● Parliament will reconvene on June 20 in preparation for Budget day two days later

# POLITICS

## PAC takes stock after poor showing

Star 27/5/94

BY JOVIAL RANTAO

The Pan Africanist Congress of Azama takes stock this weekend after its disastrous showing in last month's election.

The organisation is to host a workshop at an undisclosed venue (believed to be in Johannesburg) where it will review its strategy and plan how to fight forthcoming elections — the first being the local government elections in October, the organisation's publicity secretary Barney Desai said.

He said the PAC would continue to exist because it operated in a situation where there were great social problems which needed to be addressed.

"All organisations, in particular the PAC, have a lot of work to do to raise the standard of living. The cudgels must be taken up on behalf of the poverty-stricken, homeless masses," he said.

Desai, who is resting in Cape

Town after two hectic years at the multiparty negotiations, said much of how the PAC would do in the forthcoming elections depended on, among other things, the enunciation of the PAC's policies by its representatives in Parliament.

Former PAC secretary general Benny Alexander, who is now the organisation's sole representative on the PWV regional legislature, said the fact that the PAC had advocated the armed struggle until two months before the election had worked against the organisation.

A lack of finances, due to foreign funds drying up, was also cited as a reason why the PAC had done so badly.

"Added to that, I don't doubt that the superiority of the ANC, together with the personahty of Nelson Mandela — a national symbol here and abroad — were a major obstacle to the PAC making headway in the election," Desai said.

Top administrative posts and integration of Apia troops discussed

# Mandela draws PAC into Govt

Star 24/5/94

## POLITICAL STAFF and SAPA

Cape Town — Appointing Pan Africanist Congress members to government posts — even in the Cabinet — and drawing Apia into the new defence force dominated talks at Tuynhuys yesterday between President Mandela and PAC leader Clarence Makwetu

Makwetu said after the meeting that he expected between 6 000 and 10 000 Apia soldiers to seek integration into the new South African National Defence Force

Mandela — who earlier held comprehensive talks with the acting leader of the Democratic Party, Tony Leon — said he had asked the PAC leader to draw up a list of names of members who could fill top government posts

PAC representation in the Cabinet was on the agenda, but would depend on compliance with the constitution as well as negotiated agreements with all concerned, he said

Mandela said he was committed to bringing about "a unified approach in dealing with questions which are of concern to all the people of South Africa"

Discussions with the far Right, liberation movements and other parties were continuing

He said it was important that a way was found to accommodate Apia combatants in the new defence force "This would be in the interests of national unity since they had "rendered an important service in regard to the changes" in the country

ANC officials said on Sunday they expected about 2 000 Apia troops to report for inclusion yesterday, however, Makwetu said he had asked for 6 000 places and might push the re-

## PRESIDENT meets PAC leader Makwetu to discuss positions in Government and Cabinet, as well as troop integration

quest to 10 000

"We are having difficulty reaching some of our people who are in the country and still underground," he said

Amnesty was not discussed by the two men, but Mandela said he was in favour of an "even-handed" approach to prisoners from all parties

He was also particularly encouraged by progress in talks with the right wing

On Wednesday, Mandela met Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and next week he is hoping to meet Africaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche

On his talks with Leon, the president said, "I must say that the acting leader of the DP was very upfront in suggesting ways where there could be co-operation"

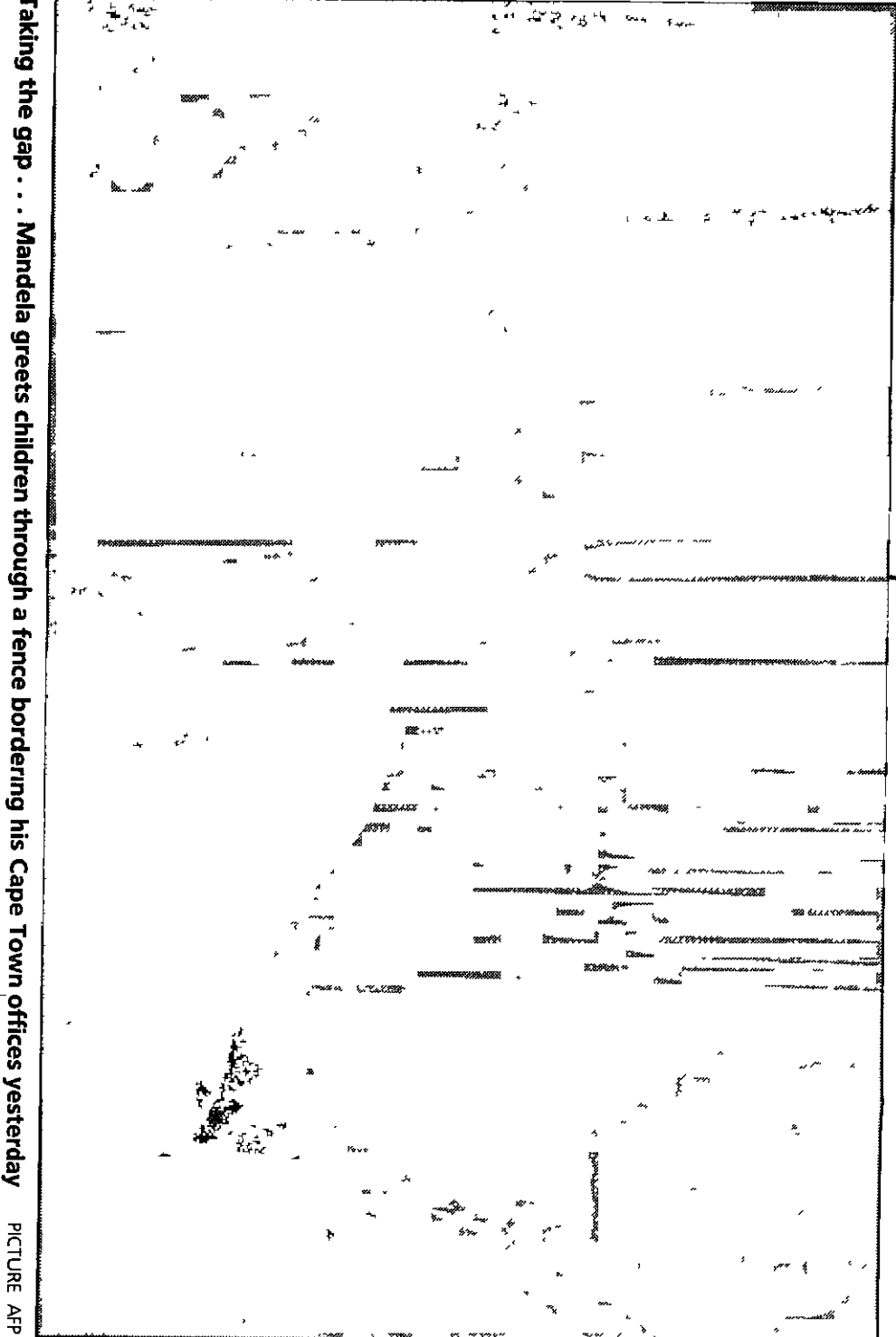
Mandela said that without an all-inclusive consultation process, South Africa would run the risk of having "the same problems as some of our neighbouring states"

This was "part and parcel of our tradition of nation-building"

"As long as I am president, this process will go on"

Mandela said he was also in favour of "loyal opposition"

"The fact that people differ from us is no reason why we should not pay attention to their ideas, and the majority must never be used to oppress the minority, or muzzle them"



Making the gap . . . Mandela greets children through a fence bordering his Cape Town offices yesterday PICTURE AFP

## POLITICS

### PAC, DP may get public service jobs

B/S/SAW  
24/15/94

CAPE TOWN — President Nelson Mandela has raised the possibility of including members of the DP and PAC in the public service.

Mandela pledged members and supporters of all parties would be welcome to apply for jobs in the public and foreign service and military.

After holding discussions with DP acting leader Tony Leon and PAC leader Clarence Makweu, he requested that the parties draw up lists of members who could fill top posts.

Mandela said he was determined that the country should follow an inclusive approach to national building that involved all parties.

Mandela said the process of cross-party dialogue and co-operation in which "leaders put their hands together" would continue for as long as he was president.

Mandela said he was adamant that all political parties had to become part of an inclusive process of tackling the country's challenges.

Mandela did not exclude the idea of bringing leaders of smaller parties into the executive although he added that that having a loyal opposition was a critical factor for democracy.

Leon said he did not seek specific jobs for DP members "although the President did raise this matter in the context of his inclusive and welcome approach to nation-building".

The meeting had been "a very cordial and warm exchange".

### Powell is Inkatha's 'defence minister'

B/S/SAW  
24/15/94

CAPE TOWN — The Inkatha Freedom Party parliamentary caucus yesterday appointed controversial Inkatha senator Phillip Powell as its shadow defence minister, and firebrand Transvaal PWV leader Themba Khoza as his deputy.

SA Police Services spokesman Maj Bala Naidoo said from Durban yesterday Powell was wanted by police for questioning in connection with a home-made weapon allegedly found in his car last month.

Naidoo said representatives of the SAPS legal department had been in contact with Powell's legal adviser "Hopefully we will resolve this issue by next Monday and be able to interview Powell," he said.

Naidoo denied reports that Powell had gone into hiding to avoid the police. Powell is at the centre of a number of controversies connected with Inkatha, allegedly involving the setting up of training camps for so-called self-protection units.

Another controversial Inkatha figure and former KwaZulu deputy minister of works VB Ndlovu, was appointed safety and security spokesman.

Inkatha hardliner Walter Felgate was chosen as constitutional development spokesman, while former CP MP Koos van der Merwe was appointed justice and deputy foreign affairs spokesman.

DAVID GHEYBE

Gavin Woods of the Inkatha Institute in Durban was appointed shadow minister for finance and "government spending". His deputy in both portfolios is Dennis Madide, the former KwaZulu government finance minister. Madide was also appointed health spokesman.

Other appointments included

- Labour — Ben Skosana,
- Agriculture — Senator Geoffrey Bengoni,
- Mineral and energy affairs — Eric Lutcas.

- Trade and industry — Henne Becker,
- Welfare — Inca Mars,
- Home affairs — Ziba Jiyane,
- Posts, telecommunications and broadcasting — Suzanne Vos,
- Environment — Peter Smith,
- Public enterprises, and housing — Mandla Msoni,
- Education — Lionel Mtshali,
- Deputy education spokesman — Faith Gaza, and
- Sport and recreation — Maureen Nazimande.

The appointment of spokesmen for, among others, land affairs, public works, and transport was deferred until a later date, an Inkatha source said.

# Attempt to retain local govt bodies

WILSON ZWANE

THE CP-dominated Transvaal Municipal Association (TMA) resolved yesterday to push for the prolongation of the life of the transitional local government co-ordinating committees, saying this would contribute significantly to peace.

TMA vice-president Paul Fouche said his organisation did not think it was possible for local government elections to be held in the immediate future, given the logistics involved.

As a result, the organisation thought the extension of the life of the co-ordinating committees would be in the best interests of the country, as it would contribute towards peace.

Fouche said the organisation decided at a meeting yesterday to ask CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg to prevail upon President Nelson Mandela to accede to this demand.

In terms of the Local Government Transition Act, negotiations should be embarked upon to create the joint local government councils and the co-ordinating committees which will run municipal affairs until elections are held.

The local government elections are scheduled for early next year. But the TMA wants the co-ordinating

committees to operate for the same length of time as the government of national unity.

The Act stipulates that should a dispute arise over the setting up of the joint councils, provincial premiers can intervene and appoint co-ordinating committees.

Fouche said his organisation was opposed to the joint councils and favoured the co-ordinating committees because, to a large extent, they maintained the status quo.

Unlike the joint councils, the committees would not consist of non-statutory bodies.

However, the TMA had come to accept that the councils were inevitable in metropolitan areas such as Johannesburg. "But we still advise our members there to opt for the co-ordinating committees," Fouche said.

According to Fouche, there are 66 CP-controlled municipalities in the former Transvaal.

Meanwhile the North East Rand Forum, comprising Kempton Park, Tembisa, Edenburg and Modderfontein, meets this evening to debate the type of local authority for the area.

24/15/94

Inkatha, ANC youth team up

# AUCTION



# New SA allows Msimang to shut up shop

By CHERILYN IRETON  
London

THE ANC's office in London will close its doors on Tuesday, bringing to an end a 32-year chapter in the organisation's history.

Once the nerve centre of the struggle against apartheid, the UK now gets downgraded to just another ANC branch run by a small core of people.

Many of the 200 ANC representatives who used the Penton Street office as their base have already returned to South Africa. The remaining staff are still waiting to hear where they will be relocated. Mr Mandla Langa will be the senior ANC representative in Britain and Ireland.

Mr Mendi Msimang, who has been the ANC's chief representative in London since 1988 has been appointed chairman of the ANC's parliamentary caucus.

It is still not clear when the ANC will install some of its representatives in the South African Embassy but white staff are becoming increasingly edgy over their future.

Just two embassy officials were present at a party to celebrate the closure of the ANC office. Left off the guest list was Ambassador Kent Durr.

ANC officials are speculating that it is only a matter of time before Mr Durr is replaced.



# Apla 6 000 'included' in integrated SANDF

Biday 27/5/94

CAPE TOWN — Six thousand members of the PAC's armed wing, Apla, would be included in the SA National Defence Force, PAC president Clarence Makwetu said after meeting President Nelson Mandela yesterday.

The number could rise to 10 000, Makwetu said

Speaking on the steps of Tuynhuys after their meeting, Mandela said he had asked the PAC leader for a list of PAC members who could be included in the new government's civil service and diplomatic corps

Mandela said Apla members had fought and suffered. They should be included even though they applied for membership after the cutoff date for inclusion of non-statutory forces in the SANDF

Mandela said his discussions with Makwetu were part of a continuing attempt to forge unity

He said he was encouraged by the co-operation he was receiving from other political parties and welcomed a loyal parliamentary opposition

"The role of the opposition is to

draw attention to those things we may not be alive to," Mandela said

Meanwhile, independent military analyst Jakkie Cillier said the costs of integrating disparate forces into the SANDF threatened stability

Cilliers said he did not believe the SANDF could absorb all potential recruits, including 25 000 members of the ANC's armed wing, 9 000 to 14 000 former homeland soldiers and 3 000 to 6 000 Apla members

At least an additional R1bn added to the defence budget was necessary for the integration of regular and guerrilla armies.

Cilliers was speaking at a conference held to release a report on a joint investigation by his independent Institute for Defence Policy and the HSRC into the deployment of the National Peacekeeping Force in East Rand townships earlier this year

He asked why it had been deployed on the East Rand — "with the volatile ANC/Inkatha Freedom Party tensions — when it was identified by many as being an ANC-partial force"

Cilliers said conversion of the force into an alternative to the SAP's internal stability division or integration

into the division would have enabled the SAP to concentrate on crime prevention and community-based policing in the area

There would remain for many years to come a requirement for a public order police force in addition to a community police service

The report described the NPKF as an "expensive exercise in futility", and presented several options for the force, now confined to barracks in Bloemfontein and Cape Town

Among the options were  
 Conversion training as a fifth arm of the SANDF; and  
 Training as a separate public order force (SAP) (11/9)

The report added there should be no question of the SANDF being kept permanently in the East Rand townships — it should be withdrawn after a period of overlap with the police

"The SADF, an initially illegitimate force, through the support it publicly received from the ANC and its effective operations in the eyes of the community, succeeded in earning legitimacy over time, therefore legitimacy bestows authority" — Sapa-Reuter

# Great expectations

Family ecstatic about voting — now they want a 'decent' house and jobs



ARGUS 29/4/94  
11A

Many victims of apartheid in impoverished communities are hoping their votes in the elections will usher in a prosperous and bright future for their families VUYO BAVUMA of The Argus Political Staff spoke to a KTC family about their hopes and expectations

**M**VELELENI Cubungu vividly remembers being bitten by a police dog when trying to flee because he did not have valid poll tax documents and a dompas in 1956

He also remembers how his plastic shack in the KTC squatter camp was repeatedly demolished by authorities because he did not have the necessary permit to remain in the Peninsula — a so-called coloured preference area

In 1984 alone Mr Cubungu was arrested seven times for pass law offences and spent time in Pollsmoor prison

But the father of three — two daughters and a son — believes he would never experience those woes under a black government — "whoever runs it"

Interviewed with his family in his five-room corrugated-iron shack in KTC, Mr Cubungu spoke casually about his terrible experiences under the National Party led by "Malan and Verwoerd"

Like millions of South Africans voting for the first time, the 63-year-old, who now works as a grave digger, was ecstatic about the elections

He earns about R400 a fortnight but, he says, this is not enough to support his family

Just before midnight on Tuesday, Mr Cubungu left his house to put a stone in the queue to mark his place outside the polling station, KTC Community Hall

By 3pm it was his turn to get into the hall — and he "felt I was being born for the first time"

"I was excited as my parents were when I was born I kept on thinking that it is a miracle come true that black people could vote at last"

Later his wife, Noprivate Cubungu and her two daughters, Nomvuselelo and Fu-

manekile also cast their votes in the hall about 30 metres from their shack

What did Mr Cubungu think of as he made the historic crosses?

"I remembered the terrible times I endured during the repressive years of apartheid"

After coming to work in Cape Town in 1951, his pass expired — and that signalled the start of his problems

He was frequently woken up and bundled into a police van during night raids for not having a legal pass

"I cannot recall how many times I was arrested for pass laws but it was a lot During another year, I lost my job because the employers could not take my absenteeism"

On Tuesday the Cubungu family went to bed late because they could not stop talking about how happy they were to have voted for the first time, he said

What does Mr Cubungu expect for the future?

Without any hesitation, Mr Cubungu said the "evil" apartheid system should be totally scrapped as a matter of urgency

Black people should get work with salaries equal to those of their white counterparts

Like many squatters, Mr Cubungu wants a decent house

"I have been in Cape Town for more than 35 years but I don't have a house In 1984 my plastic shack used to be demolished by the authorities because I didn't have a legal pass

"I have been moving from one area to another like a visitor in my own land but now that should come to end"

Pointing at the bare cement floor of his dining room, Mr Cubungu said no one should have to live in such a



Picture OBED ZILWA The Argus

**HIGH HOPES:** Mveleleni Cubungu, a former Transkei migrant labourer, who was arrested countless times for pass law offences, expects a better life under a black government "whoever runs it"

"pathetic" house

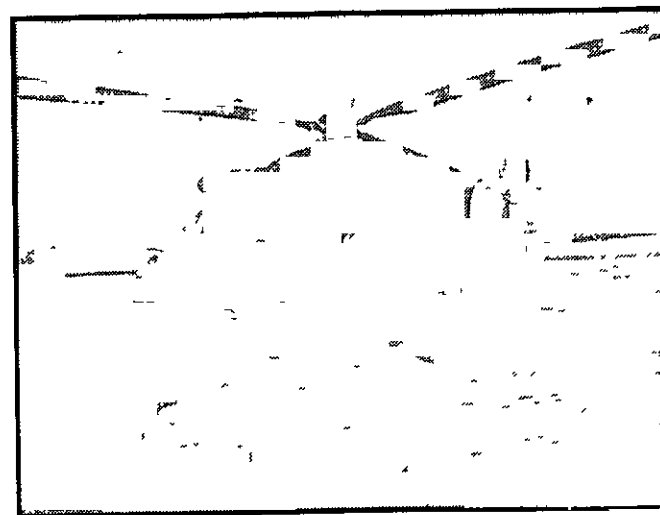
"As you can see, there are some holes in the corrugated-iron — and we feel cold and sometimes get wet although we are inside

"My children become easily sick because of that"

Mrs Cubungu, who supplements the family income by selling dresses, also hopes that the vote will make a difference and help them bring up their children in a better environment

She wants her son, Siyabonga, to get the best education so that he can become a lawyer

In line with their mother's wishes, Nomvuselelo and Fumanekile also hope for a decent education to enable them to secure good jobs



Picture Argus Group Picture Service

**COPTERS TO THE RESCUE:** Hundreds of thousands of ballot papers have been rushed by helicopters to areas which have been without them. The uneven distribution of ballot papers to voting stations has brought widespread criticism of the Independent Electoral Commission's handling of the election

BLACK POLITICS - 1994

JUNE - DEC.

## ANC coffers to be boosted by MPs

DAVID GREYBE

CAPE TOWN — The ANC parliamentary caucus has decided that MPs, deputy ministers, ministers and senators will contribute between R750 and R2 000 a month to party coffers. President Nelson Mandela and first deputy president Thabo Mbeki will also pay contributions, sources say.

The scheme will be worth more than R260 000 a month to the ANC.

MPs and senators will contribute R750 of their take-home monthly salary of R11 400; deputy ministers will give R1 500; and Ministers will contribute R2 000 of their R24 800 net monthly income.

The contributions are intended to help "maintain and build" the party outside Parliament, Environmental Affairs Deputy Minister Bantu Holomisa said.

"I think it is a good idea, because the ANC does not have companies contributing funds to it," Holomisa said.

ANC sources said the caucus decision to assign ANC MPs to "constituencies", to ensure that MPs were put to work effectively, would place a strain on their salaries. As a result, the contribution figures finally agreed to were less than some MPs had at first expected, and which some observers had speculated on.

An ANC MP from the PWV said in future he would have to maintain two homes — one in the PWV and another in Cape Town — if he wanted to do his job properly.

He had also been forced to purchase a second car for use in Cape Town.

# MP Yengeni's cousin shot dead

CT. 116/94 (11A)

Police  
arrest  
suspect  
after  
shooting



**Crime Reporter**  
A BODYGUARD and cousin of ANC MP Mr Tony Yengeni was shot dead and robbed of his gun in Guguletu yesterday

Mr Mvuleni Yengeni, 21, of Guguletu, was killed shortly after he left a card game at a shack in New Rest squatter camp around 4am, a police spokesman said

Police discovered Mr Yengeni, who had been shot twice in the head at close range, sprawled on the ground between shacks about an hour and a half later

His 9mm pistol was missing and police believe robbery was the motive for the killing

A distressed Mr Tony Yengeni arrived at Guguletu police station around 1pm after he had been notified of his relative's death

He went with detectives to the crime scene

An SA Police Service Dog Unit team joined the hunt for the killers with the

**DEATH SCENE.** ANC MP Mr Tony Yengeni (left) surveys the scene where his cousin, Mr Mvuleni Yengeni, 21, (inset) was shot dead in New Rest squatter camp, Guguletu, yesterday, as detectives Sergeant Kevin Daniels (second left), Sergeant Russel Dirks and Lieutenant Jacques Verster tell him the details

Picture ANNE LAING

help of firearm sniffer dog Kuno

Shortly afterwards, a weeping suspect was seen being led away from a shack to a police vehicle

## Mortuary

A large crowd of curious residents gathered around Mr Yengeni as he discussed the facts of the case with detectives and was informed that they were still hunting for suspects

Shortly afterwards, Mr Yengeni went to the mortuary to formally identify his cousin's body before going on to inform his

cousin's parents and other relatives of the killing

Mr Yengeni said he did not wish to comment about the death of his "cousin-brother" until all the next of kin had been notified

The arrested man, who is about 20 years old, is expected to appear in the magistrate's court soon in connection with the killing

Mr Mvuleni Yengeni caused panic earlier this month when he disappeared after a party

He was a pupil at the Sithembele Matiso High School in New Crossroads

5 000 'ANC-supporting'  
workers are driven out

11/6/94 27  
(11A)  
UMTATA — More than 5 000 workers at an irrigation scheme in Cofimvaba have been driven away by villagers accusing them of being ANC supporters

Miss Nomhle Ngetu, a spokeswoman for the workers, said locals in that area where the Bilatye Irrigation Scheme is located, were apparently PAC followers. She said most of the workers had worked at the scheme for at least two years and the troubles began after the elections in April. "After we were locked out we felt our lives were in danger and we decided to go to our homes" — Sapa

*Scheme 'worth more than R260 000 a month'*

# MPs to give a part of their salaries to ANC

BY MONTSHIWA MOROKE

ANC MPs, including President Mandela, will contribute a percentage of their salaries to party coffers to ensure the continuity of the movement, ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa confirmed last night.

Mamoepa said there had been discussions within the party on the issue before the election and members had agreed in principle to the idea.

Reports last night said the ANC parliamentary caucus had decided that MPs, deputy Ministers, Ministers and senators would contribute between R750 and R2 000 a month.

*Star 11/6/94*  
**MEMBERS agreed in principle before the election to contribute to ANC, spokesman confirms**

The scheme, reports said, would be worth more than R260 000 a month to the ANC.

MPs and senators would contribute R750 of their take-home monthly salary of R11 400; deputy Ministers would give R1 500, and Ministers R2 000 of their R24 800 net monthly income.

"I cannot confirm the amounts of money that have

been agreed to, given the difference in salaries."

Mamoepa said the matter was under consideration in the PWV.

The region could adopt a position agreed to nationally by the ANC. (11/6/94)

"There have been discussions in the movement around the issue of MPs contributing towards ensuring the continuity of the movement outside Parliament, even before the election.

"This is in pursuance of the democratic principle."

■ Sapa reports that while it could take about two months before provincial legislatures set up administrative struc-

tures necessary to implement decisions, the provinces are not powerless, PWV legislature ANC caucus leader Paul Mashatile said yesterday.

Provincial legislatures were empowered to pass laws on, among others, agriculture, health, education and transport, he said.

This statement followed recent media reports that premiers were frustrated because they had not yet been given powers to govern.

Mashatile said President Mandela was expected within a week to make a proclamation to enable provincial legislatures to amend or repeal old laws. — Sapa.

Star 216194

## ANC closes its US office

Washington — The ANC closed its office in Washington on Tuesday "as a result of the triumph of our people" in the April election and thanked its supporters for their support in the struggle against apartheid.

ANC spokesman Madala Mithembu, in a letter to supporters, said all official business in the US

pertaining to South Africa would now be handled by the SA embassy.

"Now all of us bear the responsibility of ensuring that together we begin the arduous task of rebuilding our country to ensure political empowerment, economic upliftment and social justice for all South Africans."

— Star Bureau

(11A)



# PAC prepares for next poll

A NUMBER of commissions have been established by the Pan Africanist Congress to prepare the party for local government elections and the next general election following a review at the weekend of the organisation's poor performance in the election *Sowetans*

PAC publicity and information director Miss Sphiwe Sithole said in a statement yesterday that delegates at the national workshop had deliberated over the political environment in which the election occurred, the administration of the election and the PAC's performance

Delegates were unanimous the elections "were too free to be fair", Sithole said, without elaborating

She said the Independent Electoral Commission's inadequacies had contributed to the PAC's loss

## Asses strategy

The workshop followed a series of meetings at branch and regional level to assess their election strategy after the PAC polled a mere 1,3 percent *2/16/94*

Many leading members openly admitted, at the time, to a poor campaign which lacked media advertising

Others said it was not the national leadership that cost the PAC the election but poor branch and regional organisation *(11A)*

Sithole said delegates recommended to the PAC leadership that the party should co-operate with the government of national unity where it was in the interest of the nation and reconciliation

The commission, established to take corrective measures, will present their reports before the end of August

Delegates agreed with the national executive council's recommendation that the PAC's national congress should be held before the end of the year "to fully prepare for the new political order" —*Sapa*.

# Biko influence lives on

By Mokgadi Pela

THE life and death of Steve Biko played an important role in the changes that are taking place in South Africa, a medical expert says in the latest issue of the *South African Medical Journal*.

Sir Raymond Hoffenberg, who has chaired world-acclaimed bodies like the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War and the Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture, told a Biko Memorial Lecture at the University of Cape Town that it was tragic that "Biko was not here to play his part".

Biko died in police custody on September 12 1977. This was after the June 1976 uprisings initiated by organisations of the Black Consciousness Movement.

Hoffenberg, who was banned in 1968 and left for Britain to practice medicine, urges doctors to follow Biko's footsteps in seeing poverty and lack of education as medical issues.

"Biko saw this quite clearly when he gave up his medical studies. As Lindy Wilson says: 'The choice he made was one that thousands of black students would come to face: the choice of either becoming a political activist or taking the time to gain some sort of qualification towards a professional life'."

On the dilemma facing doctors employed by the State, Hoffenberg says it is hard to ignore their role in a memorial lecture to Biko.

A number of recent publications have examined the involvement of doctors in torture — from Amnesty International, the British Medical Association and the Institute for Medical Ethics. The spectrum of medical involvement ranges from certifying a subject fit for torture to reviving a person who has been maltreated.

Hoffenberg says the proper response is to condemn all such abuses of detainees.

He asks where the professional or personal consciences of Dr Ivor Lang and Dr Benjamin Tucker were when

they collaborated with the police during Biko's detention.

Lang and Tucker treated Biko while he was in police custody in Port Elizabeth for 26 days prior to his horrible death.

"One can't help wondering how many deaths, how much suffering might have been avoided had Lang or Tucker spoken out when they encountered such brutality," Hoffenberg says.

He pays tribute to Dr Wendy Orr for blowing the whistle when she discovered the police torture of detainees.

While praising the brave stance taken by late pathologist Dr Jonathan Gluckman for speaking out against police torture of prisoners, he feels Gluckman could have done so much earlier to prevent further abuses.

Hoffenberg also blasts the Medical Association of South Africa and the South African Medical and Dental Council for failing to speak out against such abuses.

"Nothing could have done more damage to the cause of South African medi-



Steve Biko ... doctors condemned for what they did during his detention.

cine in the eyes of the world than the deplorable lack of principle shown by these bodies.

"It is worth noting that years after Masa and the SAMDC failed to support Orr, the SAMDC wasted no time in taking disciplinary action against Dr Nchaube Mokoape when he came out of prison after serving a sentence for po-

litical activities," Hoffenberg adds.

Hoffenberg says while he never knew Biko personally, the manner of his death shocked the world and his name has become a symbol of oppression.

"It brought into lurid relief the brutality and inhumanity of the security police and the system they represented," Hoffenberg adds.

NEWS FEATURE Cheryl Carolus is not interested in being a career politician

# The vital cog in the ANC's wheel

By Sizakele Kooma

■ **SEXISM** A reflection of the giant task women still face:

**M**ISS CHERYL CAROLUS (36) is not retiring from politics. In fact, her life of activism is now refuelled and taking on new meaning. "I am still in politics and I'm going to be around in an up-front way," she says.

Rumours of her retirement, she says, were based on the "erroneous assumption that Parliament is the only vehicle for change".

The energetic and amiable Capetonian did not end up with a parliamentary seat as political speculators and most women had predicted.

### Vital part

But she still remains as vital a part of the African National Congress as she was before the elections.

Carolus is the organisation's policy co-ordinator. She holds influential positions in the human resources and arts and culture departments too.

"I am not disappointed that I did not get a post in Parliament. I have never been interested in being a career politician. I'm deeply committed to change and I believe it is extra-parliamentary organisations that will effectively set the vehicle of the new democracy in motion."

Carolus's mission, of which she speaks passionately, is to work with women in making sexism unacceptable. This would involve changing society's attitudes about women and making their needs a priority.

"A lot of change is taking place in the country. But for women change is being made in a formalist rather than a tangible way. The present set-up offers a window of opportunity for that to be altered," she said.

### Giant task

The limited allocation of Cabinet posts to women, she said, was a reflection of the giant task that women still face in trying to erode sexism.

The new Parliament was supposed to be a legitimate institution to look at "men and women and not only at blacks and whites".

"If women did not stand up to fight for a quota system we would have ended up with even fewer women in the Cabinet. But I can confidently say that of the women that are there, none is a token."

"For more and meaningful change to take place the activism of putting women on the agenda should continue to be strong outside parliament. At the moment the sensitivity to gender equality is not of a high quality," Carolus said.

She said women should not abdicate to Parliament the responsibility for change in their lives.

Parliament, she said, was one important vehicle for change but society too had to be organised and know how to use that vehicle.

The first step, she suggested, would be to empower both men and women how to deal with sexism.

"We have to be as militant about eradicating sexism as



Cheryl Carolus her life of activism refueled.

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# ANC debts to small businesses cause distress

**JOSEPH ARANES**  
Weekend Argus Reporter

MORE than R1 million is owed by the African National Congress in the Western Cape to several small businessmen who were commissioned to work for the party during the April elections

Businessmen have billed the ANC, but fear they will not be paid as the party has not told them when payments will be made

However, the ANC says it will honour all its debts, a process which is being held up by the post-election audit. However, businesses in crisis have been invited to contact the organisation urgently

Businessmen interviewed by Weekend Argus did not want their names or those of their companies published, but were prepared to say they had been struggling to keep their businesses going since the elections

Some said they faced the possibility of losing their homes which they had used as surety for bank loans which they incurred in order to complete ANC orders for printing and other services

"The ANC involved a number of small businesses in their election campaign and ran up massive accounts with us. When we asked them

to pay the accounts, they sent us from one department to the next," said a businessman who is owed "tens of thousands of rand"

"They said they were helping the small businessman, but if they don't pay us, they will run a number of us"

"At one stage, I was told to contact their national office for my money. The accountant there said the regional office should pay the account"

"I don't know what to do. I put my house up as security for a bank loan for capital to do the work; now, the bank wants to foreclose. I'll be ruined"

"Most of the people I dealt with before the elections are either in the national assembly or regional parliament and none answer my calls."

Another small businessman, who said the ANC owed him "a couple of hundreds of thousands of rand", said he did not know how he was going to pay his staff

"I have had a number of meetings with different officials and although they all promised to pay me for my work, I have not received a cent yet"

"The only positive thing that came out of the meetings was that they promised to pay us, but for many of us the most important thing is when



□ **TARGETED:** ANC's Chris Nissen

"We have staff to pay, expenses to cover and our own bills to pay. We cannot do this until the ANC pays us"

"If they do not pay me by the end of the week, I will take all my staff and protest in front of their offices or at parliament to demand my money," he said

ANC regional executive committee Chris Nissen said his organisation was fully aware of its responsibilities and would honour all creditors.

"We have run into debt like all other parties which contested the elections and we are working hard to reconcile our books so we know exactly how much we owe to whom."

"During the past few days all our regional executive meetings focused on our debts and we put together a task force to draw up a complete overview of the creditors so the information could be passed to our national office which would then pay all the outstanding amounts," said Mr Nissen

He said there was no way the ANC could escape the debt and asked the businessmen to be patient a little longer as the process was taking longer than the ANC had anticipated

"But, if there are businessmen who are facing financial ruin because of the work they did for us, they can speak to me and we can try to work out something"

"I know it must be hard on them, but they must believe me when I say we are doing everything in our power to settle the matter in as short a time as possible," said Mr Nissen

# Clashes delay ANC poll

By NAZEEM HOWA

ELECTIONS for a new ANC regional executive committee are likely to be put off until later this year to avert a damaging leadership tussle within the organisation. *SITimes*

The ANC had planned to elect a new executive committee later this month to replace leaders elected to parliament. *CC Metro*

But key figures within the ANC are now working behind the scenes to delay the appointment of a new executive, well-placed sources revealed this week. *SIB 194*

According to the sources, a major factor behind the delay is to repair the damage caused by the bruising infighting which has marked the appointment of ANC leaders to positions

within the regional and national parliaments

One source pointed to the manner in which the Western Cape's senators were elected last month. Human rights lawyer Essa Moosa had originally been in line for one of the three posts, but was dropped because of pressure by one faction which felt "another township person" was needed in the post. *(11A)*

There are also moves within the ANC to sideline ANC regional leader Dr Allan Boesak, who is increasingly being blamed for the organisation's poor showing in the April elections.

# SACP wants Cabinet pay cut

Star 8/6/94

The South African Communist Party added its voice yesterday to the growing call for cuts to Cabinet Ministers' pay

"In making this call we are mindful of the responsibilities and expenses that will be carried by these leading public officials," the SACP said in a state-

ment  
"However, we believe that in a country beset by enormous poverty, excessive salaries for elected public officials are simply unjustifiable."

Responding to the Melamet Commission's argument that private sector salary levels needed to be taken into account,

the SACP said salaries in the private sector were among the most unequal in the world (IA)

"Clearly, an overall assessment of salary scales in the public sector will be necessary. Pending such an assessment, we call on the newly elected Cabinet to set an example" — Sapa (S)

Star 11/6/94

## ANC attacks Modise over move to gag newspaper

THE ANC yesterday criticised its own Defence Minister, Joe Modise, for barring the Weekly Mail & Guardian from reporting on Military Intelligence agents

"It is regrettable that one of the first actions by the new Minister of Defence has been to interdict the paper, to prevent publication of further information on operatives of the totally discredited Direc-

torate of Covert Collection (DCC)," an ANC information department statement said

"ANC policy is unequivocally for full disclosure of past covert actions and exposure of the dirty tricks conducted against the democratic movement" (S) (U)

The newspaper last week said 23 former members of the DCC, fired in 1992, had written to Presi-

dent Mandela claiming they were scapegoats and asking to return to their jobs. It named agents it said had been sacked for illegal activities but who had been rehired.

Editor's assistant of the Weekly Mail and Guardian, Judy Bester, said "We received papers (from the Defence Ministry) interdicting us from further contravening the Defence Act and the Pro-

tection of Information Act or publishing more information about the matter."

The Congress of South African Trade Unions and the South African Communist Party also condemned the interdict.

Modise sought yesterday to defuse the row over his gag on the newspaper, saying he needed more information before he took a final decision.

He said he was approached by SADF chief General Georg Meiring on June 9 for permission to serve the interdict.

"I granted this permission because I did not wish to read in newspapers about covert matters pertaining to my department about which I had not yet been briefed."

— Sapa-Reuter

■ See Page 9

# Cosatu warns of 'conflict' over June 16

COSATU warned of costly conflict after government's announcement yesterday that June 16 would not be a public holiday

Cosatu, ANC youth affiliates, the PAC and the Azanian People's Organisation had called on President Nelson Mandela to declare tomorrow a paid public holiday

But Reuter reports that Mandela's spokesman Parks Mankahlana ruled this out, although he called on employers to be sensitive to those who did not go to work. Companies recognising June 16 as a holiday were expected to comply with those agreements. Companies that did not have

such agreements were expected to make "alternative arrangements. They are expected to be sensitive to the fact that it is an emotional day" 15/6/94

JOHANNES NGCOBO reports that Labour Minister Tito Mboweni said disciplinary action or the dismissal of workers celebrating African Youth Day would be contrary to the spirit of reconciliation and employer-employee relations (AFL) (IA)

He appealed to employers and workers in sectors where there were no agreements on the day to "negotiate mutually acceptable arrangements as soon as possible"

Cosatu spokesman Neil Coleman said although 65% of industrial council agreements recognised tomorrow as a paid holiday, workers would not be satisfied until its national significance was observed by all. "The cost of conflict that will result if this is not done, both in conflict on the shopfloor and loss of goodwill, will far outweigh the cost of lost production"

National Iron, Steel and Engineering Industrial Council general secretary David Levy said June 16 was granted as a paid holiday to about 270 000 workers covered by the council's agreement



# ANC acts to gain more party control over MPs

CAPE TOWN — The ANC national working committee decided yesterday to go ahead with a major phased restructuring of the party aimed at gaining more effective party control over members in government

The committee also agreed to introduce, before next week's mini-session of Parliament, a type of constituency system to ensure MPs and senators were put to work effectively. ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said afterwards

The committee, which met in Johannesburg, also set up a subcommittee to investigate the salary structures of MPs, senators and Ministers after complaints from ANC local and provincial structures that these salaries were too big

Ramaphosa said the ANC's restructuring was aimed at "streamlining the party structures to ensure

**DAVID GREYBE**

effective co-ordination between what happens in Parliament, in government and in the organisation"

He declined to disclose further details at this stage, except to say the restructuring would take place in stages. He described the plan as "historic and ground-breaking"

The next stage would be for the ANC regions to discuss the proposal before it was debated again

Ramaphosa said the salary subcommittee would analyse the report of the Melamet Committee on Remuneration of Politicians, which was released in April and led to the row within the ANC. The subcommittee would compare the salary structures under the previous government and the new ones

The Melamet committee recommended that MPs earn a basic salary

before tax of R193 200, while Ministers earn R470 400 before tax

The ANC parliamentary caucus decided two weeks ago that MPs, senators, Deputy Ministers and Ministers would contribute between R750 and R2 000 a month to the party, earning the ANC more than R260 000 a month (11A)

ANC officials said earlier that they realised the danger of ordinary MPs not having much work to do and seemingly being left out in the cold on major decision-making. The more than 300 ANC MPs and senators would be expected to represent all voters in their area and not just their party's supporters

The ANC constituencies — the old system of constituencies fell away when negotiators agreed to implement proportional representation — were expected to be broadly based on SA's magisterial boundaries

# Youth plan big UWC rally

□ 'Remember June 16 as a day of dedication, discipline'

**JOHN VILJOEN, Education Reporter**  
THOUSANDS of pupils are expected to attend a June 16 commemorative rally at the University of the Western Cape tomorrow

An alliance of youth movements yesterday called for the day to be declared a national holiday and announced a day-long programme at UWC — but stopped short of calling for a school or work stayaway

The rally will begin at the UWC sports stadium at 11 30am and will be addressed by Western Cape Health and Welfare minister Ebrahim Rasool

As the alliance made its call, Western Cape education minister Martha Olckers

said the day should be commemorated "in a spirit of dedication, sound discipline and hard work"

Mrs Olckers said she identified with President Mandela's appeal for June 16 to be a special day dedicated to the promotion of a culture of learning and teaching in schools

"I thus appeal to all school principals, teachers, pupils and parents in the Western Cape to commemorate the day in a spirit of dedication, sound discipline and hard work

"Effective teaching and learning is the key to success in South Africa"

At a Press conference yesterday a youth alliance of the Western Cape branches of the ANC Youth League, the

Congress of South African Students, the South African Students Congress and the National Children's Rights Committee called on pupils to attend the UWC event

The youth movements of the Democratic Party and Pan Africanist Congress were not represented

In its statement earlier, the Western Cape National Party youth said it believed "festive days born of conflict are not conducive to nation-building and unity in South Africa"

● The National Children's Rights Committee will present an outline for a National Programme of Action to Mr Mandela tomorrow. The committee will also present a copy of the document to Mr Rasool

ARGUS/6/94 304A 11A

# Row brewing over June 16 holiday

Sowetan 15/6/94

By Ike Motsapi and Mzimkulu Malunga

■ **PAID HOLIDAY** Workers fought

for day to be entrenched in agreements:

**A** MAJOR ROW is brewing among trade unions, political organisations and employers on whether June 16 should be regarded as a public holiday

The South African Chamber of Business and the Afrikanse Handelsinstituut yesterday said June 16 was not a paid public holiday

A committee, headed by Labour Minister Mr Tito Mboweni, which has been set up to look at the question of public holidays, met for the first time yesterday.

However, the Congress of SA Trade Unions and the Azanian People's Organisation said June 16 has been re-

garded by workers as a *de facto* public holiday.

Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala said "The ANC-dominated Government of National Unity has been weak-kneed in deciding that June 16 should be a public holiday

## Compromising

"Azapo condemns this compromising attitude on the part of the ANC. The attitude is reflective of the accommodative spirit of betrayal which, throughout the negotiations process and the elections period and now after, put the inter-

ests and fears of white people before those of black people. (11A)

"It is the unwavering position of Azapo that there should be no question as to whether June 16 is a holiday or not

"Black people were killed and maimed by white people on that day and the foundations of white supremacy, not only in our country but all over the world, were shaken by the gallant actions of black young people," said Mosala

Cosatu said "After numerous struggles, and stayaways, in which thousands of workers were victimised, many employers were compelled to recognise June 16 as a paid holiday.

"More than half of industrial council agreements recognise June 16 as a paid holiday

"Cosatu has no doubt that when the new schedule of official public holidays is finalised, June 16 will be one of those days," Cosatu said

# focus on June 16

Sowetan 15/6/94

THE ANNIVERSARY of the 1976 student protests has been marked each year with angry placards and clenched fists the struggle against apartheid provided a clear focus

Now, however, in the aftermath of the April elections for a democratic government, youth organisations in South Africa are faced with redefining their roles

For the National Youth Development Co-ordinating Committee — a coalition of youth, student, cultural, religious and sports organisations — these tasks are clear

The NYDCC chairman Mr Leema Mofokeng identifies three key problem areas facing youth education, skills training and job creation

"Any programmes which set themselves the task of addressing youth problems must address these areas," he says "They are the key to rebuilding South Africa and ensuring a better destiny for young people"

Top of the NYDCC's agenda is trying to rebuild a culture of learning It will launch a back-to-school campaign at its youth festival at Soweto's FNB Stadium tomorrow

## Rebuild school premises

The NYDCC also plans to hold discussions with provincial governments to rebuild school premises "Schools must be conducive for learning," says Mofokeng

It has already started tackling the problem of job creation too "We have begun to investigate young people getting involved in public works programmes," says Mofokeng

As an example, he mentions discussions to form a partnership with a construction company which has been given 500 sites in Duduza on which to build houses

"Most of the labour should be young people from that area," says Mofokeng "This will give them building, plastering and electricity skills"

Many youth organisations have not worked together before

## Marginalised youth

"The NYDCC was launched in 1992 to address the question of marginalised youth, and we felt it was relevant only to black youth," says Mofokeng

"But research has shown that marginalisation is not restricted to any race group"

The unity of youth organisations is very important to the NYDCC

But this is going to be an uphill battle Just yesterday the NYDCC came under fire from youth organisations aligned to the black consciousness movement for planning a youth festival for tomorrow

"In the past, June 16 used to be a sacrosanct occasion," says Mr Phillip Kepadisa, publicity secretary of the Azanian Students' Convention

"Now June 16 is being turned into a commercial event But it is a solemn day, and anything apart from that is destroying the spirit

Now that democracy has come to South Africa, the angry youth of yesterday who sacrificed a lot in their fight against apartheid have to redefine their role and status, says Political Reporter **Tyrone August:**

of June 16"

But, like the NYDCC, Azasco has also committed itself to rebuilding a culture of learning "We have called on students to return to class and for normal schooling to take place," says Kepadisa

"If other youth and student organisations commit themselves to that spirit, it will be a milestone for us this year"

Like the NYDCC, Azasco also believes youth have a role to play in society "The youth must rededicate themselves to the development of their communities," says Kepadisa

He mentioned Azasco's involvement in a youth development programme at Durban's Umtapo Centre and in the Community Health Awareness Project in Winterveldt as examples

Azasco also shares the NYDCC's belief that there should be greater co-ordination of youth organisations "We must take ownership of our future," says Kepadisa "And this means that we must have vibrant youth organisations"

But, for him, youth still have an oppositional role to play in politics "The cause of Tsietsi Mashinini is still before us — aspiring for justice, black human dignity and national libera-

tion

"If the vacillation of the Government around making June 16 a public holiday is anything to go by, we can only conclude that it is a lame-duck government and will not be able to deliver on its promises"

## Fundamental changes

But for others, like Pan-Africanist Student Organisation member Ms Tumi Mothopeng, the new Government has the power to bring about fundamental changes to the lives of students and other youth

The NYDCC also places a lot of faith in the new Government

"The Government is very anxious to have a formal link to deal with youth issues," says Mofokeng The NYDCC hopes to have a meeting with the Cabinet to discuss setting up a youth commission

So, for students of the new generation, the struggle continues — but in a different form

"We must reward the students who fought in 1976 by working hard and developing a new nation," Mothopeng says

"In that way, their struggle won't go down the drain"

## Azapo leaders at rallies

By Joe Mdhlela

SENIOR leaders of Azapo will address rallies throughout the country to commemorate the 18th anniversary of the June 16 1976 uprisings

Azapo national organiser Mr Fundile Mafongosi said while the National Youth Development Co-ordination Committee saw June 16 as a day to be celebrated by the young people, Azapo held a different view, believing that it should be celebrated by all black people

He said Azapo also objected to the presence of white political organisations because it was blacks who felt the pain of oppression and not the whites

"Therefore it does not make sense to pretend that whites were also victims of the oppressive system of apartheid To have the National Party and Democratic parties in an event that sought to liberate blacks seems to us a contradiction in terms," Mafongosi said

He said Azapo was calling on black people to

consolidate and defend their "revolutionary gains" by attending the rallies throughout the country

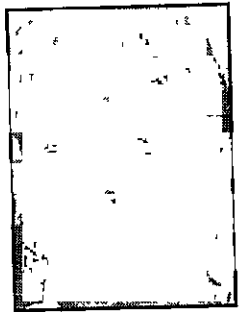
"June 16 should be used as an occasion to rally black people and the working class under the banner of socialism," he said

Azapo deputy president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe will give the main address at the University of the North (QwaQwa campus) with the Transvaal chairman, Mr Nkosi Molala, speaking at Kopanong Centre in Dobsonville at noon

Deputy national political commissar Mr Molatlhegi Thlale will speak at Odendaalsrus Community Hall, while Mr Don Nkademeng will deliver his talk at the University of the North's Great Hall

The organisation's Natal chairman, Mr Patrick Mkhize, will be guest speaker at Wentworth Community Hall

Mafongosi will address a gathering at Wattville Youth Centre at 11am



# ANC boycotts Ulundi meeting

Star 16/6/94

Durban — ANC members of the KwaZulu/Natal provincial legislature's executive committee boycotted yesterday's sitting of the committee in Ulundi, saying they were "physically unsafe" in the former KwaZulu

capital.

Their absence meant a further delay in the functioning of the legislature, which is already running behind the other regions because of the earlier, and now resolved, differences between the In-

katha Freedom Party and the ANC over the allocation of portfolios

The ANC said its members would not attend the meeting because it was opposed to Ulundi as a future provincial capital.

— Own Correspondent

(11A)

*It has been 18 years since South Africa's black students rose up to defy the apartheid government, effectively catapulting the country into a rollercoaster of political change. What has happened to their leaders in the interim? Helen Grange tracked down some of them*

# The class of '76: how fare they now?

Today, 18 years ago, the students of Soweto, protesting against the National Party government's imposition of Afrikaans as a compulsory medium of instruction in black high schools, took to the streets and dashed head-on with the police.

That the subsequent uprisings across the country contributed in a large part to the collapse of apartheid, and this year's momentous transition, is beyond question. But more poignant is the story of the individuals whose sacrifices today's anniversary also commemorates.

Where does this anniversary — needed for the first time in the new, democratic South Africa — find the student leaders of the uprisings of 1976, and how have their lives unfolded since then?

Of the five leaders elected progressively to head the then Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), which spearheaded the 1976 youth protest, two have taken seats in the new government structures, one an MP.

In correct order, the SSRC presidents during the turbulent years of 1976 and 1977 were Tseletse Mashinini, Khosiso Seathlolo, Dan Montshali (the then vice-president was Murphy Morobe), and Tlofomo Sono.

Mashinini, once known as "Leutenant-General" among his comrades for his leadership skills during the second 76 Soweto march, died under mysterious circumstances some two and half years ago in Guinea.

Before his departure, Mashinini was optimistic about returning home to a liberated country within a few years — a dream never to be fulfilled.

Mashinini went to London and later America. He joined the Trotskyist Workers Revolutionary Party, going on to Botswana where he worked for an American Trotskyist group. He became disillusioned with the ANC abroad, leading to his ousting from the anti-apartheid circuit in Britain.

The cause of his death in Guinea has been the subject of conflicting reports since his body was returned home for burial. According to Seathlolo, now working for First National Bank's affordable housing division, his right eye had fallen in and he was bleeding

behind the ear, leading to strong suspicions that he had been assaulted despite the autopsy report celebrating national causes.

Mashinini was succeeded as SSRC president in September 1976 by Seathlolo, who remained in the position for four months.

It was Seathlolo who headed a demonstration against a visit to Johannesburg by then US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. He also spearheaded the Black Christmas protest of December 1976, involving probably the first consumer boycott of the last 18 years.

After being shot one night by the police, he fled to Botswana and took over the SA Youth Revolutionary Council (SAYRO), returning to South Africa in 1981 on a SAYRO military mission. He was captured and sentenced in 1982 to 10 years' jail on Robben Island.

Seathlolo was released along with scores of other political prisoners by former President de Klerk in 1990. He joined the Perm in 1991 and later became regional manager at the Independent Development Trust.

### 'Take studies seriously'

Three months ago, he joined First National Bank as a manager in its affordable housing division.

"I see myself now as a contributor to one of the main objectives of the new Government — providing shelter. But given my political history and the difficulty I had getting my B Comam after my education was so badly disrupted in '76, I would definitely encourage the school kids of this generation to take their studies seriously."

Seathlolo's departure saw Dan Montshali taking over the SSRC's reins in January 1977. He was detained five months later along with the vice-president Murphy Morobe. They were awaiting trial prisoners for two years before being sentenced for sedition and imprisoned on Robben Island in 1979.

After being released in 1988, Montshali played a central role in building the anti-apartheid Soweto Youth Congress. In 1988 he was elected to the United Democratic Front (UDF) executive and served as its youth organiser. He also played an important role in the Soweto Civic Association and in the launch of the SA Youth Congress in 1987. He

was detained under the state of emergency that year and released in 1988 after a prolonged hunger strike.

Montshali worked at Makia Trust in its voter education unit until last year, and now serves as an ANC-nominated MP.

"I believe June 16 opened the gate for black frustrations which set the ball rolling for the subsequent political changes we have seen. It was also the first time ever that children relinquished the responsibility of being educated for the bigger responsibility of the country's political future.

Right up until my old age, I'll always be sentimentally attached to the youth. Murphy Morobe was released from Robben Island in 1982, working initially as a trade unionist and later as the UDF national publicity secretary. He had three long spells in detention between 1984 and 1988, the last ending when he escaped to take refuge in the US consulate in Johannesburg.

Before his recent comeback to politics, he had two years of relative quiet after a serious clash with Winnie Mandela over the Mandela United Football team. He was Codesa's administration head during 1991 before being nominated by his ANC branch in Johannesburg East to the PWV legislature, which he now serves as provincial secretary.

"June 16 is particularly significant this year because, for the first time in 18 years, it is being commemorated under a different government. We now have real spaces in which to realise the ideals of the students back then, even though the education system has been so badly affected by apartheid."

The greater commitment now lies in co-operation rather than defiance, he says.

Tlofomo Sono succeeded Montshali to the leadership of the SSRC. His Disputoid home became the target of constant police raids. In August 1977, after he narrowly escaped arrest, he went into exile and joined the PAC.

He returned home in December last year from Tanzania and now serves as chairman of the PAC West Rand branch.

"It feels great to be back home after 17 years. But there is still much more to be done in terms of realising reconciliation in a practical way. Our people have yet to see what they've been struggling for," he says.



**Bloody encounter . . . this dramatic picture of dying student Hector Pietersen, first casualty of the Soweto riots, was flashed round the world**

PICTURE: SAM NZUMA

# Schools empty as thousands remember 1976

Political Staff

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114  
A2716/194

TOWNSHIP schools were deserted today, June 16, as thousands of pupils stayed away to commemorate the Soweto uprisings of 1976.

Earlier the government ignored calls from several community organisations to declare June 16 a national holiday.

In Nyanga, Oscar Mpetha High School and its neighbouring primaries were empty. In Crossroads, Khayelitsha and Guguletu, there were no pupils at school.

Thousands of pupils were expected at a commemorative rally organised by the youth alliance of the Western Cape branches of the African National Congress, the Congress of South African Students, the South African Students' Congress and National Children's Rights Committee.

Today's rally, at the University of the Western Cape, will be addressed by the provincial health minister Ebrahim Rasool.

In Athlone, speakers from various organisations, including the Azanian People's Organisation and Qibla, will address a commemorative rally tonight.

A Cape Chamber of Industries spokesman said workers in the region's two biggest industries — clothing and engineering — traditionally had the day off.

Other workers at individual companies which had recognition agreements with unions could have negotiated to have June 16 as a paid public holiday.

# How I put smile back on South Africa's face, by ANC election guru

**PETER FABRICIUS**  
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON — The ANC's American pollster said he helped to transform the organisation rapidly from a liberation movement focused on the wrongs of apartheid into a political party focused on the future.

Stan Greenberg, who helped to engineer Bill Clinton's 1992 electoral victory and steered the ANC's election polling, told of the difficulty he had in persuading most of the ANC to focus its campaign on the future and not the past.

Mr Greenberg, speaking at the Aspen Institute's South Africa Forum yesterday, made it clear that his efforts were aimed at increasing the ANC's support — but that they had

also helped the mood of the country. "I do think there was a fundamental transformation of the ANC from a liberation movement to an organisation that was devoted to winning an election and persuading people to vote for them. And I think it affected the mood of the country," he said.

In one of his polls, the percentage of people who were hopeful rather than doubtful went up by about 50 points during the campaign.

"Had it been about apartheid about the past, I think it would have been much more bitter."

At first the ANC did not even realise it had a choice. As a liberation movement, it assumed that it would fight the election about the past. This was typical of liberation

movements everywhere. Mr Greenberg said, drawing on his experience of elections in places like Nicaragua and Paraguay.

Their approach was that elections were simply a reward for service to the struggle and not about persuasion or winning votes.

But ordinary people in all these countries did not see the elections that way. They wanted them to be about bread and butter issues and they almost always saw the liberation movements as being out of touch

with current problems. Often these movements either lost the elections or produced governing parties without an agenda and therefore no accountability because they had not run on what they intended to do in the future.

Mr Greenberg debated extensively to persuade the ANC to drop its initial campaign slogan "Now is the time", he said.

"We found in our work that this was a threatening slogan for those beyond the core support of the ANC

It said to people this was an African party and this was about a government takeover."

The party was reluctant to drop it because it worked so well at rallies, but eventually it did so in favour of the slogan "A better life for all".

This was tied to a single-minded focus on specific commitments in the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme such as five million jobs in five years — and to a focus on the corresponding deficiencies in the NP's economic performance.

Mr Greenberg said one of his hardest tasks was to persuade the ANC to focus on the NP's economic performance rather than on apartheid. He also discovered that the ANC, because of its history as a high-level

organisation with great international prestige, tended to be "distant from people". Candidates would deliver long lectures at rallies.

It was a major change for them to accept the idea that the highest leader of the ANC, including Nelson Mandela, should listen to the problems and questions of ordinary people.

Polls a year before the election had indicated the ANC could lose the Northern Cape and the PWV PAC support ranged from 15 to 18 percent among Africans in the Cape.

Mr Greenberg said one of the PAC's worst mistakes was to run its campaign on the land issue. His polls showed that "not a single person was in the election to get land."



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■ Speaking about the ANC's loss of the Western Cape, Mr Greenberg said reports that the National Party was picking up support towards the end of the campaign were untrue. His polls showed that ANC support among Western Cape coloureds had been "meagre" — about 15 percent — from the start. Through its campaign the ANC had been able to double that support and win the coloured vote outside the Western Cape, which had also been doubtful.

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election guru

# Class of '76

ARC 16/6/94

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It has been 18 years since South Africa's black students rose up to defy the apartheid government, effectively catapulting the country into a rollercoaster of political change. Where are the leaders of the "class of '76" now? Argus Correspondent HELEN GRANGE tracked down some of them.



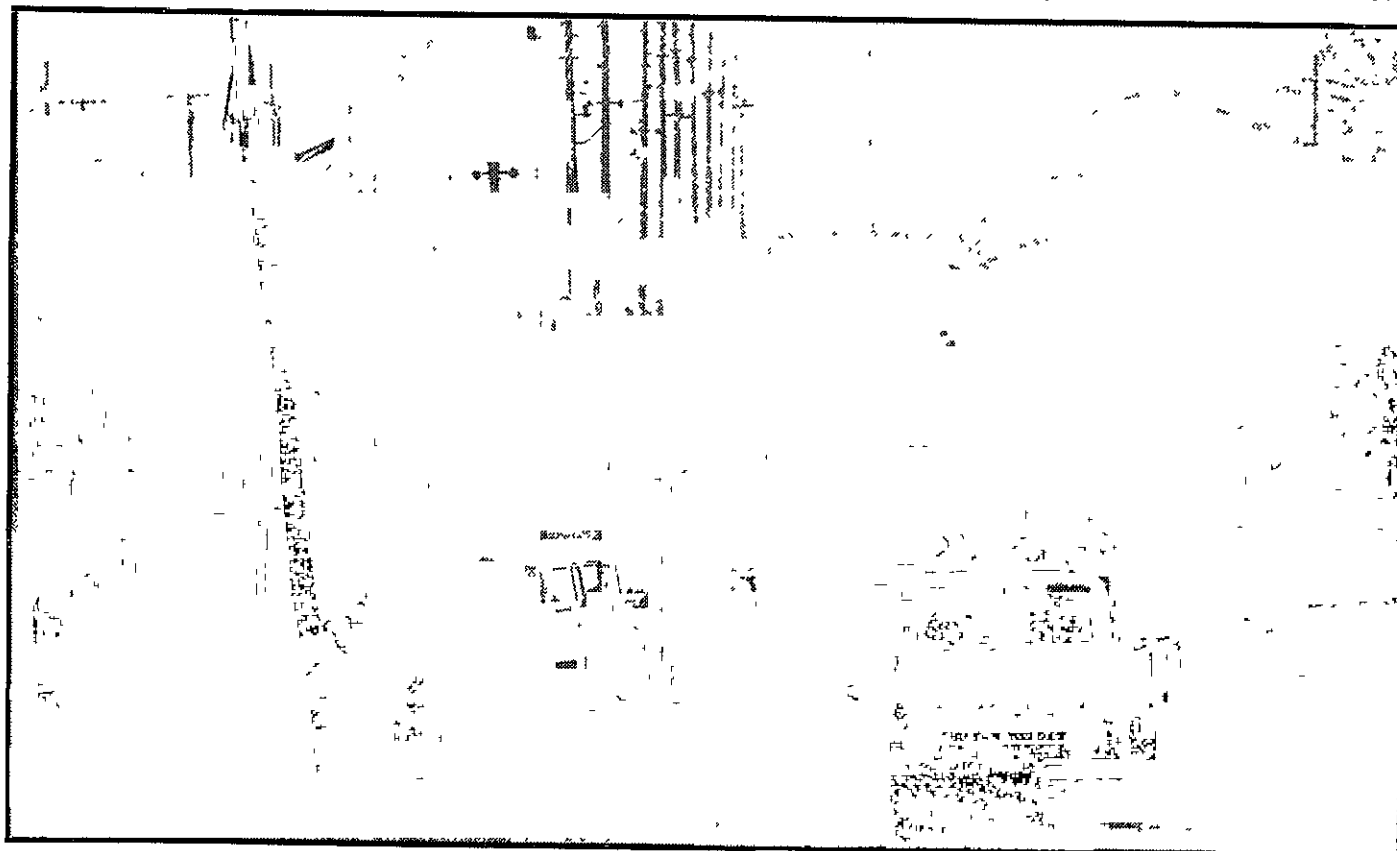
**SOWETO ARSON:** Roaring flames and thick smoke pour from the windows and doors of a building set alight in Soweto on June 17, 1976.

**PUPIL PROTEST:** Schoolchildren, right, march through Soweto streets in protest against the enforcement of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction.

**LONG ARM OF THE LAW:** Police, below, raise their pistols against rioters on the second day of the Soweto uprising in June 1976.



**EARLY VICTIM:** Hector Pieterson is carried away after being shot by police in Orlando West, Soweto — on June 16, 1976. The picture shocked the world.



## Where are they now?

**T**ODAY, 18 years ago the students of Soweto, protesting against the National Party government's imposition of Afrikaans as a compulsory medium of instruction in black high schools, took to the streets and clashed head-on with the police

That the subsequent uprisings across the country contributed in a large part to the collapse of apartheid, and this year's momentous transition, is beyond question. But more poignant is the story of the individuals whose sacrifices today's anniversary also commemorates

Where does this anniversary — nestled for the first time in the new, democratic South Africa — find the student leaders of the uprisings of 1976, and how have their lives unfolded since then?

Of the five leaders elected progressively to head the then Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), which spearheaded the 1976 youth protest, two have taken seats in the new government structures, one as a member of parliament

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Mr Mashinini, once known as "lieutenant general" among his comrades for his leadership skills during the second '76 Soweto march, died under mysterious circumstances two and half years ago in Guinea. Before fleeing into exile he was the most wanted man in the country, the police having put a R500 price on his head

Before his departure, Mr Mashinini was optimistic about returning home to a liberated country within a few years — a dream never

to be fulfilled. Mr Mashinini went to London and later Amsterdam. He joined the Trotskyist Workers' Revolutionary Party, going on to Botswana where he worked for an American Trotskyist group. He became disillusioned with the ANC abroad, leading to his ousting from the anti-apartheid circuit in Britain

The cause of his death in Guinea has been the subject of conflicting reports since his body was returned home for burial. According to Mr Seathlolo, now working for First National Bank's affordable housing division, his right eye had collapsed and he was bleeding behind the ear — leading to strong suspicions that he had been assaulted despite the post-mortem report claiming he died of natural causes

Mr Mashinini was succeeded as SSRC president in September 1976 by Mr Seathlolo, who remained in the position for four months

It was Mr Seathlolo who headed a demonstration against a visit to Johannesburg by then US Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. He also spearheaded the Black Christmas protest of December 1976, involving probably the first consumer boycott of the past two decades

After being shot one night by the police, he fled to Bo-

tswana and took over the SA Youth Revolutionary Council (Sayrco), returning to South Africa in 1981 on a Sayrco military mission. He was captured and sentenced in 1982 to 10 years imprisonment on Robben Island

Mr Seathlolo was released along with scores of other political prisoners by former President De Klerk in 1990. He joined the Perm in 1991 and later became regional manager at the Independent Development Trust. Three months ago, he joined First National Bank as a manager in its affordable housing division

"I see myself now as a contributor to one of the main objectives of the new government — providing shelter. But given my political history and the difficulty I had getting my B Comm after my education was so badly disrupted in '76, I would definitely encourage the schoolkids of this generation to take their studies seriously," Mr Seathlolo said this week

Seathlolo's departure saw Dan Montsitsi taking over the SSRC's reigns in January 1977. He was detained five months later with the vice-president Murphy Morobe. They were awaiting trial prisoners for nearly two years before being sentenced for sedition and imprisoned

on Robben Island in 1979. In 1983, Mr Montsitsi played a central role in building the anti-apartheid Soweto Youth Congress. In 1985 he was elected to the United Democratic Front Transvaal executive and served as its youth organiser. He also played an important role in the Soweto Civic Association and in the launch of the SA Youth Congress in 1987

He was detained under the State of Emergency that year and released in 1988 after a prolonged hunger strike

Mr Montsitsi worked at Matla Trust in its voter education unit until last year, and now serves as an ANC-nominated MP

"I believe June 16 opened the gate for black frustrations which set the ball rolling for the subsequent political changes we have seen. It was also the first time that children relinquished the responsibility of being educated for the bigger responsibility of the country's political future"

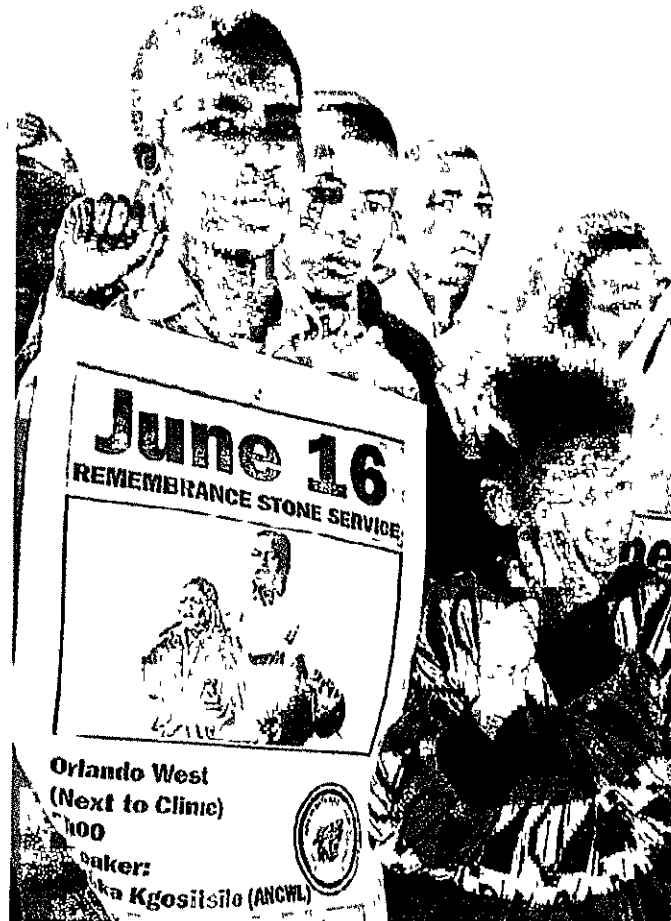
Murphy Morobe was released from Robben Island in 1982, working initially as a trade unionist and later as the UDF national publicity secretary. He had three long spells in detention between 1984 and 1988, the last ending when he escaped to take refuge in the US consulate in Johannesburg

Before his recent comeback to politics, he had two years of relative quiet after a serious clash with Winnie Mandela over the Mandela United Football team. He was Codesa's administration head during 1991 before being nominated by his ANC branch in Johannesburg East to the PWV legislature, which he now serves as provincial secretary

"June 16 is particularly significant this year because, for the first time in 18 years, it is being commemorated under a different government. We now have real space in which to realise the ideals of the students back then"

Trofomo Sono succeeded Mr Montsitsi to the leadership of the SSRC. His Diepkloof home became the target of constant police raids. In August 1977, after he narrowly escaped arrest, he went into exile and joined the PAC. He returned home in December last year from Tanzania and now serves as chairman of the PAC West Rand

"It feels great to be back home after 17 years. But there is still much more to be done in terms of realising reconciliation in a practical way. Our people have yet to see what they've been struggling for," he says



REMEMBRANCE SERVICE: ANC supporters attend a memorial service on June 16 last year to commemorate the Soweto uprising

DAY, Friday, June 17 1994

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# Mokaba warns on row over Ulundi

DURBAN — The ANC was determined to rule every part of the country and would use its national majority to break the Inkatha Freedom Party, ANC MP Peter Mokaba warned yesterday.

Addressing hundreds of supporters at a June 16 commemoration rally outside Durban City Hall, Mokaba issued the warning in response to a dispute about the siting of KwaZulu/Natal's capital.

The ANC would use its national majority to "break" Inkatha if it tried to do the same to the ANC in the province, he said.

It should co-operate with the ANC if it did not want to see its leader, Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, "packing his bags for home"

"We were determined to march to Ulundi .. but not as the capital."

The problems of KwaZulu/Natal were of national importance and the ANC was "determined to rule every part of the country".

ANC MEC for Roads, Transport and Traffic Control S'bu Ndebele told the crowd Ulundi was impractical as a capital because it was far from major urban areas

*B/Say 17/6/94*  
The ANC favours Maritzburg  
SA Communist Party leader Dennis Nkosi told the crowd "Every student, every worker, every man and woman must become part of the fight to make sure Maritzburg becomes the capital"

Three ANC MECs boycotted an executive council meeting at Ulundi this week and the party has vowed to boycott a month-end meeting of the provincial legislature

*(IA)*  
ANC legislature member Mike Sutchiffe said the ANC would boycott the first sitting of the provincial assembly if it was held in Ulundi.

He was responding to a recent decision by Inkatha, which holds the majority in the legislature, to hold the sitting in Ulundi between June 28 and 30.

Sutchiffe said it was "unconstitutional and unilateral" of Inkatha to decide on Ulundi

He said the capital issue, and the ANC's full response to the Inkatha decision, would be discussed at an ANC caucus meeting today. Legislators should decide on the capital in an unemotional way, and consider what was in the best interests of the people and the province — Sapa.

Sisters Lindl and Lulu next to the commemorative tombstone of their late brother, Hector Petersen, in Orlando West, after a prayer service.

President Nelson Mandela with Mr Pik Botha at the June 16 commemoration service at Orlando Stadium in Soweto yesterday.

# New look June 16

Sowetan

17/1/94

## Sowetan Reporters

**P**RESIDENT NELSON MANDELA yesterday donated R150 000 towards the establishment of a fund in aid of street children and minors who are awaiting trial in prisons.

Mandela handed a cheque for the amount to Dr Sam Molsuenyane, chairman of the board of directors of the African Bank, at a Press conference at the Union Buildings in Pretoria. He said the fund would be administered by the bank.

Mandela pledged to donate the same amount towards the fund for the next five years and appealed to others to join him in the venture.

Earlier, Mandela told a poorly attended 18th anniversary of the June 16 uprising. "We have taken steps to ensure that within the shortest possible time we empty our jails of children."

Apart from Mandela, other Cabinet Ministers present included Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister Pik Botha, Foreign Affairs Minister Alfred Nzo, Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma, Minister of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Ben Ngubane and Minister of Sports and Recreation Steve Tshwete.

In Pieterstburg, Northern Transvaal premier Mr Ngoako Ramathodi told a June 16 rally that the days of "liberation before education" were gone. "Now is the time of going back to classes to learn, learn and learn," he said. "Your future depends on it and your country requires it of you."

Meanwhile, thousands of workers in Soweto, Pretoria and other areas reported for work and did not observe the day as they did previously.

Employers, represented by the South African Chamber of Business and the Afrikanse Handels-instituut, said most workers had heeded Labour Affairs Minister Tito Mboweni's call to report for work because the day was not regarded as a paid holiday.

Azaman People's Organisation president Professor Imneleng Mosala described the ANC-led Government as "weak-kneed" in deciding not to make June 16 a public holiday.

The Congress of SA Trade Unions and the National Council of Trade Unions said they hoped that June 16 would be declared a public holiday once the committee appointed by Mboweni to investigate the matter had completed its tasks.

The situation in Pretoria's black townships was quiet, although a high rate of absenteeism was reported by some businesses.

Public transport operated normally in spite of the reduced number of commuters. Schooling was also normal as pupils reported in great numbers.

In the former Venda homeland, schooling came to a standstill in most areas and government offices were also quiet. Commemoration services were held at the University of Venda.

Schools in the Western Cape townships were deserted as thousands of pupils stayed away to commemorate Soweto Day.

In Nyanga, Oscar Mpepha High School and its neighbouring primaries were empty and no pupils were seen at schools in Crossroads, Khayelitsha and Gugulethu.

A Cape Chamber of Industries spokesman said workers in the region's two biggest industries — clothing and engineering — traditionally had the day off.

# ANC shadows Cape ministers

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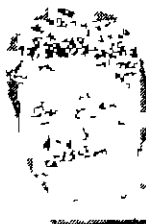
By Quentin Wilson

ANC MEMBERS of the Western Cape's provincial legislature have appointed "watchdogs" to keep a beady eye on how ministerial portfolios are managed by their NP counterparts.

Although the idea has been shot down by the NP caucus as being "absurd", ANC members are determined to twin NP ministers with their own "shadow" ministers.

According to Reverend Chris Nissen, ANC chief whip in the provincial parliament, the move is important to ensure the ANC's national programme of reconstruction and development occurs in the region.

"The Western Cape is not an island cut off from the rest of the country," said Nissen. "We have an ANC-dominated central government with a vision of how to rebuild the whole of South Africa. We have



**CHRIS NISSEN**

to make sure the Western Cape is part of the process

"While we do not expect to have formal deputy ministers, our 'shadow' ministers will be active watchdogs who will see to it that the Reconstruction and Development Programme is implemented across the board in the

region."

Of the 10 positions on the provincial executive council, the NP heads six portfolios while the ANC controls the remaining four positions. NP ministers, however, are dead against the proposal. (11A) (E)

According to Mr Lampie Fick, minister of agriculture and sport, the NP caucus would not even consider co-operating with the ANC's plan

"There is no way we in the NP will accept a policy of shadow ministers. It is not constitutional. We have ministers who have their objectives, there is absolutely no need for shadow ministers as well," Fick said.



Sisters Lindi and Lulu next to the commemorative tombstone of their late brother, Hector Peterson, in Orlando West, after a prayer service.



President Nelson Mandela with Mr P.W. Botha at the June 18 commemoration service at Orlando Stadium in Soweto yesterday.

# New look June 16

## Sowetan Reporters

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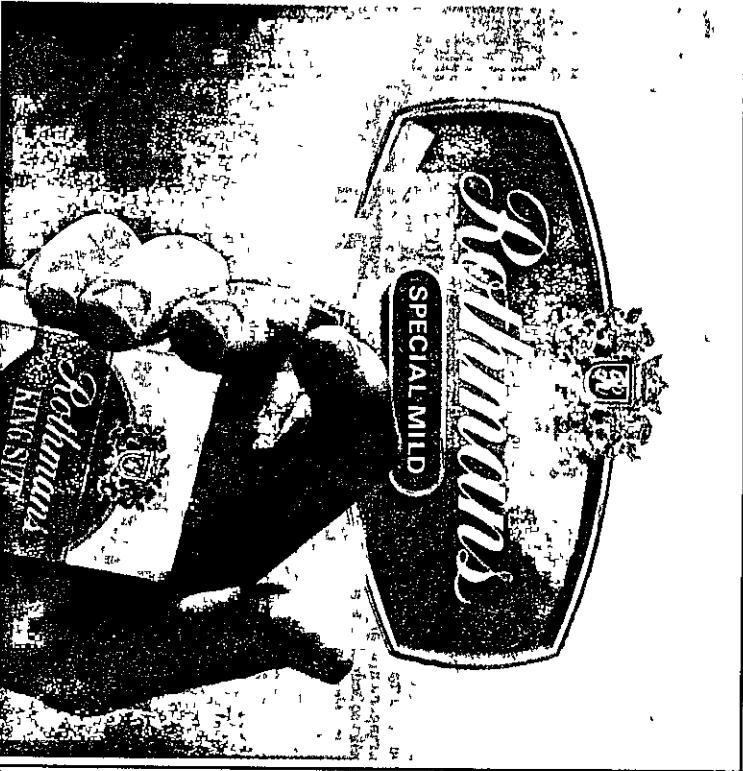
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# ...e: big 18/6/94 t back



...nt from the South African Beauty School were part of an opening centre in Midrand yesterday. It was intended as a ... opened on circuit yesterday. PHOTOGRAPH ANTON HAMMERL.

## proof to prosecute

18/6/94  
... is that members of the security forces responsible for the murders. The finding at military officers, including former intelligence chief Lieutenant-General der Westhuizen, had been ordered to ... ted or received the top secret "death ... court could not pinpoint individuals or ... ranch of the security forces responsible, though Judge Neville Zietsman said ... a strong case of suspicion against ... ary and two security police officers ... e was not enough evidence to link it



IMPLICATED Joffel van der Westhuizen

## Attempt to load more work on idle MPs

DAVID BREIER  
CAPE TOWN — The ANC wants to increase the number of parliamentary select committees amid accusations that it is creating the illusion that hundreds of bored backbenchers are gainfully occupied.

Parliamentary sources confirm the ANC wants to set up 26 select committees in the National Assembly — one for each portfolio in the Cabinet.

But National Party chief whip Fanus Schoeman says the NP believes 19 select committees will be sufficient as various portfolios can be grouped — such as water affairs, forestry and agriculture.

He says experience has shown that some portfolios produce only one or two Bills a year and do not justify a select committee of their own.

Parliamentary officials confirm that the number of select committees has not yet been finalised.

Some MPs say the ANC's move to increase the number of select committees is to ensure that all the members of its massive caucus belong to a committee to give them some work to do.

The ANC has 252 National Assembly members and 60 senators.

### Cut out

By comparison the NP, which has the next biggest caucus, has far fewer MPs — meaning that they will be relatively busier with committee work. The NP has 82 MPs and 17 senators.

The smaller parties will have their work cut out keeping up with committee work, with MPs having to sit on several committees.

The Inkatha Freedom Party has 43 Assembly seats and five senators, the Democratic Party has seven Assembly members and three senators while the Pan Africanist Congress has just five Assembly MPs and the African Christian Democratic Party two MPs.

Taking into account the growing backlash against the huge salaries being paid to politicians — backbenchers are to earn R193 000 a year — any sign that MPs are idle is bound to increase public anger.

Since the abolition of the constituency system in favour of proportional representation, MPs are no longer directly responsible for a specific seat. This has created concern that many ANC backbenchers in particular are going to be grossly over-

paid and underworked

However, both the Nats and the ANC are setting up structures to make MPs responsible for specific areas to increase their workload.

Schoeman says Nat MPs will be even busier than in the past as the party structure will keep a watch on the amount of work they do, whereas in the past MPs could "bury themselves" in their constituencies without anyone really knowing how much work they did.

There have been calls on Cabinet Ministers to use under-employed MPs more constructively instead of employing outsiders at taxpayers' expense. In one case, former Cape Times editor Tony Heard is to be appointed senior adviser to Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Kader Asmal. An MP could do the job without further pay.

DP Natal senator Errol

Moerocroft predicts that many backbenchers from the biggest parties will be "bored with life" as they will have little to do. On the other hand, MPs from smaller parties such as the DP will be inundated with work, he says.

MPs now have to pay for their own expenses — even stamps — which will cut the effective pay of the busier MPs from the smaller parties, while those from the bigger parties with a smaller workload will increase their "profit" margins.

Up-country MPs complain that their salaries are justified by the expense of running a second household in Cape Town. As long as Parliament remains in Cape Town, the best-off MPs will be the Cape ones who have no need for a second home. Should Parliament move to Pretoria, it will be the PWV MPs who will coin it.

## Star 18/6/94 Idle MPs



**NEWS FEATURES** *GNU unpatriotic, says Azapo's*

# Govt slated over issue of June 16

By Joe Mdhlela

*Sowetan 21/6/94*  
**■ SAD REMINDER** *Vacillation*

*over June 16 further proof that Govt dances to tune of big business: (11A)*

**W**HEN Azapo's Transvaal deputy president Mr Nkosi Molala talks, he calculates

measuring each word and phrase for precision, effect, and who knows, even flair

And those who know him from his early days as a soccer player — when he was called "Let Them Dance" — will attest that he juggled the ball with great skill, earning him that peculiar nickname

Now, many years later, he has translated his wizardry from the football pitch into the political battlefield

More than at any other time, this became evident at the June 16 commemoration service at the Kopanong Communal Hall in Dobsonville, where Molala gave his exposition about the day

He did not spare any effort in suggesting that the Government of National Unity had erred enormously by not declaring June 16 a public holiday

Warming up to his subject, Molala told how unpatriotic it was for anybody, including "those fellows" in Parliament, to simply have short memories and forget the significance of June 16

His analogy about the Holocaust, when millions of Jews died in gas chambers in Nazi Germany, was a "painful reminder to South Africans" that people do not conveniently forget their history

"Because Jews respect themselves and their history, the Holocaust is a memory that cannot be wiped off their memories

"More than 50 years later, the Jews are still hunting down the killers of their ancestors

"We are not asking them to hunt down those responsible for the decimation of our people. We are only saying let them recognise that special event in our history by declaring June 16 a public holiday

"But the new administration wants to negotiate, and test the feelings of big business before they make up their mind

"We in Azapo say this is unacceptable. We are not prepared to allow this to go unchallenged, and we will do everything to give June 16 its true meaning, if only to remind the world that thousands of our young people lost their lives struggling for democracy and justice," he said

## Misrepresentation

On this score, Molala is not alone. Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Deputy Minister Mrs Winnie Mandela believes the Government should not vacillate on the issue

"June 16 should be a public holiday," she said last week.

So did various leaders, including the former ANC Youth leader and now member of parliament Mr Peter Mokaba, and spokesperson of the IFP Transvaal leader Mr Themba Khoza

The Government, through Labour Minister Mr Tito Mboweni, said the declaration of holidays had been given to Home Affairs Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to deal with

At a poorly attended rally at the Orlando Stadium, President Nelson Mandela said he understood the man-



**Nkosi Molala ... June 16 is a painful reminder of our past.**

**‘If the matter of June 16 has to be negotiated then the deaths of our martyrs are insignificant’**

date of the people to be to declare the day a holiday

He, however, said declaring only June 16 a public holiday would be a misrepresentation of the Class of 76

The Government would have to wait for a committee decision on all holidays, he said

Meanwhile, the old holidays had to be honoured, and the hitherto non-statutory holidays such as June 16 would have to wait

Vacillation was the key word in Molala's speech as he delivered his key-note address to a few hundred Azapo adherents

"Why should the Government be so indecisive about whether June 16 should be a public holiday this year?"

"There was no such indecision among Jews. Out of their own volition they are still tracking down Nazis responsible for the Holocaust

"If blacks were to accept the Government's reasoning that the granting of June 16 as a public holiday is a

matter that should be negotiated, and therefore should be treated with a measure of circumspect, then the deaths of the martyrs are insignificant"

Molala further said as the Government of National Unity was bent on ingratiating itself to big business at the expense of June 16, it should not be surprised when people accuse it of "selling out"

Molala warned that if the sacrifice of June 16 as a holiday was meant to bolster the funding prospects of the RDP, the Government was going about it the wrong way

He said the RDP was a good concept in that its ultimate aim was to provide houses and create jobs

"But it is the way it has to be funded that seems to be creating a lot of problems for the Government so that it is even prepared to sacrifice things that are dear to its constituency

"For me, this is a clear indication that even though we may be having political power, the economic power still resides in whites' hands

"Black people who are serious about real power should sit down and redefine their economic policies so that it does not become necessary to look over our shoulders before giving recognition to days like June 16"

As he rounded off his speech, Molala said he had great admiration for the Jews

"I am not sure if I can say the same about the Government of National Unity"

# ANC rebellion on Parliament issue

Own Correspondent

CAPE TOWN — A rebellious ANC parliamentary caucus yesterday resolved that the controversial secret cabinet committee on the siting of Parliament be disbanded in favour of a representative parliamentary committee operating in the open.

The resolution formed part of a growing opposition by MPs and Senators to being kept in the dark about major decisions, and sparked the formation of a special committee to re-examine the relationship between government, the cabinet and the ANC.

ANC MPs yesterday complained about being sidelined when it came to key planning initiatives — the siting of a legislative capital being a prime example.

MPs noted that President Nelson Mandela had only briefly attended one meeting of the 312-member caucus, while some ministers had also missed meetings.

This has created misgivings about the role of the caucus and how effective ordinary MPs would be in shaping government initiatives.

MPs from a number of parties have been up in arms about what they see as a cosy cabinet committee sitting behind closed doors to investigate a matter that holds far-reaching implications for all MPs and the country as a whole.

ANC caucus chairman Mendi Msimang said the caucus had resolved that the present four-person cabinet committee studying the seat of Parliament should be disbanded.

A final report would be the product of a reconstituted committee consisting of representatives of several parties.

Mandela will become directly involved in the controversy next week when he is set to answer questions in the Senate about the cabinet committee.

Meanwhile, the special ANC committee to look into the relationship between the party, the cabinet and the government of national unity will be headed by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Other members will include Trade and Industry Minister Trevor Manuel, Posts and Telecommunications Minister Pallo Jordan and MP Raymond Suttner, who has been outspoken about the dangers of ordinary MPs losing their influence and being forced to toe the party line.

11A 22/6/94

# Boesak set to quit his ANC post

By CHRIS BATEMAN  
Political Staff

ANC regional leader and provincial Minister of Economic Affairs Dr Allan Boesak may quit today as ANC regional chairman to devote himself full-time to his new cabinet portfolio.

Interviewed after yesterday's legislative session, he broke a week-long silence on the issue to say: "My own conclusion is that if you want to do this job (economic affairs) you can't sit as chairman of the ANC."

Dr Boesak recently admitted to being "almost overwhelmed" with work

He said he was still grappling with the implications of losing direct party leadership.

## Grassroots

Yesterday he revealed that former party whip Mr Chris Nissen had asked him to postpone a final decision on the proposed resignation until the full ANC executive committee met today to take a policy stand.

The ANC's executive committee would decide whether it was possible to act in an "ex officio" capacity and still fulfil their parliamentary responsibilities.

The entire ANC exco presently sits in the provincial parliament

They are anxious that they might lose touch with grassroots ANC membership unless a "hands on" regional committee is elected at the party's regional congress in Bellville next month

Party officials said if Dr Boesak did resign he would remain the "symbolic" provincial leader of the party

# ANC tries to stop Boesak rumours

By CHRIS BATEMAN  
Political Staff

FORMER ANC chief whip Mr Chris Nissen moved quickly yesterday to try to quash growing rumours of Dr Allan Boesak's imminent resignation as ANC chairman, saying this decision could only be made at the party's annual congress next month.

Mr Nissen, now Deputy Speaker of the provincial legislature, said Dr Boesak, the Minister of Economic Affairs, would "always be the symbolic leader in the Western Cape".

He confirmed, however, that Dr Boesak could be voted out or stand down at next month's congress.

Former ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni was quoted yesterday as saying he saw no problems in assuming the local leadership. Another contender is the Minister of Health

(11A) CT 23/6/94  
and Social Service, Mr Ebrahim Rasool

The full ANC local executive met yesterday to plan for their annual congress, but Dr Boesak did not resign as he had earlier indicated he might.

Mr Nissen said there were several schools of thought on how to deal with the problem of the entire party executive being in Parliament and in the regional executive at the same time.

"One is that all MPs can be elected on to the REC, but not into the top five 'hands on' positions. Another is that by virtue of their being MPs they are automatically on the REC without election," he said.

Dr Boesak said this week his holding two positions was virtually untenable because of work pressure in his cabinet portfolio. He was unavailable for comment yesterday.

# Tussle for ANC leadership in Cape

WOM 17-23/6/94 (11A)

A battle for the leadership of the ANC in the Western Cape has involved premier, Hermus Kriel in a cabinet confrontation, reports

## Mondli waka Makhanaya

**A** LEADERSHIP tussle within the ANC's Western Cape region has precipitated the first real confrontation in the regional cabinet.

The skirmish between ANC ministers and premier Hermus Kriel was the first real test for the provincial administration, with hard words being traded publicly for the first time since the elections.

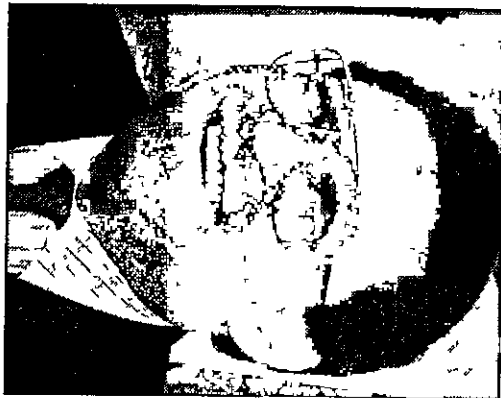
It appears the timing for the challenge on Kriel was a ploy to underscore the anti-National Party credentials of regional minister of the environment Lennu Kalako, public works minister Leonard Ramatlakane and ANC chief whip Chris Nissen in advance of elections at next month's crucial ANC regional congress. At this, the trio are expected to mount a challenge to ANC regional chairman and

regional economic affairs minister Allan Boesak. It is seen as significant that the attack on Kriel coincided with an overseas trip by Boesak.

Boesak has his back to the wall as pressure mounts for his replacement from elements blaming him for the ANC's poor showing in the April election. There are indications he may step down ahead of the regional congress to avoid the humiliation of almost certain defeat. Should this happen he will most probably take up an ambassadorship to Washington, a post for which he is being considered.

Although there are several contenders for his position, the most likely successor is health and welfare minister Ebrahim Rassool, who has no political baggage and no major enemies.

At issue are accusations that Kriel breached protocol by not consulting the ANC before last week's premiers' summit with Public Administration Minister Zola Skweyiya on the issue of provincial powers. Kalako, Ramatlakane and Nissen unsuccessfully tried to get central government to delay conferring powers on the Western Cape on



Allan Boesak ... Back to the wall

grounds that Kriel had violated protocol. Notably missing from the altercation was Rassool.

The issue was resolved when — after Boesak's return — the ANC accepted Kriel's explanation that the disputed ordinances had been drawn up by central government and not himself. Nonetheless Nissen was adamant that the skirmish had sent a message to Kriel that he should consult.

The dispute forced Kriel to make his first public attack on the

ANC, calling on Boesak to "discipline" his troops.

Minor as it was, the dispute highlighted a debate in the ANC about how to deal with the Kriel government. The ANC is caught between not wanting Kriel to take too much credit for successes of the Reconstruction and Development Programme in the region and their insistence on its implementation. This is another issue likely to dominate the congress as the ANC defines its role as junior partner for the next five years.

Observers inside and outside the ANC see the challenge as a muscle-flexing exercise, which could have only happened in Boesak's absence.

"Various people are trying to establish themselves for Boesak's position, and the best way do that is to show you are not going to listen to what the Nats have to say," said an observer.

He added "I pray the congress does not fracture us too much. The last thing we need is to be divided in the NP's backyard. But the way things are going now, we might need to call those internal stability 'mame' to be on standby."

# ANC postpones W Cape congress

□ Lack of funds, gloom after defeat

**VUYO BAVUMA**  
Political Staff

THE African National Congress had postponed its regional congress in the Western Cape because of lack of organisation, low morale and debts totalling more than R1 million, regional secretary Lerumo Kalako said

The money is owed to several small businessmen who worked for the movement during the election campaign.

The conference, to have been held next weekend, was regarded as urgent because of the need to replace ANC executive members serving in the regional government.

Instead, the ANC executive will hold a one-day workshop to prepare the way forward and plan for the congress, now scheduled for the end of August.

Mr Kalako, the provincial minister of environment, said the problems in the ANC were caused mainly by the most of the party's regional executive serving in the regional government

and not having time to devote to their duties in the ANC

In a frank interview, Mr Kalako painted a gloomy picture of the movement, whose members are still reeling from the shock defeat by the National Party in the Western Cape.

He said after the elections morale among Western Cape members was low and many officials did not turn up for executive meetings

The ANC branches looked to the executive for guidance, but there was no one there to provide it.

Another problem was that the ANC had not yet worked out the relationship between the organisation and its parliamentarians

To compound matters, election canvassers had not been paid for election duties because funds had dried up.

Only two branches, Khayelitsha and Guguletu, had restored some semblance of normality.

Mr Kalako said the regional executive council had resolved that the day-to-day running of the regional ANC would be carried out by a committee of the movement's branches, led by Jean Benjamin

## I am not ready to resign as party chairman — Boesak

**VUYO BAVUMA, Political Staff**

ANC regional chairman Allan Boesak has scotched reports that he will resign

Dr Boesak said he was elected by the people and could not just walk out of the ANC.

He said it would be "totally irresponsible" for him to take any action while the ANC was still debating whether regional officials could also hold provincial cabinet posts.

More than 10 ANC executive members are in the regional government, including Dr Boesak who is a provincial minister of economic affairs.

Dr Boesak was widely blamed for the ANC's poor election showing in the Western Cape. This week rumours mounted that the ANC would ditch him as the leader of the region.

But last night Dr Boesak rejected emphatically claims that anyone in the ANC was "hatching such a plot".

"I can't leave my position (of chairman) until the ANC's general council or regional conference has debated the matter and taken a principled stand.

"Meanwhile, I'll continue to carry out my responsibilities. But I ac-

knowledge that it is difficult to carry out two jobs — I and my fellow ministers feel the weight

"But this doesn't mean I'll run away. I am not ready to quit at all."

Dr Boesak also denied that there was a leadership crisis in the ANC.

"As far as we are concerned, we are still working together in the same way as we used to."

As regional minister of economic affairs he had many plans for the region, including attracting investment and creating jobs, he said

Concerning allegations that the ANC blamed him for losing the Western Cape to the National Party, Dr Boesak said it was "improper and simplistic" to single out an individual, because one person did not run the campaign.

The ANC lost for many reasons, but the most important was that the majority of Western Cape residents did not see it as an appropriate political home.

Dr Boesak said he was surprised at reports that he was being considered for an ambassadorial post. Neither President Mandela nor Foreign Affairs knew anything about it.

By Quentin Wilson

**F**OLLOWING the ANC's electoral defeat in the Western Cape, a strong push is being made within the organisation to replace its regional chairperson Dr Allan Boesak.

With the ANC's regional conference less than a month away, sources inside leadership structures have made it clear there is "a strong campaign to get Boesak out at all costs".

Said a source. "There is a great deal of dissatisfaction with his leadership style. The problems people had with him before the election have multiplied and I really don't think he will be chosen as chairperson again."

But Boesak, who is also the local minister of economic affairs in the provincial legislature, has dealt with opposition inside the ANC before. When the ANC chose their West-

# Knives are out for Allan Boesak

ern Cape front-runner for April's election, Boesak narrowly defeated a bid by advocate Dullah Omar for the position of premier candidate.

Today, Boesak is unperturbed about bids to oust him. Not only has he handled it all before, he is finding it extremely difficult to manage his weighty ministry of economic affairs as well as lead the ANC.

He'd be happy to be relieved from extra-parliamentary work.

"It would be an illusion to say it was possible to do both jobs well. There just simply isn't the time.

Especially because there are so few of us on the provincial executive council, we will all have to serve on more than one committee if we are to make a real impact here," he said.

The dilemma facing the ANC though, is to find a suitable replacement.

"The talent for leadership is there," says Boesak, "It is just a question of experience and developing new leadership skills to meet new demands. It will however be difficult to find someone who does

not have a heavy load of parliamentary duties."

But finding a replacement for Boesak has not in any way been resolved and is proving to be a big organisational headache. Finding capable lieutenants is also proving to be difficult.

Said one source: "We might have to find someone of high profile, be it Allan (Boesak) or someone in the national assembly, to fill the position of chairperson with scaled down responsibilities. Others around him could do

most of the work and be trained to take more responsibilities as they gain experience."

Faced with their leadership dilemma, the ANC is likely to follow a national recommendation that next month's regional conference be changed to a general council.

At a general council, there would be no formal election of a new regional executive committee. Instead interim arrangements would be made for a proper election to be held in October.

Until that time, ANC MP's from the Western Cape could serve on an "interim committee" as ex-officio members while new leadership nominated from zonal structures could be given portfolios.

"It is a likely option that is still under discussion," confirmed Boesak. "Our challenge though is to hold the ANC together and ensure the organisation speaks with one voice, be it from inside or outside parliament."

## Restructuring drive in store for ANC

DAVID GREYBE

CAPE TOWN — ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday unveiled plans for a major restructuring of the ANC to strengthen the tripartite alliance and make it the driving force behind government's reconstruction and development programme (RDP) *BIDAY*

The party is to vacate and rent out most of its Johannesburg head office, open secondary headquarters in Cape Town, reorganise its 14 regions into the nine provinces, and retrench part of its 1 200-strong full-time workforce *(11A)*

Ramaphosa said the restructuring was expected to be completed by October, before the national conference in December when the new national executive committee would be elected *24/6/94*

He said the ANC's electoral victory had dramatically altered the country's political landscape. But if the party wanted to remain a force it had to restructure, as it did when it was unbanned in 1990.

The ANC had not yet completed its mission. "We have an ANC-dominated government of national unity. We have acquired power at a formal level, but we still have to get on with the task of fully transforming SA." The party had to remain a mass organisation linked to "democratic forces", particularly in its tripartite alliance with the SACP and Cosatu.

The restructuring, approved by the party's national working committee last

To Page 2

## Restructure *BIDAY*

From Page 1

week, would also "have to look at how the ANC outside Parliament relates to the ANC in Parliament" *24/6/94*

A constituency-type system was being finalised for national and provincial MPs to "ensure proper accountability"

Ramaphosa said other "key political tasks facing the ANC" included

Ensuring effective cadre development and political education programmes. Key officials had been appointed to government, leaving a void; *(11A)*

- Preparing for local government elections next year;
- Planning for the 1999 elections;
- Preparing for the ANC national conference in December; and
- Ensuring the party's long-term financial viability

Ramaphosa confirmed that until a sub-committee had studied the issue, ANC MPs, senators, deputy ministers and ministers would pay a party levy of R750-R2 000 a month.



# Lessons in how not to win an election



Former black consciousness leader **Saths Cooper** asks why the PAC and Azapo failed so dismally in the election

(114)

WM 24-30/6/94

This article is extracted from the first book to be published about the elections, *Election '94 - The Campaign Results & Future Prospects*, edited by Andrew Reynolds (David Philip, R39.99)

**A** CONCOCTION of rumours\* is how Pan Africanist Congress deputy president Johnson Mlambo dismissed media reports of serious dissatisfaction within the party over the leadership's steering of its election campaign.

But there has clearly been surprise, if not shock, in many circles at the dismal performance of the PAC. Most analysts did not expect such poor showings from a party that has a strong liberatory tradition.

Part of the reason for the PAC's inability to make a better showing at the polls was leadership difficulties. At the best of times the leadership displayed incoherence and lack of clear direction.

Its lapse into rhetoric, often wild and of the "one settler, one bullet" and "whites must leave" variety, and based on claims of historical legitimacy, were the most common features of its campaigning in the run-up to the election. Clearly, though, this was insufficient to garner the required number of votes to retain the PAC's erstwhile status as a key player in national political life. Immediately after the formal election results were publicly announced, dissension within the PAC began to

resurface. The organisation had been riddled with leadership problems from the time that Polokho Lebello assumed the reins of power soon after it went into exile some 34 years ago.

The PAC has not enjoyed leadership stability since. There was a very short period in the late 1980s when Zephaniah Mokohele, who had been released from prison on health grounds, managed to pull the various factions of the organisation together.

Mokohele's death resulted in the obscure ex-Robben Islander, Clarence Makwetu, being resurrected and brought from his farm in the Transkei to the national political stage, but he was singularly unable to make effective use of his new position.

Makwetu did not have an understanding of the modern media and had a tendency to make ponderous responses which were not listener-friendly. When he did respond briefly, it was in a tactless or monosyllabic fashion which tended to confound and turn off listeners or viewers. Benny Alexander and, to some extent, Patricia de Lille were the PAC's



Zeph Mokohele

more effective public communicators during the run-up to the election. Alexander was not given any public role. Indeed, the PAC's "campaign" was starkly absent. Posters landing the "African hope", Makwetu, only went up a few weeks before the election, and then in relatively ill-judged positions and in numbers that made no impact.

The PAC message was not heard at all. It had no cogent election platform. When media opportunity presented itself, it was not effectively exploited.

The abiding memory many potential voters had of the PAC was of its president making a public complaint about lack of funds, especially from the "imperialists" and "capitalists". The memory many existing voters had of the PAC was of its apparent anti-white fervour. Despite intellectualised arguments on the delusion of an African as a person owing allegiance to the soil rather than skin colour, nearly all whites fear the PAC.

When one is accustomed to interaction within a closed circle of minds in general agreement, one can easily be seduced into believing that times are favourable to one's thinking and that those who don't agree suffer from lack of clarity in vision and understanding. One then runs the risk of remaining purist in thought and action without any effect. One can rest in the self-consolation that one has

the policy, if only the world would take note and benefit.

This in some measure is the malaise that afflicted both the PAC and the Azanian People's Organisation. Azapo has steadfastly refused to be drawn into the negotiation process, believing it to be flawed. It accordingly stayed out of the election, which it maintained was singularly flawed.

What Azapo did not take into account was the huge support that this first democratic election elicited from the vast majority of the populace.

Azapo was caught up in the rhetoric of the past, and was therefore unable to come to terms with the reality of the change ushered in by FW de Klerk. Like the other far-left organisation, the New Unity Movement, and its associate, the African People's Democratic Union of South Africa, Azapo had great difficulty in accepting that the changes wrought and the nascent democracy ushered in were irrevocably part of the new landscape.

Its even greater difficulty was to accept that the masses have really come of age and are able to articulate effectively what they want outside system propaganda.

This realisation of the ability of the majority to identify their own needs and aspirations was misunderstood by most commentators and do-gooders, especially those who forecast widespread voter illiteracy, mistaking lack of formal education for inability to choose and understand. Having the policy is of no avail if one

hasn't the ability, perhaps even the inclination, to relate effectively to the masses.

The reliance on armed propaganda by the PAC, and more recently by Azapo, worked to their disadvantage. The national mood was one of a serious desire for reconciliation and peace.

The warmongers in our midst appealed to a very small percentage of the population. By and large, South Africans are law-abiding people who desire conditions of stability and security so that they can get on with bettering their lot.

The strong message coming from Azapo (the PAC's armed wing) and Azania (the Black Consciousness Movement's armed wing) was one of rejection of the changed conditions, they continued to prey on suspicions and mistrust of the past, and threatened attacks on unarmed civilians.

The PAC's indiscipline in dealing with the Azapo threats, which the media instantly relayed to the public, caused the PAC leadership to be further undermined in the public mind.

The PAC leadership tried to suggest Azapo had its own command structure outside the PAC hierarchy when under media fire, and then claimed Azapo allegiance when it suited them. It is significant that the PAC stayed out of the Transitional Executive Council and only joined it when the TEC's term of office was about to end, in order to secure the incorporation of Azapo cadres into the new South African National Defence Force.

It is also significant that the PAC was forced to suspend the armed struggle and become involved in the election after public rebukes from Tanzania and Zimbabwe.

The head of Azapo died in exile at about the same time. In a sense, the PAC went into the election without unanimous agreement on such a decision within its ranks, and because it had to do so in order to retain Tanzanian and Zimbabwean backing and its own ailing support base at home.

The PAC's putative support bases nearly all failed to materialise, with it only succeeding in gaining five seats in the national assembly and a solitary seat each in the legislatures of the PWV, Eastern Cape and Natal.

Its total voter support was 243 478 votes for the national assembly, which accounted for 1.2 percent of projected eligible voters. A discernible percentage of voters who supported the PAC in the majority of provincial legislatures did not vote for it on the national ballot.

Indeed, it seems many supporters of the PAC voted for the ANC, in the belief that they had rather vote for a winner from the national liberation movement in this first democratic election in order to end white minority rule and change their quality of life.

The PAC had the powerful and evocative issue of the land question which it failed to project effectively. It laboured under its own illusion that it would be the "surprise" performer in the election, as Zanu/PF had been in Zimbabwe. But in this the PAC was rudely surprised.

This election was about ending minority rule, about bringing peace and creating conditions for national reconciliation, stability and prosperity, and improving the quality of life of the majority. These issues were largely ignored by the PAC and Azapo.

The failure in performance of the PAC and the obdurate refusal by Azapo to participate in the election mean that the real loser will be the country's fledgling democracy, which vitally needs vigorous criticism.

Saths Cooper, founding Azapo president, is now director of the Family Institute

# ANC MPs pay levy to keep party afloat

CT 24/6/94

(11A)

ANC cabinet ministers, MPs and members of the regional parliaments are to pay "an interim levy" on their salaries to the party to help put it on a sound financial footing

ANC cabinet ministers and MECs would each pay R2 000 a month to the ANC while other public representatives would pay R750, ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday

This alone would contribute R225 000 a month to the party kitty, while payments from the MECs would add a further R320 000

In addition MPs will be assigned party administrative work in the areas in which they work or live to keep them in touch with the electorate

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC was conducting its own investigation alongside the Melamet Commission which made recommendations on salaries for paid public representatives

## ANC MOVE TOWARDS CONSTITUENCY POLITICS

— Page 2

The levies on MPs was a temporary measure, valid until the ANC's own investigation into salaries had been completed, after which the levy would be revised, he said. — Political Staff, Sapa

# ANC to establish sub-headquarters in city

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

THE ANC plans to establish a national "sub-headquarters" in Cape Town, ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday

The move, which Capetonians hope will bolster the Mother City's bid to remain the seat of Parlia-

ment, would come into effect "in a few days"

Mr Ramaphosa said the new offices, on the corner of Wale and Loop Streets — a stone's throw from Parliament — would be used continuously

The ANC, as part of a sweeping restructure, will scale down its office at the party's Shell House

headquarters in Johannesburg

Mr Ramaphosa, who was speaking at a press briefing on plans to rewrap the ANC, declined to be drawn on his personal preference of a site for Parliament, saying it would not be proper for him to take sides

"I don't dislike being in Cape Town, but it does have terrible

weather," was all he was prepared to say

Sapa reports that Cape business leaders said yesterday that the best site for Parliament should be investigated by a commission of inquiry appointed by President Nelson Mandela

A letter to the President asking him to make such an appointment was released to the media in it the

heads of six business chambers in the Cape said the decision had enormous implications for the region and the nation as a whole

"Neither the decision by a cabinet committee nor a vote by the elected representatives of Parliament will be perceived to be fair and equitable unless based on the outcome of an open public inquiry," the letter said

TH CT 24/6/94

# ANC MPs pay levy <sup>(11A)</sup> to keep party afloat

CT 24/6/94

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— Page 2

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■ Election (117)  
CT 246, 94  
debts will  
be settled

Political Staff

THE ANC would settle its election debts, including R1 million owed in the Western Cape, the organisation's secretary general, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, said yesterday

"We have a problem in a number of regions about debts incurred in the elections," he said at a press conference

"We have been looking at these debts and are considering a number of ways to pay them off

"I am sure the National Party and the Democratic Party incurred enormous debts

"It happens to any political party

"We will pay them,"

Mr Ramaphosa said

He was responding to a question about a statement by the ANC's Western Cape, Mr Lerumo Kalako, that the organisation had debts of more than R1 million in the region and whether the ANC was in debt nationally as well

# Ramaphosa flexes his caucus muscles

Cyril Ramaphosa may not be a member of the cabinet but he is starting to assert his influence on government decisions, writes **Chris Louw**

**A**FRICAN National Congress secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa this week made his first move to assert his influence on government from outside the cabinet, when he announced major structural changes in the organisation

aphosa's position was strengthened when he was elected chairman of a committee to investigate the relationship between the cabinet and parliament. Caucus members accused President Nelson Mandela's government of taking decisions unilaterally and insisted that MPs have greater access to the parliamentary processes

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(11A) Wm 24-30/6/94

Ramaphosa recently refused a cabinet position. Senior members of the National Party expressed their concern at the time, arguing that he was planning to frustrate the government of national unity by influencing decisions through the ANC caucus

According to reports, Ramaphosa was smarting because Thabo Mbeki was made deputy president instead of

The latest developments were watched with concern this week by NP members. They fear that all cabinet decisions may in future be subjected to ANC caucus approval, rendering them powerless

ANC MP Raymond Suttner was reported as saying the people should be drawn into the decision-making process. "We don't want a parliament which is little more than a passive receiver of cabinet decisions."

Thus, they maintain, will be "contrary to the spirit of national unity and nation-building"

Ramaphosa called a media conference for Thursday afternoon to announce restructuring measures taken to improve the ANC organisationally. Details were not known at the time of going to press

## ANC to retrench party staff

### Political Staff

THE ANC is to begin a retrenchment programme to reduce its 1 200-member party administration now that the movement was in government, secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, announced yesterday

The former National Union of Mineworkers secretary general admitted that he was uncomfortable with having to carry out the retrenchment process

The administration has already been cut from a peak of 4 500 officials over the election. Most of these were contract workers

Voluntary retrenchments would begin from July 1 (NA)

Admitting the party was suffering financial constraints following massive election costs — believed to be as high as R100 million — he said offices would be streamlined and closed where necessary CT24/6/94

# ANC confirms it will lay off workers

Sowetan 24/6/94

(11A)

By Themba Molefe  
Political Correspondent

## ■ FINANCIAL PROBLEMS Party

unable to pay debts in some regions:

**T**HE African National Congress yesterday confirmed it will reduce its staff and close some of its departments as it focuses on running the Government

ANC secretary-general Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa acknowledged in Cape Town yesterday that the organisation was retrenching staff following media speculation in the past few weeks

He also admitted that the ANC was having financial problems and could not pay its debts in some regions. However, this was not a crisis as money would be made available

The ANC has imposed a levy on its MPs. Ordinary MPs have to fork out R700 a month and Cabinet Ministers R2 000 to boost ANC coffers.

Presently the ANC employs 1 200 workers. Ramaphosa said this was in line with the party's internal reconstruction policy and that the workers would now have to compete for employment like everybody else.

Some departments have already closed at ANC headquarters, Shell House, in Johannesburg.

The decision to lay off workers was influenced by the fact that key officials of the ANC had assumed Government positions and as a majority party in the Government, "faced a number of problems" and had to review policy

"We have more staff than we need. Before the election we had 4 500 employees but many of them were on contract and have had their services terminated," he said

The ANC reconstruction initiative would also affect its decision-making complexion with its national working committee being "more streamlined" and extended

Ramaphosa announced that the organisation would hold its national conference from December 17 to 22 when it would focus on the 1999 general election

"We have 22 months left to write the (final) constitution and prepare for the next election, including local government elections next year," Ramaphosa said



# ANC desperate for a Messiah in Western Cape

ARG 25/6/74

(11)

**S**TILL reeling from the shock election defeat in the region, leaders of the African National Congress in the Western Cape have admitted that their organisation is lacking

The admission must be music to National Party ears

With the important municipal elections early next year, the ANC's chief rivals must fancy their chances of entrenching their control in the Western Cape

Although ANC leaders deny on record that the movement has a regional leadership crisis, the need for a Messiah to break the Cape Nationalists' stranglehold remains undoubtedly urgent

To complicate the ANC's goal, there are no obvious choices to fill the present incumbent's post of regional chairman Allan Boesak

While many continue to blame Dr Boesak for the movement's regional election failure — the leaders believed their own propaganda and thought the ANC would win in the region — the high-profile orator has emphatically denied he is under fire or is about to quit

In spite of his strong denials, however, the search for the fresh leadership blood to charter the ANC to a victorious course is on in earnest.

The postponement of next week's important regional congress to decide the leadership issue serves as an indicator that more time is being given to the branches. The congress is now rescheduled to the end of August

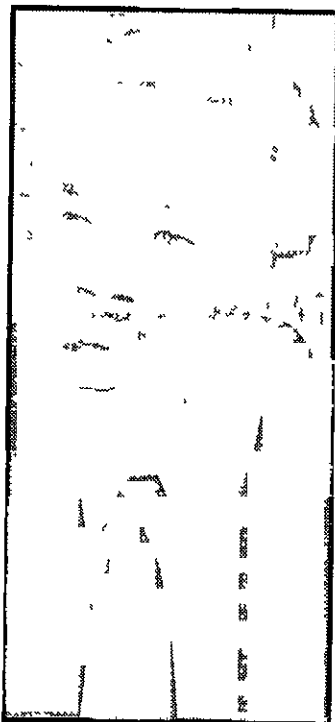
Another pointer is that the grassroots members have bemoaned the widening of the gap between them and the leadership which is now committed to its new parliamentary duties

To counter this, the vital task of running the movement has now been handed over to the newly-elected committee comprising ANC branches. The body, which is expected to function until the end of August, reports back to the regional executive council once a week

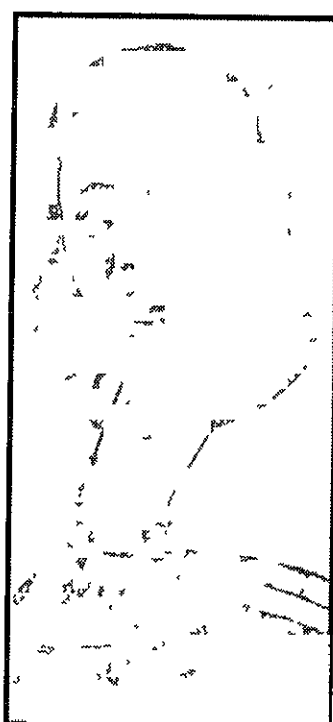
This effectively means that Dr Boesak, though he is the official leader, now no longer runs the movement's organisation in the Western Cape

The branches' committee also tackles the day-to-day problems that beset the movement after the elections, including facing disenchanted businessmen crying foul for not being paid their money (the ANC has debts totalling R1,4 million) and preparing for the regional congress

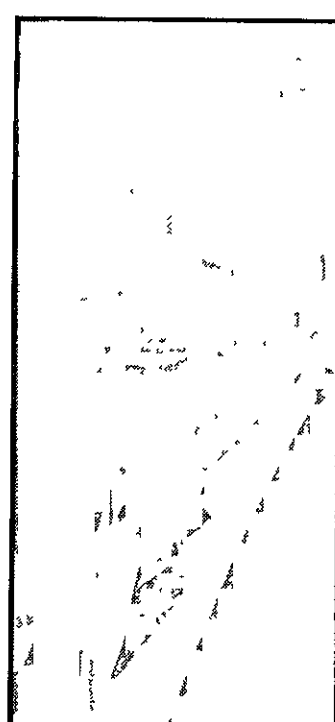
It also oversees the changing the movement's offices from Woodstock to a tem-



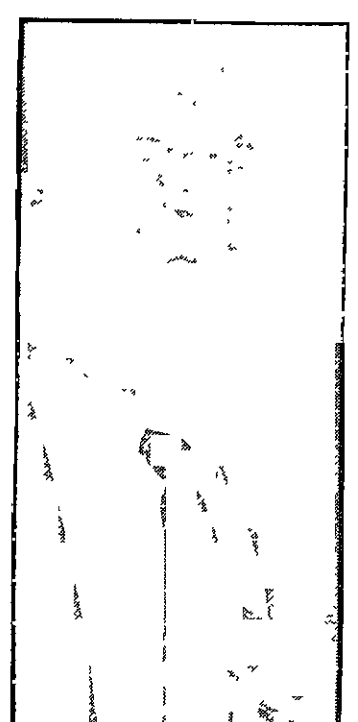
**TONY YENGENI:** Might stand



**CHERYL CAROLUS:** A better choice.



**DULLAH OMAR:** Lost candidacy



**TREVOR MANUEL:** Regionally popular

■ With the local municipal elections in mind and attempts to keep the organisation running, the regional African National Congress desperately needs a strong leader to steer its ship. **VUYO BAVUMA** of the Weekend Argus Political Staff reports.

porary place in Athlone.

This decentralisation of power is seen as a sign that the regional executive members, now parliamentarians, are overwhelmed by their work pressure, causing the ANC to suffer.

And besides, the ANC can ill-afford the widening of the gap between the top structure and its grassroots membership

Though the former regional secretary Tony Yengeni, who is a national assembly MP, this week indicated that he might stand for the leadership after being approached by several people within the movement, the search for the leader is far from over

An obvious choice would have been Cheryl Carolus who undoubtedly has the right credentials politically she was born and bred in the Western Cape region and well known for her involvement with the United Democratic Front

But before the recent elections, Carolus, who is now based in Johannesburg, said she did not want a parliamentary

post. Instead, she had been working behind the scenes to implement the government's policies

Recently, she was elected secretary for the ANC's policy department

Other possible contenders could be Minister of Justice Dullah Omar and Minister of Trade and Industry Trevor Manuel

Earlier this year human rights lawyer Mr Omar, who is widely respected, lost the region candidacy by 16 votes to Dr Boesak, but this is not expected to be a setback for the former regional UDF chairman

Like Miss Carolus, Mr Manuel is equally popular in the region and travelled the same political path of many activists of being in-and-out of detention for his UDF activities

It is not known how the cabinet duties of Mr Omar and Mr Manuel could interfere with the assumption of the regional leadership. However, it has been common practice in the past for national cabinet

ministers to lead their provincial parties

Earlier this year, the ANC leadership was further depleted when a hard-working South African Communist Party leader Lizo Nkonki died in a car accident

Unlike other regions, except Natal, the ANC is not ruling the roost. And the political dices are loaded against it. It faces a slick NP propaganda machine that knows too well how to woo voters

Interestingly, the NP achieved its recent regional victory, though it ducked the real issues, and proved that the high moral political ground did not necessarily lead to victory

In contrast to the ANC, the NP's campaign was not publicly supported by prominent community leaders from various sectors, but it won the hearts and minds of many voters

With the municipal elections in the offing, the ANC hopes to avert another NP victory — but it will have to put its house in order first and that probably means finding a new regional leader

# I know how much it hurts — Ramaphosa

By **THEMBA KHUMALO** Political Reporter

AS a former trade unionist, ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa found it "painful" to retrench about 4 500 employees, who were mainly employed part-time to boost the election campaign from the organisation's Johannesburg headquarters last year.

Ramaphosa told a press conference this week that although he found his task unenviable, the change in the country's political climate and the fact that the ANC was now in government had made the retrenchments necessary. **CIPnews**

He had explained this to the staff at Shell House and they understood the reasons for the move, he said.

"But I want to emphasise that we will not throw them out in the streets," said Ramaphosa.

With President Nelson Mandela's assistance the ANC would help find the retrenched workers jobs in other industries, he said. **26/6/94**

"Already, some have found jobs in the private sector, civil service and others have indicated that they'll go to school. We want to minimise the impact of the retrenchment as much as we possibly can." **(IA)**

Ramaphosa said it was expected that the ANC would retain a maximum of 1 200 employees once the restructuring was over.

Workers were expected to start volunteering for retrenchment at the beginning of July and the target date for revamped structures was October 1.

ANC plans to restructure the party and transform Parliament into a vigorous institution of government presented as a sign of the emergence of a democratic political culture in SA. They also signal, though, the creation of a new political divide which cuts across party lines — broadly speaking between the ANC outside government and the ANC-led coalition Cabinet.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and parliamentary Speaker Frene Ginwala appear to have formed an alliance to introduce an open parliamentary system responsive to its constituency.

Ginwala has, in a few short weeks, made it clear that Parliament will no longer act as a rubber stamp for government. Simultaneously, Ramaphosa has said the party will not hesitate to criticise an ANC-led government which deviates from its mandate, and that the party expects to be the driving force behind the reconstruction and development programme (RDP).

**B**ut there are also early indications that the government of national unity will resist being dictated to by the large ANC presence in Parliament. At the same time, the NP and Inkatha Freedom Party appear more concerned with consolidating what little power they have than with monitoring and criticising the performance of Cabinet members.

"It is important that there should be an effective and dynamic connection between what happens at government level and what happens at party level, so as to fulfil the mandate we have been given," says Ramaphosa. "The party, in the end, must stand in defence of ANC policy and principles."

The ANC inside and outside Parliament is clearly trying to define a role for itself in relation to government. The effects on the country's political process could be felt for years to come. Ramaphosa says these new relationships "have to be properly streamlined. It is the same organisation but there are relation-

# New ANC divide appears between Cabinet and party

DAVID GREYBE in Cape Town

ships that now need to be reshaped and redirected."

The issue of the location of Parliament is becoming a litmus test. The ANC caucus demand that the Cabinet committee probing the location issue disband had more to do with accountability, and shades of previous NP practices, than with whether or when Parliament would move to Pretoria. The caucus criticised the secrecy surrounding the Cabinet committee, it is demanding greater accountability in all areas of government.

The case of the ANC caucus rests on its argument for a principled separation of powers between the executive arm of government and the legislature.

In the end it was left to President Nelson Mandela to be seen to hammer out a compromise. He announced this week that the four-man committee would stay, but that government would take into account the views of the public on the issue.

What was important was that the ANC-led Cabinet had given notice that it would resist being dictated to by its parliamentary caucus.

Taken to its logical conclusion, the result could be a political tussle for the hearts and minds (and effective control) of the ANC between First Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and

the Ramaphosa-Ginwala alliance. That contest could help decide who succeeds Mandela as president of the ANC, and of the country.

Another crucial aspect of the Cabinet-versus-caucus contest will be the new-style, open parliamentary standing committees where MPs can monitor Ministers and, more gener-

ally, flex their political muscles. MPs' public performance will become even more important when the ANC introduces a constituency-type system for its members.

Ramaphosa says the ANC national working committee, which has skipped a number of meetings recently, will soon resume weekly meetings with Mandela in attendance. This will also increase party influence on government.

The party agenda differs from the Cabinet's. For instance, some ANC MPs have expressed unhappiness that the Budget did not allocate more money to the RDP, or reduce VAT on basic foodstuffs.

Interestingly, these envisaged changes in relationships have similarities with the US system of government, where the administration is often engaged in a fierce political battle with Congress. But whereas the US system is adversarial by choice, there is no guarantee that SA will follow the same route.

The ANC is aware that in the relatively short period of five years it has to go to the polls again, but this time in a winner-takes-all contest. It would not anger well for the party if it has seriously undermined government. Ramaphosa therefore talks of a non-adversarial relationship between the two, though exactly how

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RAMAPHOSA

that will work in practice is unclear. Ramaphosa says the ANC will not hesitate to criticise an ANC Minister again, as it did Defence Minister Joe Modise for attempting to gag the Weekly Mail. But, he reiterates, not through conflict. "The ANC also has to strengthen government. That is where the question of not having a conflictual relationship with government comes in. We are going to want to work hand in hand to achieve the objectives set out in the RDP."

The full effect of the ANC's restructuring will become apparent only in December when the entire leadership stands for re-election at its national conference. Again, observers will be watching any contest between Ramaphosa and Mbeki.

Restructuring the ANC into the nine provinces includes establishing a separate four-tier RDP component, which the ANC wants to use to control the RDP at central government level.

Ramaphosa says the central feature of the RDP has to be that it is "people-driven". RDP structures at party level will have to interact with government initiatives "at all levels" in implementing the RDP.

He rejects warnings that the ANC may fall into the trap of using its influence to advance short-sighted, populist causes by, for instance, opposing attempts to impose fiscal discipline or liberalise the economy.

**T**he ANC is a responsible organisation with a responsible leadership, he says. The only criticism the ANC had of the Budget was that it had not done anything to relieve the burden of VAT on the poor. "Other than that, we were quite happy."

While the ANC has achieved power at a formal level, Ramaphosa argues that the party still has to meet its original strategic objective to dismantle apartheid and create a non-racial and non-sexist democratic SA. And only the tripartite alliance, headed by a strong ANC, can do that, he avers.

It is still too early to know exactly how the relationship between the party and government will pan out, Ramaphosa says. "There will be problems, but we will manage them in an effective way."

PARTY POLITICS | 7/94  
**Power adjustment**

**Hard on** the heels of the NP's grand scheme to position itself for victory in the next general election (*Current Affairs* June 24) comes an ANC plan to make sure it stays in power. But, unlike the NP's restructuring, the creation of a new-look ANC will be painful. It includes retrenchments to help transform the organisation from a bloated liberation movement to an efficient political machine. It will also shed most of the space it occupies in Shell House, central Johannesburg.

Secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa says the number of people who will lose their jobs has not been finalised. He adds that retrenchments are "never pleasant for anyone" and particularly for him as a former trade unionist. (11A)

However, the ANC will try to "make the blow as painless and least traumatic as possible." The organisation has a "very advanced and progressive" retrenchment programme.

Ramaphosa says some staff have already opted for new jobs in the private sector or the civil service. A voluntary retrenchment scheme has also been announced. The staff restructuring is due for completion by October 1 but Ramaphosa insists that no-one will be "thrown on to the streets." People will be helped to find new jobs. In the final analysis, the wellbeing of the ANC is paramount, everyone involved realises and accepts this.

The ANC has a staff of about 1 200 at the national head office. This is far more than needed in a restructured party. During the general election campaign the organisation employed about 3 000 extra staff on short-

117194  
term contracts or in temporary posts. Another problem facing the organisation is the replacement of key personnel who were employed full-time. Many were elected to parliament and have given up their party jobs.

The restructuring of the ANC will be underpinned by the need to support the Reconstruction & Development Programme and ensure that it is "people driven," says Ramaphosa. (11A)

Maintaining links with its constituency is vital to the organisation's future. Party leaders are well aware that they face the danger of losing touch with the electorate. This is clearly reflected in the 12 "key political tasks" the ANC intends to tackle. They include ensuring that the party remains a mass organisation, implements the RDP and educates people on how government works.

An additional imperative will be to remain the leading force in the tripartite alliance with the SA Communist Party and Cosatu.

Dynamic leadership will be needed for the party to do well in the coming local government elections and to maintain momentum for the 1999 general election, says Ramaphosa. Within the party structure, the current 14 regions will be reorganised to accommodate the nine provinces. Regional congresses will be held before October to elect provincial committees.

The 26-member national working committee will be extended to include ANC Ministers and Deputy Ministers, the seven ANC provincial Premiers and the provincial leaders in Natal and the Western Cape, the two provinces where the party did not win a majority. A new "subheadquarters" will be

opened in Cape Town to aid party administration while parliament is in session.

In a separate development, it has emerged that the ANC wants a clearly defined relationship between ordinary MPs and ANC members of the Cabinet. A special caucus committee headed by Ramaphosa has been established to investigate the relationship following complaints by MPs that decisions were being made at Cabinet level without reference to the caucus.

The issue was brought to a head last week when the caucus rejected the creation of a four-man Cabinet committee to investigate the resiting of parliament and demanded the establishment of a representative panel to investigate the matter fully. There was also dissent in the caucus after the Cabinet's decision that June 16 should not be a formal public holiday.

Meanwhile, Ramaphosa has confirmed that ANC MPs are being levied R750 a month to help pay for the running of the party. Ministers are each contributing R2 000 a month to party coffers. ■



Ramaphosa

# SACP stalwart suspended

(11A) WM 1-7/7/94

Harry Gwala has been suspended from the South African Communist Party following allegations that he targeted ANC and SACP leaders for assassination. **Paul Stober** reports

**L**EADING militant Harry Gwala has been given the boot from the South African Communist Party amid allegations of "hit squad" activities against ANC and SACP leaders.

Gwala, a stalwart who served two long prison sentences for ANC and SACP activities, and who sat until this week on the party's central committee and politburo, was suspended for six months. The ANC has so far not taken action against him.

Gwala, the ANC's Natal Midlands chairman, was recently elected party whip in the kwaZulu/Natal legislature.

Gwala this week rejected the allegations against him as "fabrication" and "total lies".

But they were taken seriously enough by his party colleagues to suspend him for six months for "organisational indiscipline". Sources said the charges openly levelled against Gwala included factionalism, publicly running down the party and launching personal attacks against SACP leaders.

But behind the SACP statement he reports to SACP and ANC leaders which have alarmed them — alleging Gwala was involved with hit squads which targeted senior alliance leaders in the Natal Midlands who opposed the "iron-fisted" way he ran the region.

The reports said ANC Natal leader Jacob Zuma, SACP national leader and ANC parliamentarian Blade Nzimande and SACP Midlands regional secretary Ben Martin had been identified as targets

Gwala, who failed to attend the meeting when he was suspended, received notice of it by letter. In reaction, he lambasted the SACP: "It boils down to witch hunting. They've never had my case presented to them. They've judged me and condemned me." He said he would not consider appealing against the suspension because he viewed it as "unconstitutional". He denied wanting to kill any ANC members.

Gwala said if he was operating hit squads, this was a matter the ANC should deal with, not the party.

Tensions between Gwala and Nzimande reached breaking point when the SACP regional leadership did not back him in a three-way race for the ANC's nomination for premier of kwaZulu/Natal, in December last year.

ANC kwaZulu Natal spokesman Mike Sutcliffe said it was the first he had heard of the suspension and hit squad allegations, and the organisation



**'Total lies'** Harry Gwala

would have to investigate them.

But sources confirmed the SACP had received the reports and handed them over to the ANC for further investigation well before the election. At the time it was considered too dangerous to tackle the issue but it now appears senior leaders of both parties were considering how best to tackle the information provided to them.

The reports come against the background of factionalism in alliance structures in Natal spiralling so dangerously out of control that since late last year alliance members have been accusing their own activists of killing their members.

In an apparently unrelated incident in January, Gwala blamed an attempt on his life on "Teaspoon" Mkhize, ANC branch chairman in Wembezi. Escort Mkhize did not want SACP members in the ANC branch, and Gwala had been trying to persuade him to accept them. The deaths of at

least two other ANC leaders in the Midlands have been linked to ANC hit squads by alliance activists.

The bitter factionalism, the ongoing war between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the ANC in the region, and "third force" activity, have made it almost

impossible to identify conclusively those responsible for many of the killings.

Sources in the region, close to Gwala, said internal conflicts had led to deaths in other parts of the province and in the PWV, but in the Midlands fingers were always pointed at Gwala — even when he was not to blame.

**S**peculation in alliance structures in the Midlands and nationally is that the SACP's move against Gwala is the culmination of a long running campaign by alliance moderates to remove the firebrand from the tense province. They suspect it heralds an effort by the ANC to act against Gwala and consolidate moderate control of the organisation in kwaZulu/Natal.

Any attempt by the ANC to remove Gwala from the Midlands is sure to meet resistance from the region. He has widespread personal support and his followers are fiercely loyal.

Some ANC kwaZulu/Natal sources were dismayed by the SACP decision, fearing it would spark a new round of fighting in the province. They said tensions had died down in the wake of the organisation's regional election defeat and the factions in the alliance had begun working together again.

# Gwala scoffs at hitlist claims

HEIDI GIBSON

DURBAN — Firebrand South African Communist Party member Harry Gwala has come out fighting after allegations that he was involved in compiling a hitlist — its intended victims being members of the regional ANC leadership

He dismissed the allegations as "a pack of lies", saying Military Intelligence or "the enemy" was behind the claims

After he was accused last week of planning to knock off rival ANC Natal Midlands leaders, Gwala was informed that he had been suspended from the SACP

SACP regional general secretary Ben Martin — supposedly on Gwala's hitlist — said the Midlands leader would be called to an emergency meeting of the party's regional executive committee early next week "to be given an opportunity to defend himself"

Martin defended Gwala, calling him "a comrade like other comrades"

"I bear him no grudge, no animosity, and I value and acknowledge the contribution he has made to the

struggle in South Africa."

Martin said Gwala had an automatic right to appeal against his suspension and would not comment until the leader had put forward his case

"When we have had a political difference it was always discussed openly and never became personal," he added

Also said to be on the hitlist were ANC provincial Minister for Economic Affairs and Tourism Jacob Zuma and former regional spokesman Blade Nzimande Gwala said the relationship between himself and Nzimande, now an MP, was strained following the party's regional conference

Gwala said he would not appeal against his suspension as this would amount to acknowledging the "lies" However, he would attend the emergency meeting

Sources said Gwala had failed to respond to repeated requests by the SACP central committee to meet them

"My record is going to defend me I have nothing to hide," Gwala said



**GWALA:** Accused of planning to knock off rivals, but "a comrade like other comrades"

(11A)

# Gwala denies hit squad rumours

(114) AUC 2/17/94

DURBAN — Harry Gwala, African National Congress Kwazulu-Natal Midlands leader, said yesterday he believed he had been suspended from the South African Communist Party because he was too radical.

"I think it's an attempt to isolate those they consider too radical. I've always pursued my line and they know the course I'm pursuing," Mr Gwala said.

A member of the SACP's central committee and politburo, he was suspended for six months for "organizational indiscipline".

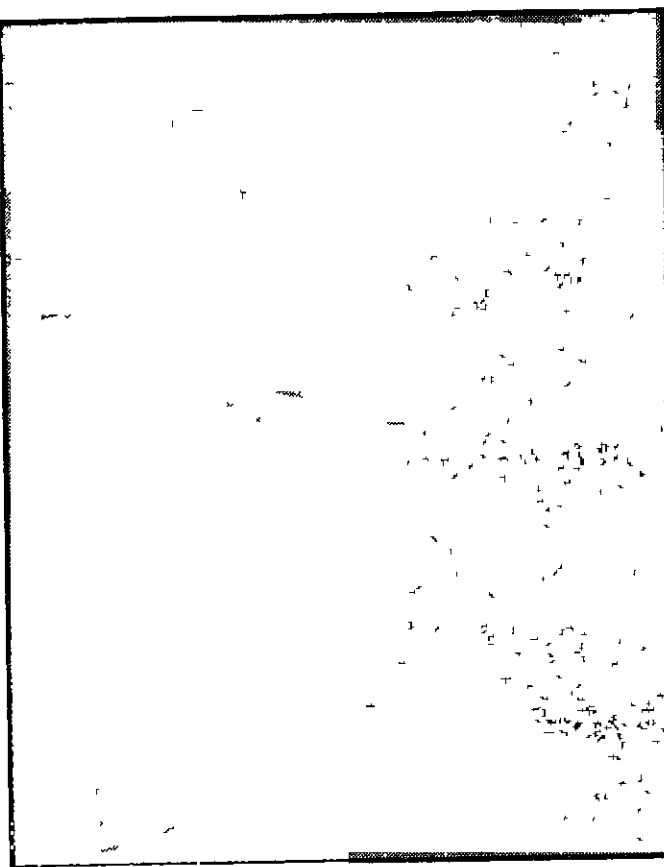
It was reported yesterday that charges against Mr Gwala included factionalism, publicly running down the party and launching personal attacks against SACP leaders.

The reports also linked Mr Gwala to hit squads which allegedly targeted senior ANC/SACP alliance leaders opposed to his "iron-fisted" rule of the Midlands region.

But Mr Gwala said yesterday the allegations were "all bunk. I treat them with contempt." Allegations linking him to hit squads were "a deliberate lie".

"I could sue for that but I'll have to consult my lawyers about it."

He said President Mandela had called him to Johannesburg before the April election when allegations of his links to hit squads surfaced.



**IT WASN'T ME!** ANC Kwazulu-Natal Midlands leader Harry Gwala suspended for six months this week for lack of discipline

"We discussed the matter with members of the (ANC) national working committee and they were satisfied there was no evidence. The allegations were baseless."

He criticised the Communist Party for acting on "rumours" and said it had failed to provide evidence to back its allegations. "A responsible organisation should

have said on such a day this is what you did or said. It's pure rumour and I'm annoyed," he said.

Mr Gwala said he would not appeal against his suspension. "I'm not going to give it that honour."

Instead he had raised the matter with the SACP's Midlands region which would "deal with it".

Asked if he would resign from the SACP, Mr Gwala responded "I'm a communist. I can't resign from myself. I was in the party long before those people who suspended me were there."

Meanwhile, a senior ANC intelligence source in the province said rumours of Mr Gwala's links with hit squads had been "floating around for a while".

Mr Gwala's militancy became a point of concern for the ANC after it was unbanned over four years ago. And last year his region was severely reprimanded by Mr Mandela at its annual conference for being "out of step" with the rest of the organisation.

Mr Mandela said the region was becoming sectarian and acted unconstitutionally by electing Mr Gwala as regional ANC chairman while he held an elected position as a national executive committee (NEC) member.

Mr Gwala subsequently resigned his NEC position to retain his regional leadership post — Reuter

# Gumming for

CR 1003 21-7-94

## The victim of a moderate plot?

By CP CORRESPONDENT

A SERIOUS split is threatening the ANC/SACP alliance in KwaZulu/Natal amid fears that infighting among senior members of the two organisations could plunge the province into an orgy of bloodletting.

Divisions within the alliance emerged this week following the six-month suspension imposed on Natal Midlands hardliner Harry Gwala by the SACP for failing to cooperate with the party to investigate allegations of hit squads and hit lists and for "his repeated personal verbal attacks on, and general undermining of the SACP Midlands leadership".

### Assassinations

Gwala's suspension comes in the wake of claims that certain alliance leaders are planning the assassinations of fellow members. Since the ANC came to power most hardliners like

Gwala, Western Cape Tony Yengeni and Winnie Mandela have been marginalised. The hardliners accuse the ANC of pandering to the whims of the whites and big business.

It has been alleged that the names of the following people are on the hit list: Jacob Zuma, the ANC's member in KwaZulu/Natal's Executive Council for finance and tourism, Blade Nzimande, deputy chairman of the ANC in the Natal-Midlands, and Ben Marten, SACP chairman in the Natal-Midlands.

Gwala said the allegations against him were lies. "It is an effort by the moderates in the alliance to get rid of the militant leaders of the old school," he said in his office in Maritzburg. "I am militant, yes. But it is a pity that certain people are prepared to endanger the future of the

ANC/SACP alliance only to get rid of me." ANC sources say Gwala's suspension has strengthened the hands of the moderates in the ANC in KwaZulu Natal who want the firebrand ousted from the organisation.

Apart from allegations of hit-squads, moderates in the ANC who spoke on condition of anonymity accuse Gwala of being "autocratic" and having failed to undergo transition from "underground politics to collective democratic leadership."

Already, said a source, the ANC security has compiled a dossier on Gwala's activities and presented it to President Nelson Mandela.

As recriminations fly thick and fast, it has now emerged that internal feuds have cost many lives in

the past. Gwala said some of the people, such as Reggie Hadebe, were killed by the enemy. "But others were killed in the internal feuding," he said.

### Infighting

(11A)

- Some of the known incidents involving internal feuds in the Midlands region include
- The controversial execution of the popular ANC youth activist, Zwandile Mbongwa and his bodyguards in Richmond. Fingers pointed at people believed to be ANC members.
- A number of people killed in an internal wrangle between ANC and SACP members in Estcourt. In an incident believed to be related to this Gwala himself survived a spectacular shoot-out at Mooi River toll-gate.
- ANC Greytown chairman S Mzolo, killed early this year. At the time Gwala conceded that Mzolo was killed by ANC people.

# GWB



# Purging of Gwala speeds decline of ANC's militant 'Gang of Four'

THIS week's suspension by the SACP of self-styled Stalinist Harry Gwala has accelerated the decline of the ANC's militant "Gang of Four" — Mr Gwala, Winnie Mandela, Peter Mokaba and Tony Yengem

Of the four, only Mrs Mandela has entered the new South Africa in a high-profile role, but even she has been given only deputy minister status — second in command to moderate Inkatha minister Ben Ngunane

Mr Mokaba failed in his bid for the Tourism portfolio in May, and Mr Yengem has all but disappeared from the political stage since he lost a battle for the Western Cape leadership last year

It was reported on Friday that Mr Gwala had been suspended for targeting ANC Natal leader Jacob Zuma and Natal Midlands SACP leaders Blade Nzimande and Ben Dikobe Martins for assassination.

Mr Gwala has denied the allegations and accused members of the SACP central committee of plotting to get rid of him because they found his hardline views embarrassing

The SACP has denied that Mr Gwala was suspended for an assassination plot. Spokesman Jeremy Cronin said Mr Gwala was suspended for six months for being "factionalist and authoritarian"

The SACP's decision prompted an immediate call by the IFP for Mr Gwala to be removed from his office as ANC provincial party whip

Mr Gwala is the strongest remaining symbol of the SACP's Stalinist past — a past the party denounced in a seminal 1989 paper by Joe Slovo entitled "Has socialism failed?"

Since the election, the SACP has refashioned itself as a watchdog over the accountability and transparency of the new government, making Mr Gwala's undemocratic habits conspicuously anachronistic

## THE SUNDAY MORNING ASSESSMENT

By RAY HARTLEY

(11A)

HARRY GWALA  
'Authoritarian'

won't meet them with Bibles. If they're coming to kill us, we'll kill them"

In the post-election period, Mr Gwala's uncompromising attitude has become an obstacle to peace in KwaZulu Natal — the only province still characterised by widespread political violence

Lingering suggestions that he has organised a network of military operatives accountable only to himself have led to the label "warlord" and alienated him from other Natal leaders

His love for bodyguards and other public displays of power — he arrived at the ANC's pre-election conference in Johannesburg in a top-of-the-range German luxury sedan — have turned many of his former communist allies against him

Mr Gwala lost a three-way race for ANC premier candidate in the election to the moderate and accommodating Jacob Zuma, who won the endorsement of Mr Gwala's deputy, Blade Nzimande.

Since then, factional tensions within the organisation have increased, leading to confusion over how the party should relate to the province's Inkatha-led government

Unrepentant and militarist in his approach to violence in Natal, Mr Gwala said last year "If the warlords come to attack us, we

# SACP to review ban on Gwala

Sowetan 4/7/1974

By Tyrone August

THE South African Communist Party has announced that its central committee would review the suspension of its Natal Midlands leader Mr Harry Gwala after six months. It suspended Gwala from the beginning of June because it felt his personal attacks on the SACP's Midlands leadership undermined them. In a statement, SACP leader Mr Jeremy Cronin accused Gwala of "factionalist and authoritarian behaviour" and said his attacks were not part of constructive political debate. "In the past, the apartheid regime's hit squads exploited factionalism within our ranks as a smokescreen to carry out their own sinister activities," said Cronin.

"For this reason we viewed Gwala's personalised verbal abuse of individuals in a particularly serious light." He said attempts to gain Gwala's co-operation to resolve problems in the Midlands

were unsuccessful (11A)

"We bent over backwards to ensure his participation in the process of hearings and discussions, but Gwala failed to participate for many months," said Cronin. "This is precisely one of the grounds for his suspension."

However, Cronin denied reports linking Gwala's suspension to hit squads allegedly out to kill leading African National Congress members.

"We have not been able to establish the truth. We stress that Gwala has not been suspended for any involvement in such issues." In response, Gwala told *Sapa* the SACP had approached him about rumours concerning plots to kill colleagues.

"I allayed them," he said. "They had no foundation at all." Instead, Gwala blamed his suspension on the fact that he was a critical voice within the SACP, and that there was an effort by moderates to oust militant leaders.

# IFP, ANC hold joint rally

Biday 4/7/94

DURBAN — Inkatha Freedom Party and ANC residents of formerly embattled townships north of Durban yesterday thronged to a joint peace rally in the area, some of them venturing into "enemy" territory for the first time since the April elections

The event, at Ntuzuma's Gugulabasha sports field, drew more than a 1 000 supporters, and bore testimony to the new atmosphere of goodwill which prevails in the formerly volatile area

Leading their supporters

into the venue, IFP and ANC provincial MPs Thomas Shabalala and Bheki Cele embraced, putting past acrimonies behind to facilitate peace

The two leaders and various sub-committees formed under them saw two months in preparation for the rally blossom yesterday when they hosted one of the first joint IFP/ANC gatherings since elections. (IFP) (ANC)

ANC supporters and local church groups were first to arrive at the venue,

many wondering whether their former rivals in neighbouring Lindelani would arrive.

But, IFP supporters, many of them collected in traditional impis, eventually arrived at the field led by Shabalala. Among his supporters was Siphoshe Shembe, who described the occasion as "a good day"

Peace monitors present did not report any incidents, but said a few people had been asked not to flaunt firearms they were carrying — Sapa

# Gwala tells hit squad accusers to 'go to court'

(11A) AUG 4/7/94  
□ SACP claims there is no evidence

**The Argus Correspondent**

DURBAN — African National Congress Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala has challenged his enemies to take him to court to prove their claims about his "hit squads".

But there was no chance of this happening, he said, as evidence of hit squads did not exist.

Mr Gwala was referring to the hit-squad allegations that preceded his suspension from the Communist Party.

It was reported last week that the SACP had suspended Mr Gwala, of Maritzburg, for six months for verbally attacking the party's leaders in public.

Mr Gwala's alleged involvement in planned "hits" on rival ANC members Jacob Zuma, Blade Nzimande and Ben Martin was also investigated. But the SACP said no concrete evidence of Mr Gwala's alleged involvement had been found.

His suspension was followed by calls from the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party for an investigation into his activities.

He said rumours of hit squads under his command had been initiated by the IFP in 1991, during the height of the violence in the Midlands.

These old rumours, he said, were now being used as part of an orchestrated campaign to get rid of him as a

"so-called militant" leader.

"I would be the happiest man to appear before a commission or before the courts, as I know there is no case against me."

Mr Gwala said he was not a man of violence — "but I do believe the only answer to violence is violence."

He believed revolution — but not of the bloody type — was still needed in this country.

"We have only won an election. Little else has changed. The signs of apartheid are everywhere."

"People still live in shacks and the police still terrorise them. We get complaints every day."

Mr Gwala said major change was still essential. But he emphasised that this change did not mean replacing whites with blacks.

"We must stop looking at people in terms of colour. We are all just South Africans."

● Mr Gwala should appear before the Truth Commission to answer allegations against him, according to Velaphi Ndlovu, IFP member of the national assembly.

Mr Ndlovu said Mr Gwala should appear before the Truth Commission, once it was set up by Minister of Justice Dullah Omar.

"The truth must come out. With a new government, we are all talking about the truth. Everybody should now speak the truth about what they have done, including Harry Gwala."

# ANC leaders discuss suspended MP Gwala

CAPE TOWN — ANC leaders, including President Nelson Mandela, met last night to discuss the controversy surrounding suspended SACP militant Harry Gwala, who is a KwaZulu/Natal MP

The region's ANC caucus closed ranks behind Gwala, rejecting Inkatha Freedom Party and NP demands that he be stripped of his public duties

"Gwala has nothing to hide," the ANC said. He would remain a regional MP, the ANC's chief whip and the party's Natal Midlands chairman. Caucus spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said the party would intervene only if asked to do so by the SACP. In the meantime, the matter would

DAVID GREYBE

be treated as an internal SACP issue

However, SACP central committee member Jeremy Cronin said "We hope the ANC will get to the bottom of this"

He said the ANC, with its intelligence department, was in a better position to investigate the matter than the SACP, with its limited investigative capacity

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa declined to comment until he had consulted other ANC leaders. The party would issue a statement today reacting officially to Gwala's six-month suspension from the SACP. 517194

In terms of the interim constitution, Gwala would lose his seat in the provincial parliament if the ANC suspended or expelled him, Ramaphosa said (UFA)

Cronin said the SACP had shared with the ANC the information it had collected during its year-long investigation of Gwala. Allegations of Gwala's involvement with hit squads surfaced last year

Gwala, 74, was suspended at the beginning of last month by the SACP's central committee for his "vitriolic" attacks on fellow tripartite alliance leaders in the Midlands region and for refusing to co-operate in the investigation of his activi-

□ To Page 2

## Gwala

ties, including allegations that he had conspired against fellow alliance leaders

The SACP said it had taken a serious view of Gwala's verbal abuse of individuals because the past government's hit squads had exploited factionalism in the SACP to carry out "sinister activities"

Last night Gwala again dismissed the allegations as "a pack of lies", saying he would pursue the matter at a regional SACP level. "These allegations against me are very libellous. But I love my organisation and I will not go to court." He blamed the allegations on "people who have an axe to grind with me" (UFA)

Cronin said Gwala risked an indefinite extension of his suspension, or even expulsion, if he continued refusing to co-operate with the inquiry, or if he failed to appeal against the charges before the end of November. The SACP had "leaned over back-

wards" to ensure Gwala took part in the lengthy process of hearings, but he had failed to take part

Cronin denied reports that Gwala's suspension involved political differences between moderates and radicals within the party. The SACP encouraged open political debate within its ranks, he said

A senior SACP source said it seemed that Gwala's behaviour had more to do with him being "aging, ill and quite authoritarian, all of which contribute to his sense of isolation and paranoia"

Gwala served two long prison terms for terrorism and suffers from a progressive motor neuron disease which deprives him of the use of his hands

Last night he vowed that he would be "the last man to bow out of politics. That I will only do when I am led to my grave"

□ From Page 1

(117) (257)  
IFP calls for  
Gwala probe

CT 5/7/94  
Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The IFP has called for urgent investigations into allegations that led to the suspension of Natal Midlands firebrand Mr Harry Gwala from the SA Communist Party.

IFP spokesman Mr Ed Tillet said the six-month suspension as a disciplinary measure should force the ANC to take action against Mr Gwala.

"We are calling on the ANC to expel Mr Gwala from his position in the kwaZulu/Natal legislature," he said.

Mr Gwala has rejected allegations about his involvement in hit-squad activities as "rumours" aimed at getting rid of him.

## Gwala says he won't resign

MARITZBURG — The Natal Midlands leader of the African National Congress, Mr Harry Gwala, said yesterday he would not resign his positions in the ANC or retire from politics. (IA)

He denied accusations of plotting against a number of ANC and SACP leaders. CT 6/7/94

The kwaZulu/Natal ANC caucus expressed its support for Mr Gwala on Monday. — Sapa

# 'SACP on wrong path'

Star 7/7/94

BY PATRICK LAURENCE

Maritzburg — The South African Communist Party was walking perilously "close to the precipice", the veteran communist Harry Gwala said yesterday

Gwala, who was suspended from the SACP for six months, warned that by acting on unsubstantiated allegations, the party was going "back to the days of Stalin", with all the "ugly consequences"

A former political prisoner and current chairman of the ANC's Midlands Region in Natal, Gwala was suspended from the SACP for "factionalism" — criticising his co-communist leaders in KwaZulu/Natal — and for refusing to co-operate with a party investigation into accusations that he ran hit squads against his rivals within the ANC-SACP alliance



Harry Gwala . . . denies allegations.

Gwala angrily denied the hit-squad allegations

Indeed, he had been targeted by gunmen several times since his release from prison in the late 1980s, Gwala said

Ironically, he had been shot at because of his allegiance to the SACP by

ANC members involved in a battle for control with their communist allies in particular townships in the Natal Midlands

Referring to an attempt on his life at Bruntville, near Mooi River, Gwala said "We are attacked by the anti-communist faction They were using guns"

Mphophomeni, near Howick, had been another site of internecine warfare within the ANC-SACP ranks, Gwala added The communist faction there described itself as "Joe Slovo's communists", Gwala said, accusing them of besmirching Slovo's name.

Gwala complained bitterly that, with the exception of Chris Ham before his assassination in April last year, no national communist leader had ever come to the Midlands to help him resolve the internecine feuds within the alliance



# ANC struggles to pay debts

By CHRIS BATEMAN  
Political Staff

LOCAL companies have been bending over backwards to accommodate outstanding ANC election campaign debts, amounting to hundreds of thousands of rands. (11A) CT 7/7/94

The payment headache forced regional election administrator Mr Garth Strachan to fly to Johannesburg last week to extract written head office assurances with which to soothe creditors.

"We did run up debts but we've given written undertakings to all our creditors that they will be paid," he said

Local car hire, autepage, graphics and printing firms yesterday all reluctantly confirmed that they were still owed money by the ANC

They said "arrangements" had been made to settle the debts and most refused to give amounts

In one instance, Avis debt controller Mr Leon Fourie said he recently received a Western Cape ANC cheque for "just below R200 000 — very close to the full amount"

Some R40 000 remains outstanding, further investigation revealed

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# PAC moves into 'political phase'

THE Azanian People's Liberation Army will stage its last parade in Johannesburg on July 31 to coincide with the PAC's transformation into a political party, Apla commander Brig Mpazamo Yonana said yesterday. (11A) CT 8/7/94

Speaking at the PAC's Western Cape offices, he said. "The PAC has now ended the armed phase. It is moving into the political phase."

The PAC had also ceased to be a liberation movement and would turn itself into a political party.

Apla's Western Cape command would hold its last parade in Langa on Saturday.

The PAC's armed wing would be drafted into the SANDF by July 18 as part of the military integration process.

Up to 7 180 former Apla combatants were to gather at suggested assembly areas at Walmahstahl, north of Pretoria, De Brug, near Bloemfontein, and an undisclosed Eastern Cape venue.

The troops would then undergo 41 days of bridging training supervised by a British Military Advisory and Training Team for conversion to SANDF standards — Sapa

**NEWS** To coincide with transformation of PAC ● P

# Apla stages last parade

*Sowetan 8/7/94*

THE Azanian People's Liberation Army will stage its last parade in Johannesburg on July 31 to coincide with the Pan Africanist Congress' transformation into a political party, commander Brigadier Mpazamo Yonana said yesterday

Speaking at the PAC's Western Cape offices he said "The PAC has now ended the armed phase. It is moving into the political phase."

The PAC had also ceased to be a liberation movement and will turn itself into a political party.

Apla's Western Cape command will hold its last parade in Langa tomorrow, "which means Apla is about to dissolve as the army of the PAC."

The PAC's armed wing will be drafted into the SA National Defence Force by July 18 as part of the military

integration process

Up to 7 180 former Apla combatants were to gather at suggested assembly areas at Walmansthal, north of Pretoria, De Brug, near Bloemfontein, and an undisclosed Eastern Cape venue.

The troops will then undergo 41 days of bridging training supervised by a British military advisory and training team for conversion to SANDF standards. Yonana said there were "few (Apla) members who are not inside the country."

Commanders still outside South Africa's borders are gathering Apla troops at bases in Tanzania for transfer to South Africa and are also winding up the affairs of PAC-owned property.

Asked about the whereabouts of Apla weapons and ammunition, he said "Those that we had have been handed

over. I have no knowledge of weapons stockpiled by Apla."

Yonana said Apla had experienced problems with being admitted to SANDF structures, particularly in terms of the SANDF believing "all our grades to be lower than theirs" (UFA)

"We believe people can be assisted by a bridging training programme. We cannot be tested by the SANDF as we have doubts about their qualifications."

Both the SANDF and Apla, however, would be subject to independent monitoring by a British team. He said there were Apla commanders positioned in high posts in the SANDF but placement was subject to the bridging programme.

Yonana said he would definitely accept a position if offered, preferably in the directorate of public relations — Sapa

## Uneasy alliance

The suspension by the SACP of ANC Midlands regional chairman Harry Gwala will put to the test one of the more controversial provisions of the new constitution Constitutionally, seats in both the National Assembly and provincial legislatures belong to the parties which won them and not to individuals

So if Gwala goes, his position in the Kwa-Zulu/Natal legislature would be allocated to someone else in the ANC

The controversy comes after the feisty ANC Midlands chairman's six-month suspension for "organisational indiscipline" after more than 50 years in the SACP Officially, this revolves around allegations that he publicly ran down the party and launched personal attacks against SACP leaders

There are also allegations that Gwala was involved in hit squad activities that targeted senior SACP/ANC alliance leaders in Kwa-Zulu/Natal — claims which the veteran politician vehemently denies He has challenged his accusers to take him to court and prove their claims. Inkatha and the NP have also called for a full probe. Gwala claims the allegations are based on hearsay originating with his sworn enemy, Inkatha

Certainly, months before the general election, unsubstantiated rumours circulated claiming a violent power struggle within the Midlands ANC Inkatha claimed it was being accused falsely of perpetrating anti-ANC violence which was actually the result of the internal contest

Speculation was further heightened of a growing rift between Gwala and ANC Natal leader Jacob Zuma, when Gwala failed to arrive at a Durban rally to celebrate the selection of Zuma and to kick off the party's election campaign in the province Gwala was beaten into third place in the nomination race, which was seen as a victory for moderates orchestrated by the ANC's national executive Zuma was allegedly one of the targets of Gwala's alleged and so-called hit squads, as were Blade Nzimande on the ANC Midlands regional executive and the SACP's Ben Martin

Gwala's suspension raises two important questions Why now, when both the ANC

### CURRENT AFFAIRS

and SACP were aware of the problem before the election? And can Gwala, who has just been elected party whip in the provincial legislature, be stripped of his provincial seat? The official line is that the ANC and SACP didn't want to damage the party's election prospects with a row breaking out before April 27 — Gwala has almost fanatical grass-roots support in the Midlands Just as likely a reason is that it is an attempt by moderates to sideline Gwala, who is seen as being at the centre of extremist efforts to frustrate the legislative process in KwaZulu/Natal's parliament of regional unity

If so, it won't be the first bid to neutralise this militant His outspoken radical stance clearly caused problems for the ANC during the Kempton Park multiparty negotiations and Nelson Mandela, in an attempt to curb him, tried unsuccessfully last year to force him to resign as Midlands chairman

Will this second attempt succeed? Though the party machine might seem to have a winning hand, Gwala's strength still lies in his popularity and the damage his expulsion would have on support in the ANC's Mid-

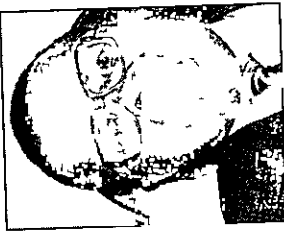
*Fun 8/7/94*

a long time because Gwala would be entitled to exhaust his rights of appeal"

The quicker alternative seems to be expulsion from the party in terms of the Electoral Act The vacation of seats in provincial legislatures is contained in Section 133 of the Constitution It states that a person will vacate a seat if he or she ceases to be a member of the party which made the nomination to the legislature But each party's own constitution dictates exactly when contravention of party rules allows it to deprive an individual of a seat

On that point, or how the fact that Gwala is from the SACP side of the alliance might affect the issue, the ANC has so far refused to be drawn

Now the SACP must proceed publicly to prove Gwala's guilt or exonerate him Gwala is no pushover and has served notice that he will fight The battle promises to be tough and revealing, not least in how it affects the ANC-SACP relationship



Gwala

lands stronghold That support will be vital to the ANC if it wants to overturn the Inkatha's provincial hold in the next general election If an expelled Gwala chose, for example, to endorse a PAC campaign he would undoubtedly take many followers with him

But if the ANC/SACP alliance is going to get rid of him, now is the time It will then give the party machine time to heal the wounds before it has to go to the polls again

Certainly, in terms of expulsion, constitutional lawyer Gilhes Bernstein of Livingston Leandy says the constitutional cards are stacked in favour of the party machine "The whole tenor of the constitution gives the party the prerogative On the one hand, if Gwala were prosecuted and sentenced to more than 12 months without the option of a fine, he would not be allowed to serve in either the National Assembly or a provincial legislature That route could, however, take

# Who'll lead Azapo?

(1/1A) W/M 8-14/94

Vuyo Mvoko

**T**HE Azanian People's Organisation faces sharp internal conflict with the imminent return from exile of its sister organisation, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania.

A well-placed source has revealed that fears of a leadership wrangle "similar to that of the United Democratic Front after the return of the ANC" are mounting.

The BCMA's return will follow hard on the heels of internal battles in Azapo between pragmatists and ideological diehards over whether the organisation should participate in the April election. Azapo's national council decided to maintain the organisation's election boycott stance.

The BCMA will dissolve in August, a month before Azapo holds its annual congress.

Mosibudi Mangena, chairman of the BCMA and commander-in-chief of the Azanian National Liberation Army, is a strong contender for the presidential seat, and returnees are expected to throw their weight behind him. While the internal constituency might not know much about him, they do know he is the man who gave personality to the BCMA in exile.

The other option is current president Itumeleng Mosala. Both modest and outspoken, Mosala is respected within the

organisation for challenging the militant rhetoric of his colleagues.

However, his ambiguous language prior to elections and apparent willingness to accept a government post if Mandela offered him one, are thought to have eroded his support among militants, who still form the majority in Azapo.

Insiders think ideological diehards will be caught between the articulate, humorous and militant current deputy president, Pandelani Nefolohodwe, and Mangena.

Another choice would be veteran and national chairman Nchaupe Aubrey Mokoape, who has receded to the background in recent years but is said to be making a comeback.

Exiled George Wauchope, one of the most powerful publicity and general secretaries Azapo has had, has been earmarked for this position on his return.

"Azapo is waiting for the euphoria about the ANC victory in the elections to dissolve. Without socialism, nationalisation and a firm preparedness to confiscate land from whites and give it to black people, Azapo believes the ANC will not be able to deliver," the source said.

Azapo hopes to exploit the "dominance in the ANC by whites and Indians which is very much out of keeping with its constituency". It also hopes to benefit from dissident groups within the Pan Africanist Congress

# Unrepentent Gwala talks about party rifts

Farouk Chothia

**W**ATCH out! My hit squads will come and get you!" an affable Harry Gwala joked with an aide this week. The Natal Midlands firebrand was unconcerned about his six-month suspension by the South African Communist Party but his manner belied the maestro in SACP and ANC ranks following allegations that he was running hit squads in the region — charges he categorically denies.

Underlying moves to oust him from the party are deep divisions between SACP and ANC members on the ground and even deeper rifts in the upper echelons of the two organisations.

Reasons for the tensions are complex: differences on strategies and tactics, leadership styles and the future direction of the SACP and ANC — interwoven with power struggles, personally clashes, mutual suspicion and a strong dose of mistrust. All combine to form a toxic political brew that has poisoned bonds between comrades.

Gwala believes he is the victim of a

"witch-hunt", similar to previous party purges. Since he criticised Joe Slovo's paper, *Has Socialism Failed?* in 1989, he has had "sharp political differences with some of the comrades in the central committee".

"They think in the stage of compromise, reconciliation and a government of national unity, the class struggle disappears and they've got to be very good to other classes."

He insists the SACP acted "unconstitutionally" by suspending him, saying he should have first come before a tribunal at a regional level, while the party's central committee would act as "the body of appeal".

He said he would not co-operate with the commission of inquiry set up by head office, even though he risked indefinite suspension or expulsion from the party if he did so.

While some sources say the view of some SACP leaders is that Gwala is no longer a communist, he insists he is "even more of a communist than some of the people who took the decision to suspend me".

He said next week he would meet the SACP regional executive committee, where the allegations against him



Harry Gwala... Still a communist

would have to be tabled and those making them identified.

Gwala's critics say because he refused to hammer out problems at regional level, they were forced to turn to the central committee. Before it decided to suspend him, the committee heard evidence from about 10 regional leaders and activists.

Gwala twice refused to appear before the central committee. Asked to set a venue and date suitable to him, he did so, but 15 minutes before the

meeting said he was unavailable

Sources said he was suspended because he was hampering the growth of the party in kwaZulu/Natal and not because of allegations that he ran hit squads and had targeted ANC Natal leader Jacob Zuma and party leaders Blade Nzimande and Ben Mairinis for assassination.

They said while SACP leaders were convinced that information they had on the hit squad claims was correct, a lack of conclusive evidence made it difficult to act against Gwala. Gwala's response was to point out that none of the three ANC leaders had even been attacked, while several attempts had been made on his life.

He said he still respected the SACP, but added: "If the party is now built on rumour, then it is not my party."

He said he discussed the allegations with President Nelson Mandela and members of the ANC national working committee several months ago. "Mandela didn't charge me. It was found the whole thing was without substance."

But his critics say the ANC head office supports the SACP's decision and plans to act against him. The

ANC's Natal caucus, however, this week described the hit squad allegations as "venomous propaganda" and said Gwala would continue as Natal Midlands chairman and chief whip of the provincial legislature.

Relations between the SACP and ANC in the Midlands are clearly at a low ebb. Sources claimed ANC branch leaders, taking their cue from Gwala, were seeing the SACP as a threat and refusing party activists the right to launch party branches and join the ANC, and had harassed them.

"Like Gwala, the ANC chairmen do not want to be challenged in the decision-making process and are opposed to party members who have more political education," said one source. Gwala denied he was a stumbling-block. He said ANC/SACP tensions were a result of "political immaturity and (a) wrong understanding of what a party member is. I say so because when some young people join the party, (they think) that's an elevation above the ANC and when some people holding positions in the ANC don't get elected, they look for other organisations — civics or the party — and that's a seed of discontent."

11/10/88 - 14/7/94

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# Healthy debate, not rift in caucus — ANC

**MICHAEL MORRIS**  
Political Correspondent



**HEALTHY** differences between ANC MPs and President Mandela's cabinet will be sustained in the interests of democratic debate, but steps are being taken to ensure that the legislative process runs smoothly, according to ANC sources.

Differences between the legislature and the executive should not be seen as dangerous rifts, the sources said.

They were reacting to warnings from Nationalists that tension could grow over disputes on legislation and other matters between ANC ministers and rank-and-file members.

NP sources suggested the ANC should set up study groups to liaise with ministers and thrash out legislation even before proposals were put to the cabinet.

In fact, the ANC is implementing its own study group system. An ANC whip noted: "It has not been easy getting things organised. We're a caucus of 250 people and we haven't had much time."

"But when we come back in August there will not be a repetition of the situation where we (the caucus) discuss a Bill after the all-party standing committee has approved it."

"We accept that this is something which should never have happened, and will not happen again."

ANC sources acknowledged that the absence of study groups in the past few weeks had been a problem, but this had now been remedied.

"There will be a much closer working relationship now between the ministers and the caucus."

"This is necessary. ANC members don't like to read about things being agreed at cabinet level without their knowing anything about them. They want to be part of the process, and that's healthy."

However, sources said that while there had been some "tough talking" in the caucus, there was no question of a rift, or of anger. "It is a question of healthy debate."

Predictions are that the ANC's study groups will become key policy-making instruments.

"The fact that we have so many MPs means they don't often have a chance to speak in parliament. But the result is that they want their voices to be heard elsewhere ... in the standing committees and the study groups," a source said.

# GURU GWALALA

The curtain is not about to fall on hero of the youth

NATAL Midlands firebrand Harry Gwala recently suspended for six months by the South African Communist Party amid calls by political rivals that he be stripped of his public duties. It is not about to fade away from the political centre stage.

Those close to Gwala claim that barring death, the 73-year-old whose arms have been crippled by a spinal disease will continue to be the "conscience" of the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance.

A Natal political analyst and ANC member who asked to remain anonymous said: "This latest attempt to sideline Gwala will not succeed. They can call him a radical or not but the truth is that he, more than any other ANC leader living, articulates the true feelings of the people."

Gwala was suspended for "repeated personal verbal attacks on, and general undermining of the SACP Midlands leadership."

The SACP also claimed that he refused to cooperate with the party leadership to investigate allegations that some leading ANC and/or SACP members were implicated in hit squads and hit lists.

Described as a hardline Stalinist - a description he pays scant attention to - Gwala is not the sort of person the ANC can easily dump. Many such efforts in the last three years have all failed.

Such is the sensitivity of the case that once it became public knowledge, the ANC leadership including President Nelson Mandela hurriedly met behind closed doors to discuss it, while the ANC provincial caucus closed ranks and rejected calls by Inkatha and the National Party to have Gwala stripped of his public duties.

Two things stand in the way of those who would like to see him sidelined. Firstly, as a former trade unionist and an unrepentant communist, he has solid credentials within the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance. The other consideration, and this could be the most important one, is the Nelson Mandela factor. Mandela

might not approve of Gwala's style of politics but he is known to be loyal to those who have stood with the ANC through thick and thin and is not easily persuaded to dump such people.

The "mat" affectionately known as the Lion of the Natal Midlands does not mince his words. He has offered some straightforward and spine-chilling solutions to the conflict ravaging KwaZulu/Natal. "For Inkatha incident he was reported to have stated: 'For peace to prevail (in Natal) we must drive Inkatha warlords out. We don't offer Inkatha, leaders Bibles we kill, Inkatha warlords.'"

And in May last year at the Technikon Natal the former high school teacher is alleged to have told students: "We call on the students of the Congress of South African Students to learn how to handle firearms because if negotiations fail you must be prepared to win power through the barrel of an AK-47."

It is this sort of language which has ruffled some feathers in the senior ranks of the ANC. However, among the youth in the bloodsoaked province of KwaZulu/Natal he is the unchallenged leader.

Owing to his straight talk, he has made enemies even within the tripartite alliance. Several assassination attempts have been made against him. He has been behind some of these attacks.

Gwala is regarded in some circles as the undisputed leader of the ANC in Natal - a powerbase he built over the past 50 years after leaving teaching to concentrate on building unions.

His union activities were curtailed by banning orders in the 1950s and long prison terms. He served eight years on Robben Island in 1964 for sabotage and recruiting members for MK and was again sentenced to life imprisonment in 1976 for recruiting for the ANC and MK.

He was afflicted with the crippling disease - suspected to have been caused by food poisoning - while



**WON'T FADE AWAY ... Harry Gwala.**

in jail and was released unconditionally in 1988. Mandela is known to have a special relationship with his former fellow Robben Island inmates. No matter how strong the pressure might be to act against the Natal Midlands chairman, ANC provincial chief whip and constant trouble maker, Mandela is likely to avoid such extreme action.

Acting against him could also antagonise the youth in the province and unleash more violence. A radical Gwala operating within the tripartite alliance is better than a loose cannon answerable to no one.



July 13 1994

# ANC plans to soften party retrenchments

Biday 13/7/94  
DAVID GREYBE

CAPE TOWN — The ANC national working committee was discussing how to proceed with the major restructuring of the party without further hurting an already demoralised organisation, ANC sources said yesterday.

An ANC source said the committee spent most of its meeting on Monday discussing the restructuring. In particular, it discussed ways to soften the blow of the retrenchment of an undecided number of its 1 200-strong full-time staff at party headquarters in Johannesburg.

However, First Deputy President Thabo Mbeki said last night he was confident morale among staff would be revived "once this problem of an uncertain future has been resolved".

The ANC's leadership was still in the process of determining its future organisational and staffing needs. Mbeki conceded the party would have to act quickly to restore morale among disillusioned staff.

"I can assure you nobody is going to be thrown out on to the streets," Mbeki said. The precise number of staff to be retrenched depended on the final definition of what the ANC's 'future tasks' were.

The source said the committee briefly discussed criticism within the ranks of the tripartite alliance about the lack of consultation surrounding the appointment of Finance Minister-designate Chris Liebenberg.

Because of Liebenberg's politically neutral stance, the constitution had to be amended to make the portfolio non-political. To balance the Cabinet, a new portfolio — probably local gov-

ernment — would be created so that the NP could make up for the loss of Derek Keys.

The source said the ANC had conceded that its party machinery, which operated out of Shell House, had come to a virtual standstill since the election, mainly because many staff had joined government. (11A)

However, if the ANC did not act quickly it stood to lose most of what it had built up in terms of organisation since its unbanning.

The source described the ANC's inability to respond to daily political developments as a "glaring hole that has to be filled properly". He cited the ANC's lack of response to NP criticism of its leadership for poor discipline and embarrassing behaviour as a prime example.

ANC sources said absenteeism and late arrival at work were increasing at Shell House. Reporters' attempts to reach officials had proved frustrating because either they were unavailable for no apparent reason or did not return calls.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa announced recently that the party would vacate and rent out most of its head office, open secondary headquarters in Cape Town, reorganise its 14 regions into the nine provinces, and retrench part of its full-time work force.

The restructuring, approved in principle at an earlier committee meeting, was part of ANC preparations for local government elections next year and intended to ensure its long-term financial viability.

# ANC disputes election tab

Sowetan 15/7/94

■ UP IN ARMS N Transvaal ANC branches

told to repay party's R80 000 campaign debt:

By Benson Ntlemo

**A**FRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS sub-regions in the Northern Transvaal are up in arms against their leaders in the region after they were told to raise more than R800 000 to repay election debts

The matter came up for discussion at the regional council a week ago and many delegates came out of the meeting angry with provincial leaders led by premier Mr Ngoako Ramathodi, who is also regional ANC chairman

The amounts owing are as follows North East (R115 057,23), Central (R186 807), Far North (R127 562), Eastern Transvaal (R81 556,60), Bushbuckridge (R110 340) and Western Transvaal R250 000)

This money was spent on transport for voters and food for party agents, according to a source

The sources said sub-regions and branches had incurred the expenses during the campaign. They sent the invoices to the regional headquar-

ters for payment but have now been told they should settle the accounts themselves

Council sources said delegates at the council rejected the interim financial statement prepared by the election commission saying it was 'vague'. The report shows that the region was given R3,8 million by the national office. They overspent by R871 322 (11A)

According to the report, R1,2 million was allocated to sub-regions. Sub-regions, however, said they only received money for salaries and rent, and are demanding a breakdown of the expenditures incurred

ANC regional spokesman Mr Norman Mashabane said the organisation spent all its allocation on transporting voters as many designated polling stations had not functioned due to lack of ballot papers. He said the extension of the voting period to April 29 had also contributed to the problem, as they had to spend more.

He said sub-regions had been told to raise the money while the organisation looked at ways of assisting with the debt

**F**OR a political grouping with an estimated 60 000 members, a significant proportion of whom are not particularly "active", the SA Communist Party has achieved an extraordinary level of representation in SA's new political dispensation.

The party boasts 51 members in the 400-strong national legislature, including two Cabinet Ministers, Housing Minister Joe Slovo and Public Works Minister Jeff Radebe, and two deputies, Alec Erwin (Finance) and Ronnie Kasrils (Defence).

However, in spite of its strong representation in national and regional legislatures, the party has arguably succeeded only in relegating itself to a dislocated band of individuals with little real collective impact on the framing of socioeconomic policies.

By agreeing to fight the election under the ANC alliance banner, the SACP is effectively prevented from acting as a party against ANC policies or decisions. There is no specific SACP lobby in Parliament, a non-SACP ANC MP says.

Even if there was, according to the interim constitution, those suspended or expelled from the parties under whose banner they were elected automatically lose their seats. There is therefore little or no chance of an SACP rebellion within the corridors of power. As ANC provincial MP (but not SACP member) Ronnie Maphoapa says: "If anyone refuses to act on a mandate, they will be removed by the (ANC) caucus."

**W**ith the ANC whips wielding such power, the SACP is not only prevented from directly opposing ANC policy, it is also strongly discouraged from framing its own distinct or divergent policies. It can hardly formulate positions — economic policies, for instance — which are contrary to the thrust of ANC or government of national unity thinking. Nor can it expect its parliamentary members to back these positions and thereby face the risk of losing their seats. Individual members may exert some influence on issues, but "you won't see any clear socialist or communist ideas entering ANC policy", adds the MP, who

# SACP in danger of becoming lost in the wilderness

*Adrian Hadland*

ADRIAN HADLAND

(117)

does not wish to be named.

The Human Sciences Research Council's Lawrence Schlemmer contends that while party members can not "go against the ANC, they can bring to bear a perspective, not necessarily contradictory but influential" on debates and policy.

The MP agrees, saying the party hopes to serve as a "sensitising influence" ensuring working class issues and concerns are kept on ANC agendas. Even then, the party does not have a monopoly on this over non-SACP caucus members or other members of the ANC alliance — for instance, former Cosatu officials Hamstrung from lobbying for a genuinely communist or even socialist socioeconomic programme, the party also faces disorganisation at a grassroots level. As the forthcoming edition of the African Communist points out, the SACP's "organisational structures are extremely weak on the ground."

As with the ANC, this has been partly the result of the election victory which has seen the "relocation of hundreds of seasoned cadres into national and provincial legislatures, into the civil service, and soon into local government." The journal adds "Our own extra-parliamentary areas of traditional strength, in the mass and community-based movements, are certainly not as powerful as they were in the second half of the 1980s."

At its first post-election plenary

meeting last month, the party's central committee admitted the existence of "considerable strategic confusion throughout the ANC-aligned movement, including within our own party." Faced by such leadership and membership crises, it is highly unlikely the party will seek to break out of the ANC alliance at any time in the near future.

How much popular support, after all, can be whipped up by a party which must toe the political line of another party, has few resources in place at grassroots level and whose *raison d'être* has been cast on the scrapheap of contemporary international political activity? Can such an organisational political activity? Can such an organisation, with seemingly no ambition to secure direct electoral representation or power, be considered a separate political entity?

**T**he future role of the SACP is one of the most subtle questions facing political analysts in SA today, says Schlemmer. The pragmatic approach of the party's leadership during the negotiations process, in particular Slovo's championing of power-sharing, makes nonsense of the assertion that the SACP is more militant or radical than the ANC, he says. "The party is not even necessarily to the left of the ANC."

Following the central committee's

plenary, member Jeremy Cronin says the party has taken stock of the new circumstances and conditions prevailing in the country. While conceding the party's organisational weakness, he expects it will play a constructive, at times critical, role in the machinations of the government of national unity and in the implementation of the reconstruction and development programme.

He cites the SACP's statements condemning Defence Minister Joe Modise's attempt to muzzle the media and calling for a reassessment of MPs' salary scales as examples of constructive criticism.

"A socialist voice remains important, though full-blown socialism is not on the agenda for SA due to domestic and international reasons."

The bulk of the party's future role surrounds its involvement in the implementation of the RDP. Two of the central committee's three "basic political challenges of our period", as outlined in a recent policy document, concern the RDP.

The third, seeking a "consensus against barbarism", had basically already been achieved, the committee agreed. But the party, in attempting to tackle the other two — to build a "massive national consensus" in favour of a "mass-driven, ANC all-angled RDP" — will have to eke out a space for itself along with the other national, provincial and local

structures, ministries and committees which have a similar task. Among the party's other objectives are the reorganisation and consolidation of community-based and civic organisations, unions, and the party's own structures. The party will also seek to counter the forces of "neo-liberalism" which, according to Cronin, aim to create a political elite alienated from its electorate and exercising limited national powers.

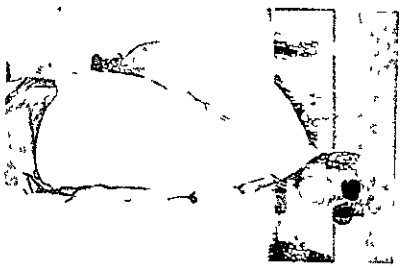
As Cronin argues in a paper delivered to the Wits University history workshop "Precisely at the time when 'transition to democracy' pundits are encouraging political movements in the Third World to transform themselves into electoral parties to compete for office in national governments, the accompanying neo-liberal economic programme is weakening the sovereignty and capacity of national governments — through privatisation, enforced cuts on social spending, tax reduction, and the opening up of local markets to the unfettered intervention of the multinationals.

"Cut loose from their social movements, progressive governing parties find themselves holding increasingly weakened institutional power in the face of global realities.

"In the past we tended to conceptualise change as a struggle to capture the commanding heights, as a struggle to nationalise ownership and control. We will be more faithful to the fundamentals of our national liberation and socialist heritage, and more useful to the actual tasks at hand, if we begin to think, as the RDP starts to think of the main task as being about democratising power. All power."

**W**ith the odd "constructive" critique of politicians thrown in, the SACP sees its role as a sort of moral conscience for the ANC. The implementation of the RDP, in a way which "spends democracy and holds decision makers accountable, has become its central objective.

The real question is whether this role provides enough scope for anything more than an advisory body, stripped of genuine policies, lacking independent leadership and supported by a dwindling pool of constituents



HOME: A smiling Nelson Mandela surveys what was his "home" for 27 years

# Learning in a hot quarry

(11A)  
ARU 16/7/94

**HUGH ROBERTSON**  
Political Editor

**EFFORTS** by successive apartheid governments to break the will of ANC leaders, including Nelson Mandela, and hundreds of other political prisoners on Robben Island, have been documented at the Maybuye Centre, the "struggle archive" at the University of the Western Cape

In a lecture at the centre's winter school this week, Andre Odendaal, director of the centre, pointed to appalling incidents of abuse by warders, and to the hardships of prisoners which created a pressure-cooker atmosphere where their loyalty to one another and to the ANC were sorely tried

He also explained how the secretive system of formal and political education operated — a system which, collectively, earned Robben Island prison the title of "Mandela University"

"Food was vile, and differentiated according to race in keeping with the logic of apartheid," Dr Odendaal said. "While Indian and coloured prisoners received a quarter of a loaf of bread a day, Africans were given only porridge — for break-

## ■ A warder is said to have urinated on the head of a political prisoner buried in the sand on Robben Island.

one letter of 500 words every six months. Prisoners were permitted only one visit every six months. Newspapers were forbidden

"Day in and day out prisoners were subjected to hard labour — breaking rocks in the quarries"

Dr Odendaal said many lives were destroyed by the experience of Robben Island, although most political prisoners emerged "fortified and strengthened by the experience"

In one incident of abuse, reported by prisoner Indris Naidoo, "a warder urinated in the face of a prisoner buried up to his neck in the ground in full view of his fellows"

Prisoners set up their own committees — educational, political and recreational — and tried to organise and structure their own lives as far as possible

"Via hunger strikes and other actions they started winning concessions. Slowly Robben Island changed from a punishment hell-hole, where survival was the key, to a more normal

Books and scraps of information from newspapers were painstakingly copied and hidden in information 'banks' for use by the different sections

"After newspapers were allowed in the 1970s, weekly news analysis meetings were held

"By the late 1970s, and especially in the 1980s, full-blown courses of study were devised. These were of such a high standard that they could later be published"

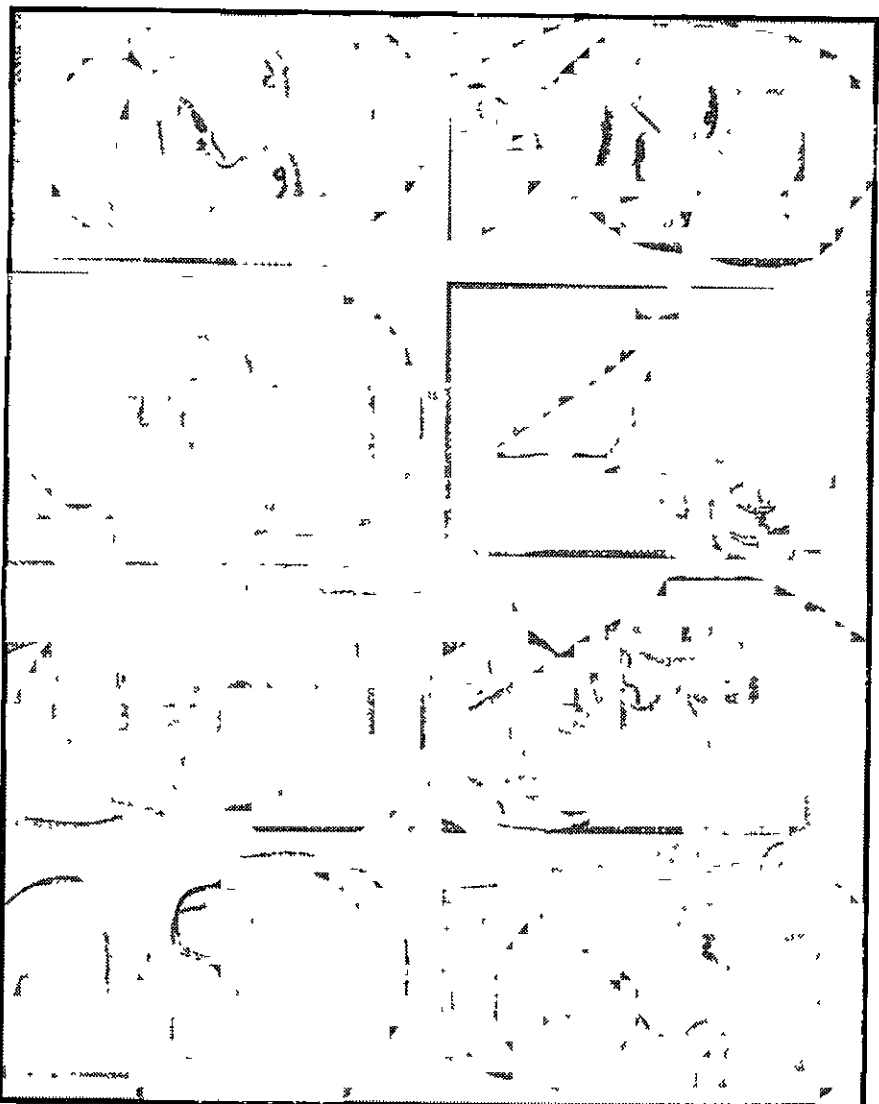
General education was vigorously pursued as an investment in the future. "Most prisoners were at about JC level when they arrived, according to Govan Mbeki. They were encouraged to complete their schooling via the Rapid Results College. Some left with several degrees to their names

"Classes were held during work at the quarries, and over weekends"

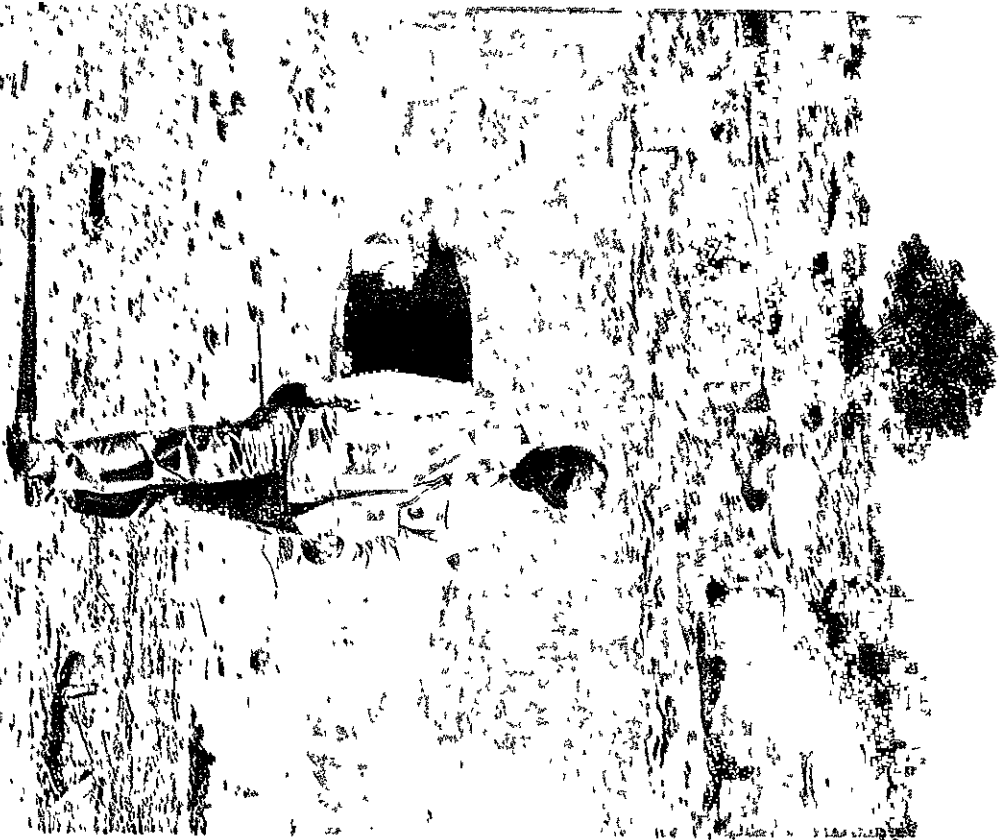
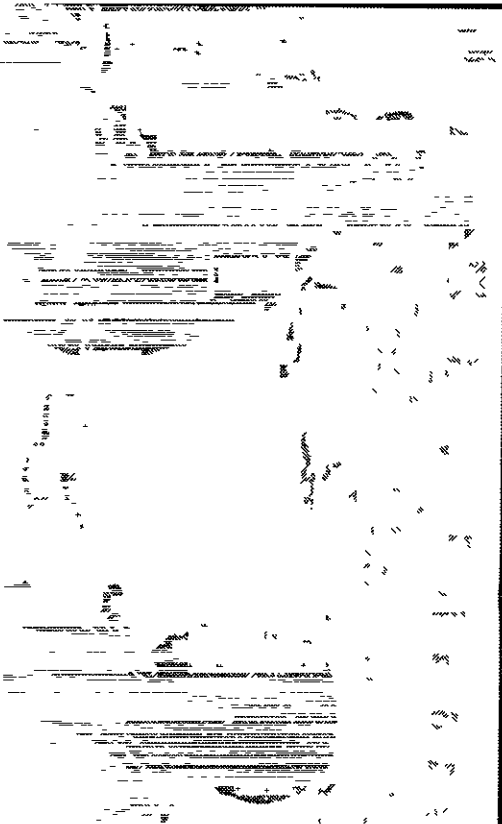
Dr Odendaal quoted political prisoner Michael Dingake on lessons in the prison. "Our economics class was a very lively class. Even Suitsese's 'come on, come on' could never curb its animation (Suitsese being the warder)

"The discussions we held in the quarry were very helpful. The time quarry, even at the worst of times, was a site for intellectual stimulation"

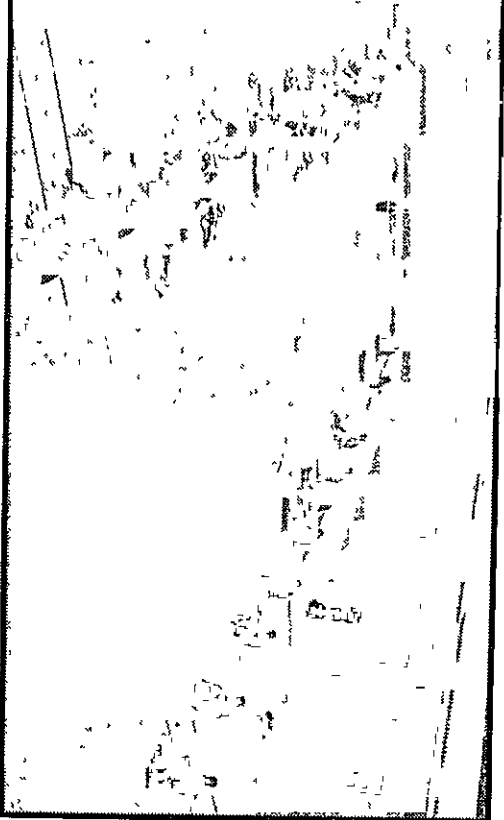
At first no sport or recreation was permitted on the



SENTENCED: Rivonia trialists, top, from left, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and Raymond Mhlaba. Below Ella Motsosaledi, Andrew Mangeni, Ahmed Kathrada and Dennis Goldberg



QUARRY: With the lime quarry in the background, Nelson Mandela on a trip to the island in February



BREAKING STONES: Prisoners breaking stones in the courtyard on Robben Island in the sixties

... a Owec 10 July one loaf of bread a year at Christmas

"Unlike their comrades, Africans had to make do with short pants and sandals — no shoes, socks, under-pants or long trousers — even in winter. Until 1973 prisoners had to wash in cold water. They slept on a concrete floor with a thin mat and two blankets. They were allowed

Education- and sport were priority pursuits. "People who arrived to iterate were taught to write and speak in English until they could communicate with families and officials without any outside help.

"From the start there were structured political discussions. Position papers were surreptitiously drawn up, circulated and discussed

lent and the prisoners set up official games. "The highlight of the sporting calendar was the annual Summer Games, held over two weekends during the festive season. Dr Odendaal quoted from a book about Robben Island published by the Mayibuye Centre.

"It was an event enjoyed by all the inmates at a time when they wished to be back

home with their family and friends. Inmates made cardboard cameras and videos and recorded the action. News bulletins were released on an hourly basis updating scores and results. The games culminated in a prizegiving function and the awarding of diplomas and trophies."

□ **PRISONERS:** Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu in conversation on Robben Island while they were prisoners there in the sixties

□ **MEMORIES:** From left, Dennis Goldberg, Andrew Mlangeni, Nelson Mandela, Ahmed Kathrada and Walter Sisulu stroll through the lime quarry on a visit to Robben Island in February



# 'Simmering discontent' in factions as Mandela and Mbeki's father clashed over vital issues on Robben Island

A BITTER dispute between Nelson Mandela and Govan Mbeki, father of vice-president Thabo Mbeki, which split political prisoners on Robben Island into two antagonistic factions, has been disclosed for the first time, writes HUGH ROBERTSON.

Documents made pub-

lic by André Odendaal, director of the Mayibuye Centre at the University of the Western Cape — the central archive of the struggle against apartheid — show the dispute raged for several years and became so intense that the ANC's highest echelons had to intervene.

For some time Mr Mandela and Mr Mbeki, now deputy president of the Senate, were not even on speaking terms, and some of the most prominent ANC prisoners of the time took sides in the dispute which split the organisation's leadership in the prison.

"There were serious political differences in the late 1960s and early 1970s between the top leaders of the ANC on the High Organ, the organisation's highest body on the island," Dr Odendaal said in a lecture at the Mayibuye Centre's winter school yesterday.

"The differences arose

adopted by the ANC to boycott apartheid institutions, where the leadership was quartered, proposed a discussion over the ANC's attitude to 'separate development institutions' such as the coloured Labour Party, the Bantu homelands and the Indian Council.

The document does not clarify what positions Mr Mandela and Mr Mbeki took on the issue. This was one of many personality clashes between them.

He revealed that according to a memorandum in the private papers of Yusuf Dadoo, which are now at the Mayibuye Centre, discussed informally with people from other organisations, and also because it was rumoured that some Congress movement members had held internal discussions and taken a decision which was not reported back to members.

"The dissatisfied ANC cadres feared that a move was afoot to undermine a position adopted by the ANC to boycott apartheid institutions," Dr Odendaal said.

The document does not clarify what positions Mr Mandela and Mr Mbeki took on the issue. This was one of many personality clashes between them.

person High Organ (the second since the new system of rotational membership came into operation in 1973) had a 'long, frank' meeting with the four people involved, before issuing a report which strongly criticised them and made various recommendations on how the issue should be resolved.

"These included greater organisational discipline, continuing discussions on 'current political questions and events' and the reinstatement of the four leaders on the High Organ 'partly as a practical test of the unity discussion'.

## BROWN

We, the family of Don, Khan and Abrahamse wish to thank all relatives and friends for their love, time, sincerity, flowers, phone calls and support at the time of our sad loss on the passing away of our beloved mother, Gabbra Brown May the Almighty bless all Inshallah

Loone Shieda

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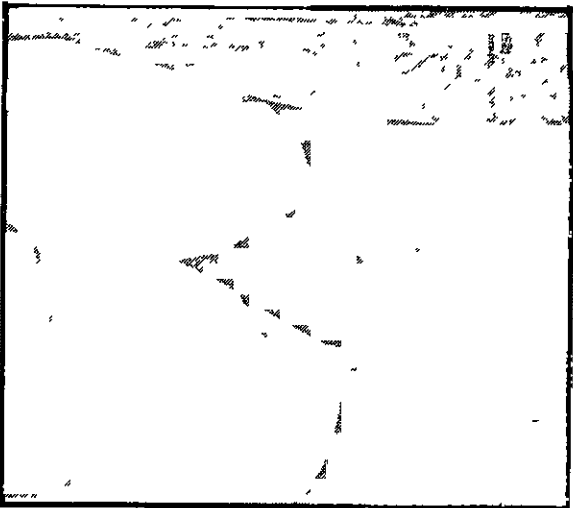
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Two volumes of Mr Mandela's selected writings, including many documents never published by the Mayibuye Centre on Monday, his birthday. A history of Robben Island, including details of the dispute in the ANC leadership, has been published by the centre.





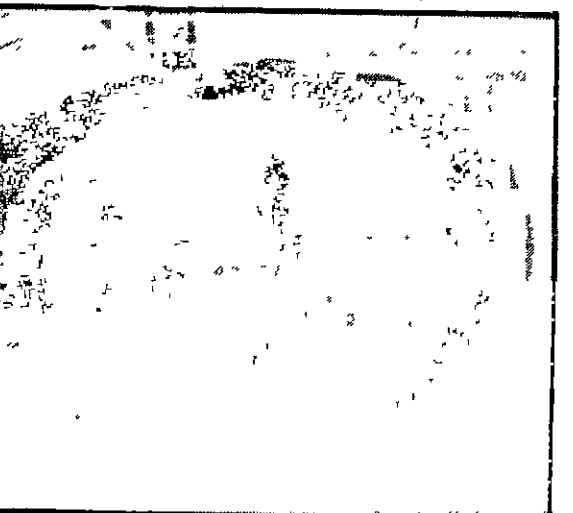
**BCMMA chairman and Azania commander Mosibudi Mangena.**



**BCMMA secretary general Mpotseing Jaius Kgokong.**



**BCMMA political commissar George Wauchope.**



**BCMMA internal affairs head Strike Thokwane.**

# END OF AZANIA ERA

**By KHANGALE MAKHADO**

LAST Friday saw the closure of another political chapter with the dissolution of the former exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azama (BCMMA) in Johannesburg.

BCMMA chairman and commander of the Azaman National Liberation Army (Azania), Mosibudi Mangena, gave an overview of the BCMMA's history in an exclusive interview with City Press this week.

The organisation came about as a result of consultation among the exiles who had left the country since 1973. They had formed a variety of organisations, but the real deluge of exiles came in 1976 after the country-wide student uprisings. Instead of joining forces with the already existing African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, many BCMMA exiles decided to go it alone.

According to Mangena, they formed their own organisation because "firstly the older lib-

eration movements were not prepared to unite and at the time they were also not prepared to get involved in the struggles taking place inside the country and were preoccupied with narrow exile politics".

On April 12 1980 at a conference held in London the BCMMA was born. At the time, recalled Mangena, they had regions in the UK, Europe, Canada, the US, Nigeria, Kenya, Zambia, Lesotho and Botswana.

An interim central committee of nine led by Basil Manning was elected and mandated to call another conference within a year. However, the conference was delayed because of internal strife - BCMMA members accused some of the central committee members of being Trotskyists with a secret agenda.

Congress could only be held in 1983 after intervention by the membership. A five-man central committee came into power - chairman Mangena, secretary-general Mandisa Thi,

publicity secretary Mpotseing Kgokong, treasurer general Musa Dhlomo and Nkutsosen Motsau as secretary for defence (elected in absentia as at the time he was still banished to Phuthaditshaba in Qwaqwa).

The central committee was to work with a task force whose main brief was the establishment of the Azaman National Liberation Army (Azania).

"Because we were not recognised by the OAU it was very difficult to establish bases for training until 1986, when the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF), then still fighting for their land occupied by Ethiopia, accommodated us," said Mangena.

"They trained our very first two cadres, who also took part in the struggles there to gain the necessary experience," said Mangena.

On their return, said Mangena, they started an extensive programme of military training, inducting hundreds of cadres into Azania. The training was

done all over the country as well as in others.

"We trained in mountains, caves, forests and anywhere else where we could not be seen. But occasionally we were caught in places such as Botswana and once in Tsessebe, Qwaqwa.

"Most of the times that we were discovered we managed to outrun the enemy. Because of the non-recognition prejudice and the fact that we could not run bases, the Azania forces operated in small units spread throughout the country and concentrated mainly on acts of sabotage," said Mangena.

While they continued training themselves, many Azania cadres were later trained in Libya.

The BCMMA acquired its arms in all sorts of ways which included donations by certain liberation movements and governments, buying with limited resources and sometimes taking from the enemy.

Like all other BCMMA organ-

isations, the BCMMA's main problem was finances. Because they received nothing from the OAU they experienced many problems with co-ordinating their cadres inside the country.

"We depended mainly on contributions by members, some donations by solidarity groups, and also sympathisers inside the country who sent us cash, clothing and stationery." Branches on the other hand engaged in political work among themselves, cultural activities and on building solidarity.

Other problems included the arrests of cadres in Botswana and inside the country, where there were several trials.

"Presently there are three trials pending - one involving 30 cadres found in a cave last year in the Northern Transvaal and two in the Eastern Cape. Many cadres are still in detention and others languishing in prisons," said Mangena.

He said the BCMMA exiles had not wished to return as they

did not think the April elections amounted to liberation of the masses.

"Nevertheless we had to come back, for we could no longer wage an armed struggle against a government that included elements from the liberation movement. So we came back to advance the struggle of our people for total liberation.

"The other reason was that African countries within whose borders we sought sanctuary wanted to develop friendly relations with the new coalition government," said Mangena.

He said the army was presently playing a political role and if an arrangement could be arrived at with the authorities, BCMMA cadres might also play a role in South Africa's security forces.

How many? "It would not be politically safe to disclose the numbers at present - but we may do so once such an agreement has been reached," said Mangena.

CIPROOS 9/10/84

11A

# Bulky ANC 'streamlines into nepotism'

SOUTH 2017 - 2018

By Quentin Wilson

**A**S THE ANC outside parliament streamlines itself into a less bulky organisation with fewer personnel, many former employees are angry that they have been left without a job

Some have alleged that the ANC is involved in unfair labour practice, claiming that friends and family of top ANC leaders get preference to new posts above others

SOUTH is aware of three cases, including a post in the president's office, where ANC leaders have employed their relatives in secretarial positions

Most departments have been affected by the ANC's rationalisation programme, and some, such as the security department, have been virtually disbanded — leaving many loyal employed activists in the cold

"To my knowledge, none of us in the Western Cape security department have been paid since the election," said one member who preferred not to give his name "The department ceases to exist"

SOUTH has in its possession a petition sent to the ANC's head office in Johannesburg last week demanding "fair treatment" for two ANC members

Written on behalf of the two security members, the accompany-

ing letter reads "Now that the ANC is in power some individuals in the Directorate of the Department of Intelligence and Security told them that they will be integrated (into state security structures)

"This decision was reversed and they were informed that they are not welcome. We believe this decision was taken because some individuals hold personal grudges against the two (IIF)

"We believe that it is not ANC policy to treat its loyal supporters without regard for sound labour practice and the due process of democratic principles," it said

The letter appealed to ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa to investigate the incident and to ensure the two members were part of the integration process

In another incident, Ms Maksi Mamputa, who was employed by the ANC Women's League in Cape Town has sought legal advice after being dismissed by the organisation in March

She claims she was not told of her dismissal and only realised what had happened when she stopped receiving a salary in May

"One expects this sort of thing to happen in other organisations, but not in the ANC," Mamputa said

Ramaphosa's office had not responded at the time of going to press

# Shell shocked over cutbacks

Weekly Mail Reporter

**T**HE ANC's Johannesburg headquarters, Shell House, is pervaded by disillusionment and insecurity as hundreds of staff members wait for cutbacks in the organisation's operations

This is despite assurances from their leadership that the organisation will look after its employees

The scaling down of the ANC's headquarters after its election victory has been a messy affair. Reportedly heavily weighed down by debts incurred during the election and seemingly unable to secure jobs in the civil service for many of its employees, the ANC seemed unable to avoid putting many people on the street

Employees, who had been warned that many of the ANC's departments would be closed by August, are turning up at work to do little more than wait for clarity about their future

Some have complained that there is no clear idea of the role of the ANC outside of government and with many departments without heads, there is nobody to direct work

Since the election, much of the ANC's senior leadership has been sent to parliament or drawn into the cabinet. The party has not yet been able to replace them

Two months after the election, the ANC's national office still does not have an official spokesman. And besides losing its president,



President Nelson Mandela .  
'There will be jobs'

the legal department, international desk, department of economic policy, research desk and department of intelligence and security, are among those which do not have political heads

While the ANC can get along without many of its policy research departments — now that ANC policy is well on its way to becoming government white papers — there is concern about the future of departments vital to the future welfare of the party

The organising department — responsible for strengthening the ANC's structures — was collapsed into the elections commission and is now effectively without its head, Sport and Recreation Minister Steve Tshwete

Without an active department of information and publicity, the ANC cannot sell itself and high profile representatives, like Pallo Jordan, Carl Niehaus and Gill Marcus, are now members of the government

While the leadership has moved into government, much of their personnel have remained in Shell House

According to ANC government sources, the major problem is ministers still have to make jobs available in their ministries for their own people

Besides being saddled with the old staff — because of job guarantees to the civil service in the interim constitution — all appointments have to be approved by the Ministry of Public Service and Administration

However, at a meeting in Shell House last week, President Nelson Mandela and Minister of Public Service and Administration Zola Skweyiya assured staff they would not be jobless as positions were being sought for them in government

A letter assured those who wanted to leave the ANC that retrenchment packages were available



# Walter Sisulu tells why it's time to quit



**STEPPING DOWN . . . ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu wants to make way for younger talent.**

By **THEMBA KHUMALO**  
Political Correspondent

THE ageing ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu announced this week that he would step down at the end of the year from his position to give the "younger and talented leaders" a chance to build the organisation.

The 82-year-old grandfather of 23 from eight children (three adopted) told City Press in an interview that he would resign his post at the ANC national conference to be held in Durban in December this year. He has held the position for more than three years after being elected at the first such conference inside the country in Durban in 1991.

He said initially, he was earmarked for the position of national chairman but accepted to being number two to Nelson Mandela to avert and diffuse a looming internal power struggle between Thabo Mbeki and Cyril Ramaphosa. At the congress the ANC Youth League proposed Mbeki for the powerful position while the predominantly trade union members of the ANC lobbied for Ramaphosa.

Following a stalemate over the deputy presidency, Sisulu was elected as a compromise choice. Subsequently, Ramaphosa and Mbeki were elected

general secretary and head of international affairs respectively.

Sisulu said he preferred working quietly for the ANC, building it outside parliament and helping maintain its status as the leader of the liberation movement in this country.

"I think the tensions that existed three years ago between the two leaders over the deputy presidency are now over. Both of them are in parliament and should be content with their current positions. At the forthcoming congress the ANC membership will elect a younger leadership that will pump new life into the organisation," Sisulu said.

He also said when his name was suggested for parliamentary candidacy in the run-up to the April general elections, he had declined and discussed the matter with Mandela, who was satisfied with the reasons for his refusal.

Sisulu said at 82 he did not want to hold any office anymore because that would mean more work for him.

He said he was grateful to his wife, Albertina, for "looking after and managing my house and family in the manner that I couldn't during my 26 years of imprisonment. My children are what they are (disciplined) because of her. I'm very proud of her and she is my source of inspiration."

# Ramodike takes ANC to court

By Mathatha Tsedu  
Political Editor

FORMER Lebowa Chief Minister Mr Nelson Ramodike is to file papers in the Cape Town Supreme Court this week to force the ANC to reveal its reasons for removing his name from the parliamentary list

The application is the latest development in the ongoing saga between the ANC and Ramodike over his removal from the organisation's National Assembly list of candidates in April

The ANC has said Ramodike's removal from the list, where he was candidate number 77, was done because he

had funded the registration of his former party, the United People's Front

Ramodike has denied the allegation and, in earlier papers served on the ANC, the Independent Electoral Commission and the secretary for Parliament, asked to be reinstated

Defending its action, the ANC has said they acted within their powers and that Ramodike could go ahead with the court application

"Ramodike has no claim whatsoever against the ANC. He can pursue his court action, but we will defend the suit," ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said

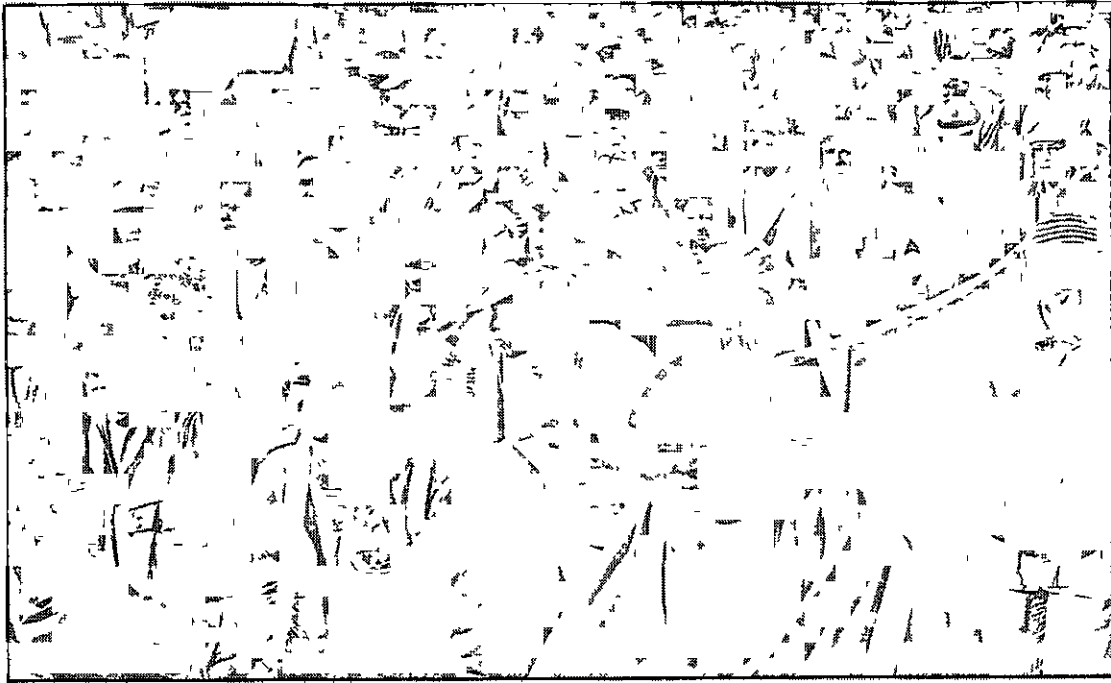
The IEC and the secretary for Parlia-

ment have informed Ramodike that they would not contest his application

This leaves the ANC and Mr WA Hofmeyr, who replaced Ramodike on the list, as respondents. Ramodike had asked the ANC to provide minutes of meetings where the decision to remove his name was taken (11A)

The ANC failed to do this by July 19, and the application this week is to force them to release the information

In the application, Ramodike contended that only three reasons were provided for in the Electoral Act to remove a candidate from the list. These were death, resignation, and incapacity to perform



More than 5 000 members of the Post and Telecommunications Workers Association marched on the offices of Telkom and the SA Post Office in Braamfontein yesterday to protest against, among other things, alleged racism at the workplace. Police kept watch and there were no incidents.

PIC. MBUZENI ZULU

# Mangena returns home

Sowetan

28/7/94

By Khathu Mamaila

LEADER of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania and commander of the Azanian National Liberation Army Mr Mosibudi Mangena returned to South Africa yesterday

Speaking shortly after his arrival from Harare, Zimbabwe, Mangena said he was happy to return to his country after more than 10 years in exile

Mangena and dozens of Azanla combatants entered the country through Beit

Bridge shortly before noon yesterday

The soft-spoken Mangena said he would be joining forces with whoever wanted to liberate black people who had nothing but the vote

He hinted that the council of the Azanian People's Organisation, scheduled to be held in Pretoria at the weekend, would take important decisions that would map out methods of advancing the struggle on other fronts other than the vote

He maintained that nothing had

changed to make black people stop struggling for their liberation and self determination

"Although I have only travelled on one road, I have realised that nothing has changed Besides, I did not have to travel because I knew even when I was still in Harare that nothing had changed

"Our people are still homeless Those who had no land still have no land The education system that denies our people skills is still in place," said Mangena

(IA)

# focus on BCMA

Sowetan 29/7/94

FOLLOWING THE RETURN OF THE ANC IN 1990 and the PAC last year, the BCMA remained outside, maintaining that the changes negotiated by the ANC and the white minority regime had not gone far enough to warrant suspension of its struggle, including a limited military offensive within the country

With the conclusion of the election and the installation of an ANC-dominated government, however, the role of the organisation outside the country became more and more untenable and its return became a question of time

But with the return now also comes the challenge of internal politics and the role that the organisation as well as its sister movement, the Azaman People's Organisation, will play in the new setup

Indications are that the two will merge into a single organisation at the congress in September and that they will retain the name of Azapo. There could be leadership battles but this will not be the biggest problem. The major challenge is the definition of a role for the organisation, and how that role will pan out in practice

Having boycotted the elections and therefore now outside the mainstream political process, Azapo has found itself unable to rise above the din of the new setup and has faded from the limelight

Is Azapo now going to be a watchdog organisation or play an opposition role? The former position may be the best option, but politically suicidal, as that reduces the organisation from its role as a contender for power into one that wants to see those in power behaving well

The role of an opposition party therefore looks more rewarding and the sole option, but it has its own problems, as the PAC has now found out. Having fought an election on an anti-ANC platform, the organisation has five MPs in Parliament

But those five have been conspicuous by their silence as they are caught between the ANC and the rightwing parties starting from the DP right up to the Freedom Front

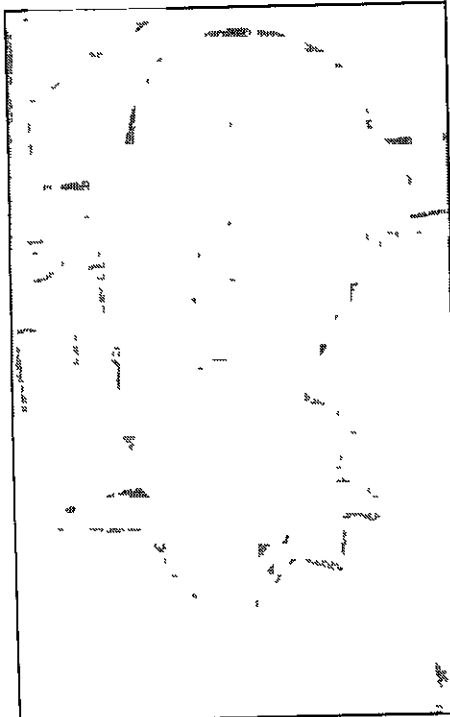
To take a position against the ANC looks more and more like supporting the NP or DP or even the FF and the PAC has decidedly not done that. This applies to the PWV provincial legislature also where their sole representative and outspoken secretary general, Mr Benny Alexander, sounds more and more like the ANC there

But the confusion is not only limited to the PAC. The NP is now debating whether their participation in the government of national unity is to the best of their interest as a party, or whether they would not serve their interests best outside, as a fully fledged opposition

This would be a drastic move that could unsettle the fledgling government and the confidence of foreign investors who have seen the NP as an insurance against the ANC's socialist elements

It is therefore unlikely that the NP will take

THE return to the country on Wednesday of Mr Mosibudi Mangena, leader of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania leader closes the chapter on exiled liberation movements. Now comes the challenge of internal politics reports political Editor **Mathatha Tsedu:**



**Mosibudi Mangena**

such a step now. However, the fact that they are discussing their role in the new setup is indicative of the difficulty of operating in the new situation

The two are not alone, as the ANC itself has found it difficult to make the transition from opposition to a governing party. The bickering between the Cabinet and the parliamentary caucus over Cabinet decisions are pointers to a clash of roles

In the regions, party officials insist on running programmes of the government to the exclusion of government officials who rightly should do so. In Giyani, Northern Transvaal, last week, a cabinet workshop became the centre of heated debate as local ANC officials insisted that they should cater for the comrades and not the local arm of government

It is this difficulty that Azapo and the BCMA will have to face this weekend when Azapo's national council meets in Laudium, Pretoria. For the BCMA at least, they also have to clarify what is going to happen to their trained men and



**Benny Alexander**

women of the Azaman National Liberation Army who are still armed

Will they, like their MK and APLA counterparts join the new defence force or will they remain outside. If they remain outside, what role are they going to play in the country?

Mangena will also find himself and his men and women enmeshed in the leadership battles that must follow their return. For as the organisations combine, a new leadership must take over. Indications are that the returning leaders may sweep the boards if they stand at next month's congress, thus thrusting them even more in the forefront of a situation that they only understood from afar

These and other questions are to tax the minds of the Azapo-BCMA leadership in the days ahead and their ability to come with workable solutions will determine whether the organisations which played a crucial role in mobilising people against the former regime have a role in the new political dispensation

# ANC calls three-day summit

By BARRY STREEK  
Political Staff

THE ANC has called a three-day summit in Johannesburg this weekend to discuss the growing problem of the relationship between the party, its regional structures and the government.

The summit is to be addressed by President Nelson Mandela, ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu, secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, and the national

chairperson of the ANC, Mr Thabo Mbeki. (114) CT29/7/94

The calling of the summit has forced the postponement of a meeting of the ANC's parliamentary caucus, which was to have been held in Cape Town today.

It comes against the background of rumblings within ANC ranks about the alleged gaps between its representatives in the government and its rank and file membership.

These rumblings have been ex-

acerbated by a drastic pruning of ANC-employed staff and major organisational problems in Shell House offices in Johannesburg.

An ANC statement said the summit would look at the relationship between the ANC inside and outside the government; the relationship between the ANC, its tripartite alliance and the Mass Democratic Movement, restructuring of the ANC; implementation of the RDP, and the forthcoming local government elections.

SACP *Fm* 29/7/94  
**Bitter dialectic**

**Veteran SA Communist Party stalwart Harry Gwala will not be automatically readmitted to the organisation on the expiry of his six-month suspension**

Though Gwala should technically be automatically reinstated when the suspension lapses, the issues at stake are regarded as too serious to let the matter slide. Party spokesman and central committee member Jeremy Cronin says the committee will undoubtedly exercise its right to review Gwala's position. But he says the suspension in no way affects Gwala's membership of the ANC, which is why he is still chairman of the ANC's Natal Midlands region (U/A)

Cronin also rejects Gwala's contention that a witch-hunt is being conducted against him and that the situation has been deliberately engineered by moderates in the SACP/ANC alliance. There has been much speculation that leftwingers in the alliance want to make KwaZulu/Natal ungovernable.

Gwala was suspended for six months in

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#### CURRENT AFFAIRS

*Fm* 29/7/94  
June on disciplinary grounds. Though he denies that there is any connection between the suspension and allegations that hit squads were used to try to eliminate adversaries within the alliance, Cronin says the suspension was at least partly motivated by Gwala's repeated failure to co-operate in the investigation into the claims.

"When the hit squad rumours began emerging towards the end of last year, SACP general secretary Charles Nqakula was dispatched to the Midlands at least three times before the elections to try to get to the bottom of the issue and encourage some sort of collective resolution there."

Furthermore, says Cronin, the SACP instituted a process of internal hearings and affidavits, held at times to suit Gwala "because we desperately wanted his co-operation and to hear his side of the story." Though everything was done to accommodate him, Gwala never turned up.

The suspension was therefore decided on at the SACP's June committee meeting — partly because of Gwala's failure to co-operate and partly because of his over-the-top public criticism of alliance comrades — including some of those identified as hit squad targets such as the SACP's Ben Martins and ANC Natal leader Jacob Zuma. "The personal attacks were viewed particularly seriously because of the explosive political climate in the Midlands," says Cronin.

Because the SACP, unlike the ANC, doesn't have an investigative arm or security wing capable of getting to the bottom of the allegations, the probe has been taken over by the ANC. It doesn't seem to have occurred to anyone to call in the police (U/A)

Gwala's appeal against the suspension should be heard by the central committee in the first week of August.

Irrespective of the accuracy of the allegations, it is clear there are deep divisions between SACP moderates and hard-liners. ■

# Cracks in ANC- Cosatu alliance

PAT CANDIDO <sup>1/1A</sup> and MICHAEL MORRIS <sup>1/1A</sup>

Weekend Argus Reporters

CRACKS in the ANC's bond with its powerful union ally, Cosatu, appear to have deepened in the movement's Eastern Cape heartland over a dispute about how to handle a looming strike in the automobile industry. <sup>AKG 30/7/94</sup>

This emerged yesterday when Cosatu national president John Gomomo made it clear that any possible strike in the automobile industry would be handled by the automobile workers on their own.

His remarks followed ANC Eastern Cape leader Linda Mti's statement that the tripartite alliance would try to help avert a strike in the automobile industry.

Union and ANC sources have rejected the notion that the present wave of industrial action is the muscle-flexing of a key member of the ANC alliance seeking to assert its political clout, and warn the government not to take its support for granted.

But there has been an element of contest, particularly

## 78% for strike

JOHANNESBURG — The final result from strike ballots held in the motor industry countrywide indicate overwhelming support for industrial action with 78 percent of National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa voting in favour of strike action — Sapa

over who controls the workers and who provides the visionary leadership.

Annual wage talks at the automobile industry's National Bargaining Forum (NBF) deadlocked between the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (Numsa) and the Automobile Manufacturers Employers' Association (Ameo) last week.

Numsa started balloting workers for possible strike action on Wednesday.

Mr Mti said the Alliance was holding talks in the region to try to get the parties to resolve the dispute and avert a strike.

And he warned that a strike in the automobile industry would threaten the reconstruction and development programme (RDP).

However, Mr Gomomo — a

■ To page 2

■ From page 1

# Cracks in alliance

<sup>AKG 30/7/94</sup>

Volkswagen shop steward and former Numsa national president — said the union had never been consulted by members of the alliance about any attempt to avert a possible strike in the industry.

"We do what we do as a trade union. We do not need a third party."

"The situation is still under control. If the alliance wants to assist, it must first consult us."

"Since there has been no consultation from the alliance, it is business as usual for us," said Mr Gomomo.

He said they had made no demands from the new government and that the union's battle over "bread-and-butter issues" was with the employers.

Responding to criticisms that a strike in the automobile industry could impede the RDP, Mr Gomomo said the programme addressed the needs of people and working conditions.

"The RDP addresses housing, education, health, job-creation, job-security and the like. That is exactly what we are doing as a trade union."

"We cannot see the bosses putting money aside to build houses. When houses are built how are workers expected to pay for them when they are paid poverty wages?"

"They are shielding behind the RDP. We have never seen a single boss committed to the RDP by putting a sum of money in health, education or housing. They are just making general statements," said Mr Gomomo.

# ANC to trim govt spending to boost RDP

B1 Day

118/1/94

ADRIAN HADLAND

THE ANC plans to rationalise the public service, review ministerial, parliamentary and public service salaries and drastically revise state expenditure to ensure more funds are available for the reconstruction and development programme (RDP)

Speaking after the ANC's first major inter-regional conference since the elections, newly elected policy and reconstruction and development programme department head Cheryl Carolus said the percentage of funds used in administering rather than implementing projects had been a cause for concern

While little could be done in the current Budget to limit administration expenditure and wastage, work had already begun on the 1995/96 Budget, she said.

To provide the maximum funding for the RDP, government's consumption expenditure would be drastically overhauled in the next Budget. "The biggest source of funding (for the RDP) must be the Budget."

The overhaul would include the review of salaries, the negotiation and scrutiny of spending priorities in every government department, and the revision of the budgetary process. "We would like to see greater transparency in the budgetary process, although in some areas there will need to be confidentiality"

Structures such as the National Economic Forum and the National Housing Forum would play a bigger role in finding consensus on budgetary priorities, while it was hoped all important legislation would be opened to public debate at the White Paper stage.

Carolus said every public service job

would have to be justified. An ANC investigation into the Melamet proposals on government salaries would be completed within the next few months. "President Nelson Mandela is on record as saying the gravy train should be stopped, and the ANC will lead by example."

On restructuring the ANC, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the allocation of constituencies to MPs would be finalised by next month. He told a news conference a code of conduct for ANC MPs was also being drafted.

The party had restructured and appointed new staff to replace those taking up national and regional government posts.

Unity within the ANC alliance would be reinforced with a national workshop later this month aimed at "bringing together the structures of the alliance and the mass democratic movement to identify areas of co-ordination and co-operation"

New structures had also been established to reconcile the three new roles of the party in government, in Parliament and in branch organisations.

Ramaphosa said a meeting at the weekend between Cosatu and the ANC had led to the resolution of "a number of problems"

Thousands of people would be trained to assist the ANC in its local election drive, while a door-to-door membership and registration campaign would be launched. Mandela would lead a series of national debriefings starting at the month-end.

A full national conference had been scheduled for December in Bloemfontein.

Picture Page 3



*Call to review civil servants' and MPs' salaries*

# Cut Govt pay, says ANC

Star 11/8/94

## GOVERNMENT must seriously cut spending, say party leaders after first national summit since April

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The membership of the ANC made a crucial intervention in the running of the Government of National Unity at the weekend, and has called for a drastic revision of government expenditure, including salaries of MPs and special civil servants.

At its first national meeting since the April election, the ANC grappled with numerous concerns raised by its members from the 14 branches across the country and, according to secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, "emerged with greater unity".

The three-day summit, which sources said was marked by rigorous soul-searching, signalled a clear change in direction for the ANC in the Government, and urged that the growing gap between the organisation's parliamentarians and membership be bridged.

The meeting called for transparency in the formulation of next year's Budget, and said a review of government expenditure — "including issues such as salaries" — would have to take place.

### Questions

"We are calling for quite a serious review of expenditure, and this would include questions such as salary structures in the civil service and the Government as a whole," said national executive committee member Cheryl Carolus.

"We would like to see that, as publicly elected representatives, our MPs (and) our Cabinet Ministers will in fact lead by example."

"We would like to see rationalisation of the civil service, and we are also looking at the kinds of salary structures. We support the notion that one would like to see a reduction in salary differentials," she said.

Carolus also revealed that the ANC had appointed its own commission to look into the question of government and civil service salaries.

Present at the summit were President Mandela, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, a sprinkling of ANC Cabinet Ministers and premiers, ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu, Ramaphosa and the organisation's regional leaders.

Addressing a press confer-

ence at the end of the summit in Johannesburg yesterday, Ramaphosa said reorganisation was the rallying cry, and campaigns to strengthen the organisation inside and outside Parliament would be embarked upon. (11A) (25)

Preparations for next year's local government elections would begin soon.

Ramaphosa said a six-member national management team, to report to the ANC's national working committee and the six top officials, had been appointed.

Eastern Transvaal Senator Jackson Mthembu will head the organisation's new information department, MP Phillip Dexter becomes co-ordinator of the National Assembly and the nine provincial legislatures, Joe Shabangu becomes national organiser, Cheryl Carolus will be responsible for policy and the Reconstruction and Development Programme, and Marion Sparg will be the co-ordinator in the secretary-general's office.

Shabangu will resign his position as MP to become a full-time ANC organiser, while Mthembu and Dexter will retain their elected positions.

Carolus, who complained about lack of transparency in the Government, said the summit had "reaffirmed the legitimacy of the aspirations of the people". She said every government department had to be reoriented "to begin to meet the needs of the most needy communities in our society".

The ANC, she said, would pay particular attention to this week's parliamentary debate on the Budget.

In an effort to narrow the gap between its elected officials and the masses, the ANC will soon embark on "people's forum" meetings, with MPs — who will be assigned to constituencies by September — holding report-back meetings.

Mandela will begin the series of public meetings with a rally in the Northern Transvaal on August 13.

# ANC forms new team

By **Mathatha Tsedu**  
Political Editor

THE African National Congress yesterday announced the formation of a management team as part of its restructuring process. The announcement followed the first post-election inter-regional summit held by the organisation in Johannesburg at the weekend.

A team of seven will represent the restructured departments, and they are

- Policy and Reconstruction and Development Programme (Cheryl Carolus),
- Information (Jackson Mthembu, a

senator), and

● Organising (Jackson Shabangu, an MP who will now resign his post to work full-time for the organisation)

● Legislatures Co-ordinator (Phillip Dexter, an MP)

No appointments were announced for the departments of finance and administration. Marion Sparg will be overall team co-ordinator and will work from the general secretary's office.

Announcing these changes yesterday, ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa — flanked by president Nelson Mandela, deputy president Walter Sisulu, ANC chairman Thabo

Mbeki, deputy general secretary Jacob Zuma and Carolus — said the summit had also looked at the forthcoming local government elections.

A structure to run the campaign, develop guidelines and train prospective councillors would be set up by the end of the month. The organisation was finalising a draft code of conduct for ANC MPs, Ramaphosa said.

The summit also called for the urgent establishment of co-ordinating mechanisms between the ANC and its members serving in government, apparently to deal with simmering discontent about the behaviour of several leaders.

Sawetan

118/94

(11A)

## Azapo to change its tune?

By Joe Mdhlela

THE Azaman People's Organisation may participate in the 1995 local government elections if the forthcoming congress approves. This was disclosed during the organisation's national council at Laudium in Pretoria yesterday.

Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala hinted there was an outside chance that Azapo could participate in the 1999 general elections

However, Mosala said nothing was definite.

"We have appointed a body to investigate these possibilities and the commission will report to congress in September."

Referring to the local government elections, Mosala said his organisation

wanted to get involved in government structures "nearest to my people".

Mosala said the need to participate might not necessarily be popular "but this has been dictated to us by our people".

Congress is also expected to take important decisions on gender issues. This is despite the fact that women are not properly represented in the organisation's structure. (IA)

Black Consciousness Movement of Azania chairman Mr Mosibudi Mangena said unrest in the workplace indicated that workers were not getting any benefits from the so-called new dispensation

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Monday August 1 1994 SOWETAN

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"The working class and peasants should stand up against their capitalist bosses who believe they now have licence to exploit them," said Mangena.

# Mandela steps in

PRESIDENT Nelson Mandela has urged workers and employers to use the collective bargaining system to resolve the current labour unrest.

It was necessary, Mandela said, to attain industrial peace for successful implementation of the Government's Reconstruction and Development Programme.

Mandela was addressing reporters in Johannesburg on Saturday at a meeting with the Congress of South African Trade Unions to discuss the RDP and the wave of strikes.

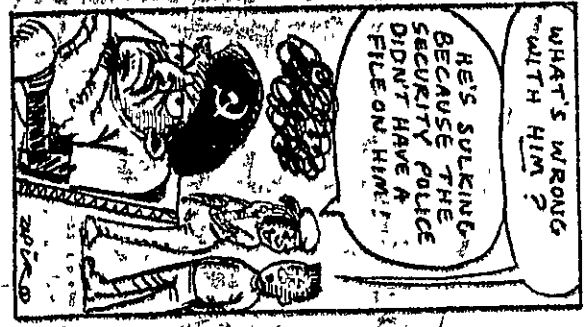
The ANC and Cosatu stressed that the RDP required economic growth and equity, healthy industrial relations and increased economic investment.

It is in this spirit that the meeting

expressed hope that current labour unrest would be resolved. In this context, workers and employers ought to resolve levels of wages and conditions of employment through collective bargaining, they said in a joint statement.

The ANC was led by Mandela, deputy president Walter Sisulu and chairman Thabo Mbeki at the talks, while Cosatu president John Gomboto and general secretary Sam Shilowa led Cosatu's delegation.

Mandela said the spirit of the meeting was that striking workers should address their demands without confrontation, and that employers also had an obligation to meet the workers' demands.



# Cut Ministers' pay

Sowetan 11/8/94

## — ANC

By **Mattatha Tsedu**  
Political Editor

**A**FRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS leaders have called for salaries of Cabinet Ministers and senior bureaucrats to be cut in line with promises made during the elections.

Newly appointed secretary for policy and Reconstruction and Development Ms Cheryl Carolus said an inter-regional summit held at the weekend had called for salary cuts in the public service, and for the ANC "to lead by example".

Speaking at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, Carolus said delegates at the summit felt that all jobs in the civil service had to be justified.

"The summit called for a reduction of salary differentials between workers and Cabinet Ministers. Delegates felt that as publicly elected leaders, they should lead by example. It was felt that the gray train must stop and that wastage and corruption of the previous regime should be halted," she said.

She said while not calling for equal salaries for all, delegates felt that the gap was too wide, not only in the civil service but in the private sector as well.

"An 8-to-1 difference is generally accepted in many countries but in this country it is way above 30-to-1. We are saying this cannot go on." Carolus said the ANC had conducted its own investigation after the

Melamet Commission's report which raised controversy over huge salaries for Cabinet Ministers.

The ANC would table its report soon, she said after the Press conference.

The recommendations would be tabled before the ANC caucus and it was likely that legislation to reduce the salaries would be introduced in the present session of Parliament.

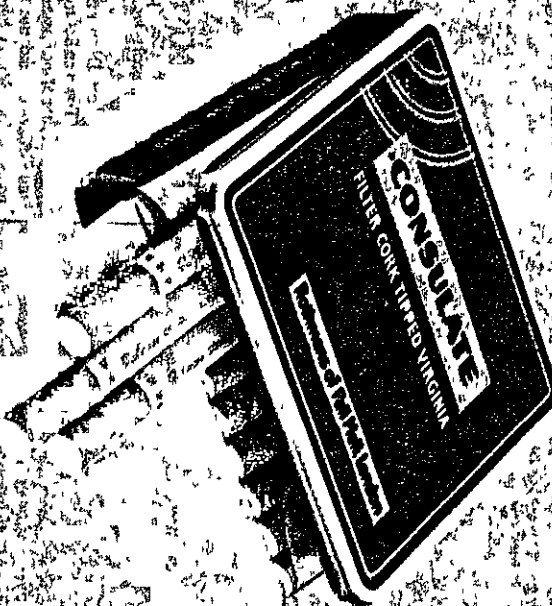
Carolus said the ANC wanted to see greater transparency of Government and was intent on making inputs during future budgeting processes to ensure that the RDP becomes the biggest recipient of state expenditure. The decision to call for salary cuts came during what one delegate said was fierce debate in the summit, with grassroots leaders saying the salaries of MPs and Cabinet Ministers meant the gray train was gaining speed. Huge salaries for Cabinet Ministers — some earn as much as R47 000 a month — have elicited wry comments about the sincerity of the ANC, which had campaigned on an anti-gray train ticket.

Responding to a question about greater ANC intervention in Government decisions, President Nelson Mandela said he did not foresee resistance by other Government partners such as the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Mandela dismissed as speculation reports that the NP was considering leaving the Government of National Unity.

● See Page 2

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# focus on AZAPO

**F**RAGMATIC POLITICS ALLOWS for flexibility, and this seems to be the new realisation at Azapo

The organisation's national council in Pretoria at the weekend dropped hints — and one must emphasise that these were only hints — that Azapo may participate in the local government elections in March next year

One such important hint was encapsulated in a remark made by president of Azapo Professor Itumeleng Mosala to journalists at a Press conference on Sunday

He said "My people are anxious to participate in the local government elections and we are calling on the Government to speed up the process"

The second hint was in response to a question from a journalist seeking to establish if Azapo would participate in the national general election scheduled for 1999

Mosala responded "We at Azapo do not think we will have to wait that long for the general election We may, in fact, have the election sooner than that date"

If these are not clues to help decipher the political thinking in Azapo, then one may be reading too much into these hints

During debate at council, some delegates suggested it may be a profitable exercise for Azapo to be involved in civic politics

The argument was that civic politics "was where our people are"

There was also an insinuation that in some regions certain members of the organisation were already participating in civic politics Logic dictates, therefore, that participation in the forthcoming local government elections will "evolve from the fact that Azapo is already involved at civics level"

Therefore, participation in local government would be a logical and natural development, it was argued

There was also a direct hint from Mosala that "Azapo wanted to participate in the 1995 local government election"

In addition, publicity secretary of Azapo Dr Gomolemo Mokae was emphatic in suggesting that his organisation has always encouraged its members to get involved in civic politics

However, Mokae said Azapo remained convinced that the present political dispensation as "hatched at Kempton Park" did not have the capacity to deliver genuine liberation to black people

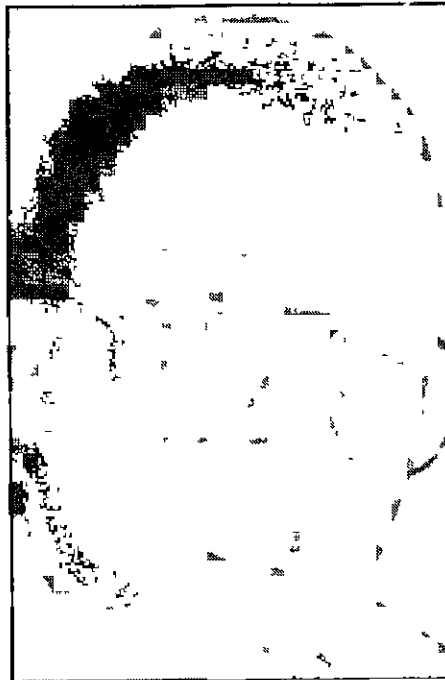
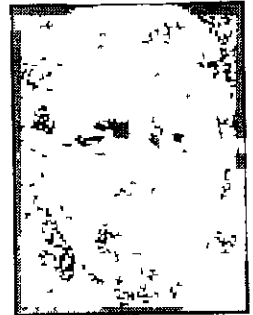
"Our people have asked Azapo, as a true liberation movement, to give direction to the struggle by campaigning in the forthcoming local government elections

"We have always stated that we are driven by the aspirations of our people and we will do what our people ask of us We have reflected deeply on the matter and we think we are ready to lead our people to true liberation," Mokae said

It is also true that the general principle of non-

Indications are, reports Political Reporter **Joe Mdhlela**, that Azapo is beginning to show a more flexible attitude towards participation in elections. He bases his prognosis on certain 'hints':

Sowetan 3/8/94



**Itumeleng Mosala**

collaboration still serves as a torchlight for the organisation It was conceived when the movement was first formed in the late 1960s In many ways, the principle still applies as Azapo is adamant that the settlement resulting in the election to power of the ANC-dominated Government was flawed in the first place

The argument prevalent within the organisation is that power-sharing was not something blacks fought for

"We at Azapo feel that power still resides in white hands By participating in local government politics we believe our people can influence events, and reverse this trend," Mosala said

That said, the inescapable fact facing Azapo seems to be that standing aloof and continuing with armchair politics may be hurting rather than advancing their cause

The starting point, it seems, would be to test their strength at local government politics

Indeed, there are areas in certain parts of the country where the organisation has begun making inroads, eating away at constituencies previously held by the ANC

What about national politics?



**Gomolemo Mokae**

Mosala's analysis of the current political situation is that the present Government will have to call an election sooner than the mandatory 1999 election date

He points to Government indecisiveness about a number of issues, including the manner in which it failed to handle the volatile June 16 issue

"All people worth their salt will want to take the Government to task for failing to deliver on their promises and for running rough-shod over issues like June 16 by pandering to the whims of big business"

These issues, argued Mosala, are telltale signs that the Government is incapable of running the country

"Therefore, the Government may discover that it is duty-bound to seek a fresh mandate through an election," he said

Whether Azapo will participate in the local government elections, and indeed in the national election, will largely depend on what congress decides during September 9 to 11

But if council deliberations are anything to go by, parties gearing themselves for local government elections may as well regard Azapo as a new opponent

# ANC split on chairmanships

Biday 518194

TIM COHEN  
and DAVID GREYBE

CAPE TOWN — President Nelson Mandela appeared to be at odds with the ANC caucus yesterday over whether parliamentary standing committee chairmanships should be shared proportionally among political parties

The caucus rejected striking deals to determine how many chairmanships each party got

The process of electing chairmen was halted this week when Mandela intervened, supposedly to allow for interparty negotiation to give expression to the concept of a government of national unity

Opposition MPs are demanding that the number of chairmanships of the 27 standing committees be predetermined. Six chairmen — all ANC members — have

been elected to the finance, constitutional development, justice, home affairs, housing and safety and security committees

National Assembly ANC chief whip Arnold Stofile said the caucus had agreed in principle to follow the rules providing for each committee to elect its own chairman

A clear difference of emphasis emerged from Mandela, who said the chairmanships of the committees would be shared and this principle had been agreed to within the ANC.

Deputy President FW de Klerk, who insisted that the government of national uni-

To Page 2

## Chairmanships

Biday 518194

From Page 1

ty be reflected at all levels of government, was understood to have pressed for negotiation in respect of the chairmanships.

Mandela said although details still had to be worked out, it had been agreed that the chairmanships should be shared out.

Some NP MPs favoured a proportional representation system under which the NP got 20%, or five, chairmen.

It was also suggested that the Inkatha Freedom Party should get two, and the DP

and the Freedom Front one each

Stofile said ANC committee members, who commanded large majorities in all committees, would be considerate of the need for "inclusivity" when the elections resumed, possibly next week.

The caucus also adopted a proposal, accepted by Cabinet on Wednesday, that Parliament would sit only four days a week, leaving Fridays free for Ministers to catch up with their work and MPs to report back to their constituencies

# United front crowns ANC summit

The decision to smooth out differences was the crowning achievement of the ANC's summit, reports **Paul Stober**

THE ANC's "pragmatic" and "left" camps — locked in a struggle over the future of the organisation — negotiated an informal truce at the ANC's first post-election inter-regional summit last weekend

At the heart of the debate is who will control the government of national unity. The "left" camp, predominantly outside government, believes the ANC must give direction to the government and keep a tight rein on the cabinet. The "pragmatists", mainly in the cabinet, are said to be determined to secure political stability and economic investment at all cost.

Commenting on the summit, ANC government sources said "In the end we had to accept that we differ, rather than let others take advantage of our disagreements. We have a lot of other problems, so we need to look at doing something about our differences in a

constructive way". ANC activists inside and outside the government agreed that the question of state salaries — reported in the media as the main topic at the summit — was a side issue. The rapprochement of the two groupings was the crowning achievement of the summit, they said.

The two camps are also at odds over how to further the reconstruction and development programme (RDP). The "pragmatists" are accused of ignoring the interests of traditional ANC allies — such as the trade unions — in order to create conditions that appeal to foreign investors and local businesses.

The RDP cannot depend on foreign capital to succeed," said a leading member of the "left" camp. "The moment the need for any political morality disappears, the conditions for loans and investment will harden". The "left" is accused of endangering South Africa's fragile multiparty government and squandering international goodwill by promoting obsolete ideological positions.

Before the summit, alliance activists feared ANC government leaders — worried about the wave of strikes and open criticism of the organisation's

Advised by the ANC to re-establish dynamic contact with its membership and regions and to rebuild its public profile is also an indication that the "left" has secured an important role

11A WMS-11/8/94

role in government by the South African Communist Party and the Congress of South African Trade Unions — would try to pull its allies into line.

In the event, relatively open discussions resulted in a broad agreement that while the problems needed to be resolved, neither the ANC nor the country could afford public squabbling. Both camps agreed to play down the issue until the next ANC national conference, scheduled for December.

But the restructuring of the ANC, announced after the summit, clearly indicated that the "left" is already positioning for a showdown at the end of the year.

ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa has taken control of the organisation outside parliament. The new management committee, which will oversee the day-to-day running of the organisation, is heavily weighted towards the "left".

The eight-person committee includes Ramaphosa, Maron Spang, trade unionist and parliamentarian Phillip Dexter and Cheryl Carolus, an ANC heavyweight who chose not to go into government.

While they cannot be lumped together politically, they are a powerful group said to share an interest in a strong ANC independent of government — a development about which ANC government officials are wary.



# ANC announces plan for 'local govt election win'

Bibby 10/8/94

DAVID GREYBE

CAPE TOWN — The ANC, concerned about losing support in local government elections because of party weaknesses, has devised a national strategy in a bid to repeat April poll successes

The party has warned of a possible delay until 1997 of local reconstruction and development programme (RDP) budgets as a result of the "emerging view" that the election might take place only in the third quarter of next year.

The party's election prospects would therefore suffer, unless mechanisms were developed to provide for interim RDP budgets, it said.

The ANC would make "urgent representations to our president to seriously consider the creation of a local government ministry headed by the ANC to ensure that the (election) process is properly overseen"

The party's recent inter-regional summit adopted a "programme of action" which was not released at the end of the conference.

It identified the ANC's best electoral chances as dependent on a national strategy "sympathetic" to specific provincial problems.

"ANC structures were weak and required revitalisation," the document stated.

A spokesman for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the local government election date was expected to be announced before the end of the month.

Presidential spokesman Joel Netshitenzhe said the issue of a local government ministry "could arise" at next week's Cabinet meeting

He said the matter was "politically sensitive" but needed to be resolved as a matter of urgency.

The NP, still owed a ministerial post following the resignation of Finance Minister Derek Keys, has been punted for the position by some.

The ANC conference decided its campaign strategy would be based on "very strong" local content but would project the ANC nationally

Campaign points would include: bogged down negotiations to restructure local government, registration of voters, candidate lists, and the demarcation and delimitation process.

"The registration process is clearly going to be a very important opportunity to campaign for local government elections," the ANC said.

"The role of the SA National Civic Organisation specifically must be clarified soon so that possible ten-

sions and delays are addressed"

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa undertook to oversee an urgent evaluation of problems affecting membership such as lack of access to the ANC; branches' difficulties in dealing with head office; shortage of recruitment packs and head office not following through on matters

The document drew attention to constraints on implementing its planned strategy

These included

- The confusion that might exist if there were double ballots;
  - Delivery on the RDP was being frustrated and might affect electoral support, (HFA)
  - Finance was a particular problem area,
  - There were specific constraints to broadening the ANC (support) base,
  - Playing fields were still not level,
  - The media backlash has already begun to discredit ANC in government, and
  - The Patriotic Front forces could cause similar problems to those existing during the April elections"
- On "financial arrangements", the document said the ANC had to, as a priority, give human, financial and technical resources for the development of its election strategy

## ANC cuts its full-time workforce 90%

CAPE TOWN — The ANC had slashed its full-time workforce almost 90% — from 1 200 to 140 — without a single forced retrenchment, the party said yesterday.

Senior ANC official Marion Sparg said 80 staff members had accepted voluntary retrenchment as part of a major restructuring. Most of the rest had found jobs in the new government or had become MPs.

Sparg herself starts a new job on Monday as one of two deputy executive directors in the Constitutional Assembly. (11A)

After a parliamentary caucus meeting, ANC senator Jackson Mthembu said the restructuring was almost complete, bringing to an end the ANC's "temporary pa-

DAVID GREYBE

ralysis" after the elections. The "very lean, but very effective" ANC would move into its new "satellite" headquarters in central Cape Town next week. 12/18/94

Sparg said by the time the restructuring was completed about 400 former staff members would have joined the intelligence and police forces, about 100 the Defence Force, and others the public service. Hundreds of others had become MPs or members of provincial governments.

No decision had yet been taken on the fate of Shell House, the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters, which it owned.

# Disgruntled ANC workers demand jobs

(114) ~~EE~~ WM 12-18/8/94

Chris Louw

**T**ENSION is running high at the ANC's Shell House headquarters as the final date for the organisation's internal restructuring approaches. Hundreds of ANC employees expecting to lose their jobs are insisting on being re-employed in the civil service.

An internal memorandum detailing their fears and frustrations was this week leaked to the *Mail & Guardian*. It provides the first proof of unhappiness in ANC headquarters over the scaling-down of the organisation.

The memorandum, which served as the basis for a staff meeting with President Nelson Mandela last month, accuses ANC leadership of lacking vision. However, Shell House sources indicated that since the ANC inter-regional summit two weeks ago, some confidence in the leadership had been restored.

The memorandum's poignant final paragraph says staff wish new ANC ministers and MPs "well, even though the majority never came back to say good-bye to their former staff members who battled on their side through all, thick and thin."

The internal re-ordering of the ANC will come into effect on October 1. Staff numbers are expected to be reduced from 1 200 to less than 100, although some have already been allocated jobs within a re-organised ANC.

The mood in Shell House has been restive ever since ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa announced in June that the ANC's

14 regions would be reduced to nine and internal departments to six.

ANC employees were promised jobs in the civil service. They now complain, however, that staff members' absorption into the civil service is "in the hands of the old regime's appointees and we do not see the ANC intervening effectively in this situation."

The memorandum says the ANC "has guaranteed jobs for employees of the old order while it cannot do the same with its own people who really put them where they are."

The leadership is accused of not having any "coherent policy/strategy/plan to integrate qualified ANC personnel" into the civil service.

At the meeting Mandela is understood to have promised disgruntled staff members that their concerns would receive attention.

Concerns raised by staff include

● "Some of the things done by our leadership have ripple effects in other spheres of life. White farmers are retrenching their employees who are now littering many roads and justify their deeds by quoting retrenchment in the ANC head office."

● "The face of the ANC is changing at a very rapid pace. This is being seen by the growing intake of non-black people into the commanding heights in the ANC. For example, the ANC diplomatic corps all through the years was mostly African and now the ANC is in power but we still have the same old corps of the former regime."

The ANC's new spokesman, Jackson Mtembu, refused to comment on the allegations.

# ANC in tatters - Mandela

Sowetan 15/8/94

## SA Press Association

**A**FRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS structures are not functioning properly, President Nelson Mandela told about 4 000 people at Seshego Stadium near Pietersburg at the weekend. "Our organisation is literally in tatters because the leadership is not there," said Mandela.

He promised he would be at the ANC's Johannesburg head office at Shell House every Monday to attend to organisational matters.

"We need a strong ANC to help carry out the Reconstruction and Development Programme."

Mandela visited the Northern Transvaal to start a campaign of informing people what Government was doing to implement its reconstruction programme.

"The time of apartheid politicians who evade and avoid the people is over," he said.

After meeting local mass democratic movement structures, the president tried to allay fears that little had been done to fulfil election promises and asked them to be patient.

He admitted that many RDP policies had been planned at the top without input from grassroots level.

One of the first steps would be to inform people about progress made.

Mandela's visit to the region was also to thank people for the 92 percent support polled there for the ANC in the April election — the highest ANC sup-

port in any region.

"This is an important occasion for us because you voted us into office and it is our duty to come and report to you what we have been doing," he said.

Northern Transvaal SA National Civics Organisation treasurer Bongani Sithole said in an earlier interview that people in the region did not fully understand the process of implementing the RDP.

"The rural areas are not in touch with what is happening up there."

He said meeting the President had been constructive.

(11A)

## Protect policemen

Mandela appealed to communities to protect policemen, referring to recent killings.

"It is the duty of the community to protect the police in spite of the fact that we still have elements in the police that are racist."

He also asked communities to help stamp-out crime, referring to a recent increase in drug smuggling. Syndicates were taking advantage of new air-links to South Africa, the President added.

While he had no objections to people from neighbouring countries coming to South Africa, they should do this legally. Illegal immigrants were not welcome in the country, he said.

On a lighter note, Mandela said the national anthems should be combined and shortened.

Mandela said singing them was boring because people had to stand for a long time.

*'Time of avoiding the people is over'*

## ANC structures in tatters - Mandela

Star 15/8/94

ANC structures are not functioning properly, President Mandela told about 4 000 people at Seshego stadium near Pietersburg on Saturday

"Our organisation is literally in tatters because the leadership is not there," he said. But he promised he would be at the ANC's Johannesburg head office at Shell House every Monday to attend to organisational matters

"We need a strong ANC to help carry out the RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme)"

Mandela visited the Northern Transvaal to start a campaign of informing people about what the Government was doing to implement its reconstruction programme

"The time of apartheid politicians who evade and avoid the people is over," he said

After meeting local Mass Democratic Movement structures, the president called for patience and tried to allay fears that little had been done to fulfil election prom-

ises

He admitted that many RDP policies had been planned at the top without input from grass-roots level

One of the first steps would be to inform people about progress made

Mandela visited the Northern Transvaal first in order to thank the people because the ANC had achieved 92 percent support in the April election — the highest backing for the ANC in any region

"Today we are among the people. This is an important occasion for us, because you voted us into office and it is our duty to come and report to you what we have been doing," he said

Northern Transvaal SA National Civics Organisation treasurer Bongani Sithole said people in this, mostly rural region did not fully understand the process of implementing the RDP

"The rural areas are not in touch with what is happening up

there"

Sithole added that meeting the president had been constructive

At the stadium, Mandela appealed to communities to protect policemen, and referred to recent killings of officers. "It is the duty of the community to protect the police in spite of the fact that we have elements in the police who are still racist"

He also asked communities to help stamp out crime, and mentioned the recent increase in drug smuggling. Syndicates were taking advantage of new air links to South Africa, the president added.

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claims arising out of the inquiry into the  
Merrispruit slimes dam disaster. The  
I WEEK IT VALUED WEST HAMP TOWNS AT R250M

# ANC party structures in tatters, Mandela tells rally

PIETERSBURG — ANC structures were not functioning properly, President Nelson Mandela told about 4 000 people at Seshego Stadium near Pietersburg on Saturday.

"Our organisation is in tatters because the leadership is not there," he said. But he promised he would be at the ANC's Johannesburg head office at Shell House every Monday to attend to organisational matters.

"We need a strong ANC to help carry out the reconstruction and development programme."

Mandela visited the Northern Transvaal to start a campaign of informing people on government's implementation of the RDP.

"The time of apartheid politicians who evade and avoid the people is over."

After meeting local mass democratic movement structures, the President tried to allay fears that little had been done to fulfil elections promises, while asking them to be patient.

He admitted the many RDP poli-

cies had been planned at the top without input from grass roots level.

One of the first steps would be to inform people about progress made.

Northern Transvaal SA National Civics Organisation treasurer Bongani Sithole said people in this mostly rural region did not fully understand the process of implementing the RDP. He said meeting the President had been constructive.

Mandela appealed to communities to protect policemen, referring to recent killings.

"It is the duty of the community to protect the police in spite of the fact we have elements in the police that are still racist."

He also asked communities to help stamp out crime, referring to a recent increase in drug smuggling. Syndicates were taking advantage of new air links to SA.

While he had no objections to people from neighbouring countries coming to SA, they should do this legally, Mandela said. Illegal immigrants were not welcome in SA.

On a lighter note, Mandela said the

national anthems should be combined and shortened. Singing them was boring because people had to stand for a long time.

On arrival at the stadium, an excited crowd rushed at Mandela, nearly toppling him over in almost chaotic conditions.

Mandela afterwards complained about lack of security at the stadium.

A crowd of people had pushed and forced their way onto the pitch. About 500 children were seen rushing at him, almost toppling him. A man with a placard reading "We want a living wage, we want houses, Mr President", approached Mandela and flashed the placard almost in the President's face.

There were no signs of marshals and it was left to a group of peace monitors to prevent a nasty incident.

Mandela told the crowd he was upset that a group of young drum majorettes had been unable to perform because of crowd disturbance.

He called on all leaders to ensure the drum majorettes be given the opportunity to perform — Sapa.

Over 150 policemen have  
been injured on Saturday  
in Pietersburg



NP and ANC clash over chairmanship of committees

# First major rift for Govt

Star 19/8/94

BY CHRIS WHITEFIELD and ESTHER WAUGH

Cape Town — Red lights are flashing for the Government of National Unity (GNU), Deputy President and National Party leader F W de Klerk has warned.

An angry De Klerk announced yesterday that the NP would reject what he described as insulting ANC offers of chairmanships of "innocuous, unimportant, internal" parlia-

## DE KLERK lashes ANC after smaller parties are given control of key parliamentary bodies

mentary standing committees. He revealed that the National Party caucus had considered the possibility of withdrawing from the GNU as a result of the offers. On his re-

commendation it had decided to continue to play a role in the coalition government. But he added: "We are not prepared to be pushed around." The NP expected the ANC leadership to take appropriate steps to prevent a situation of "irresponsible actions" by elements of the ANC caucus putting strain on co-operation within the GNU.

The ANC caucus recommended yesterday that the NP would be offered the deputy chairmanship of the public accounts committee and would chair the internal arrangements, discipline, pensions and private members' Bills committees — all minor committees. By contrast, the IFP was offered the chairmanship of the public enterprises committee, the PAC the transport committee and the Democratic Party the public accounts committee.

Ard, in a step that clearly angered the NP, the right-wing Freedom Front was offered the chairmanship of the private enterprise committee on defence.

ANC, chief whip the Rev Arthur Scobie said yesterday evening that President Mandela had accepted the caucus's recommendation and it would be negotiated with De Klerk.

De Klerk said he had discussed the issue with Mandela but their talks were confidential. But he added: "I am disappointed in the way the ANC leadership has handled this."

If elements in the ANC caucus achieve so much power that they don't follow their leadership then "think it holds serious consequences for the GNU," he told a press conference.

He said public statements by Mandela had indicated that he accepted that the committee chairmanships should be shared in a proportional way.

De Klerk stressed, however, that there were no serious tensions within the GNU at executive level.

He said it had clearly been established that proportional relationship — securing the NP six seats in the 27-member Cabinet — would also apply to standing committee chairmanships.

# Rumbles as ANC dominates committees

CAPE TOWN — The ANC caucus yesterday refused to share powerful parliamentary standing committee chairmanships with the NP, plunging the government of national unity into its worst crisis to date, Deputy President FW de Klerk said.

He said the NP caucus had rejected an ANC proposal giving the NP chairmanships of only four minor "housekeeping" committees. The NP had decided to remain in the government of national unity, but "the red lights are flashing".

De Klerk blamed an "irresponsible" faction within the ANC caucus for threatening the future of the new government.

He described the ANC's action as "a

DAVID GREYBE

flagrant breach of an important understanding" with the ANC leadership, including President Nelson Mandela, that committee chairmanships would be shared proportionally and, where possible, smaller parties would be accommodated.

"We are not prepared to be pushed around," De Klerk said. However MPs would not boycott the committees. He called on the ANC leadership "to do something". Mechanisms had to be worked out to anticipate "stresses and strains" because they would flare up again.

An angry NP MP accused Mandela of

1918/194  
reneging on an agreement that the chairmanships would be shared proportionally. Mandela had undertaken not to use the huge ANC majority to squeeze out other parties. "Suddenly he has difficulty getting his proposals through his caucus. He seems powerless to do anything about it."

ANC National Assembly chief whip Arnold Stofile said Mandela had "not found fault" with the caucus decision to deal with the election of chairmen on merit. The ANC was not prepared to extend the unity government concept to the standing committees. Such a step would penalise the smaller parties, he said. The issue would

□ To Page 2

## Rumbles

Biday

1918/194

□ From Page 1

have to be resolved by the party leaders.

The ANC list gives the NP deputy chairmanship of the public accounts committee, and chairmanship of the committees on internal arrangements, discipline, pensions and private members' Bills.

The Inkatha Freedom Party gets the chairmanship of the public enterprise committee. The catering chairmanship goes to either Inkatha or the African Chris-

tian Democratic Party.

The PAC gets transport, the Freedom Front defence (but the ANC retains the joint steering committee on defence), and the DP public accounts and the library.

The ANC takes the chairmanship of 23 of the 27 Cabinet-linked committees.

De Klerk said the NP wanted standing committees to be chaired by MPs from a different party to that of the Minister



# PAC trying to turn Apla dissidents

(11A)  
CF 20/8/94

THE PAC is trying to bring a group of dissident Apla members — who it says may have been involved in the recent attack on Delft police station — in from the cold

Brigadier Mpazamo Yonana, former head of ideological training and culture in recently-disbanded Apla, said at a press conference in Mitchells Plain last night he was negotiating with the dissidents

He said one type of Apla dissident was "genuinely opposed" to the present political dispensation and another type had "joined hands with the criminal element"

Both types would be seeking arms, which may have been the reason for the Delft attack, but he slammed earlier reports quoting him as saying dissidents were definitely responsible

Brig Yonana said he intended to pro-

pose that the PAC launch a fund to support the families of policemen killed in recent attacks

Mitchells Plain chairman Mr Peter Roman said the PAC felt the police "are not being supported by even the government"

A moment of silence was observed at the conference for the slain policemen, and both Mr Roman and Brig Yonana expressed sympathy for their families

# PAC slams police killings

Star 2018/9/4

**KAIZER NYATSUMBA**

Political Correspondent

THE Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) has strongly condemned the recent spate of police killings — which it ascribed to elements bent on “undermining the democratic process” — and has called for an end to the continuing attacks on SAPS members.

Addressing a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, PAC deputy president Johnson Mlambo denied any knowledge of a group calling itself “People’s Concern”, which has claimed responsibility for some attacks on police officers.

He dismissed the shadowy group’s claim to be a PAC structure as an attempt by the killers “to create an element of credibility for their criminal activities”.

Mlambo said while the old SAP was widely regarded as “an agency enforcing legislations adopted by an unrepresentative minority”, the new SAPS — to whose transforma-

tion the PAC was “fully committed” — was “an essential component for maintaining peace and a crime-free South Africa.”

“The PAC condemns the attacks on the SAPS and considers them a deliberate attempt to undermine the democratic process.”

“The PAC is calling for the immediate removal of rogue elements within the police force and a change of public attitude towards the transformed SAPS.”

(IIA)

## Defend gains

“There is, therefore, an urgent need for a concerted campaign to build mutual trust and confidence between the public and the SAPS.”

“Continued attacks on the reformed SAPS members, from whatever quarters, must immediately stop.”

“The PAC will exert all efforts to put an end to police killings,” Mlambo said in a statement.

Responding to questions, he said the PAC leadership was doing everything possible to ensure that Apla cadres were integrated into the South African National Defence Force and the SAPS “in order to defend the gains of the liberation struggle”.

He conceded, however, that those PAC/Apla members who were opposed to the organisation’s participation in the April election might be armed.

He said the PAC’s investigations had shown that those PAC members who launched an attack in Durban on January 16 — the day the organisation announced a suspension of its armed struggle — had been led by an askari who was in the service of the SAP.

“That askari had ‘sacrificed genuine PAC members’.”

“We are on the lookout for these types of things, and are doing our best to ensure that all our people take the cue from the leadership,” Mlambo said.

# Red lights flashing — De Klerk

ESTHER WAUGH  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

CAPE TOWN — The National Party yesterday stood firm on its rejection of an ANC offer of chairmanships of minor parliamentary committees saying the ball was now in the ANC's court.

The row erupted on Thursday — the day marking the first 100 days in office for the Government of National Unity — with NP leader and Deputy President F. W. de Klerk warning that his party would not be pushed around.

The ANC offered the deputy chairmanship of the public accounts standing committee as well as the internal arrangement, discipline, pensions and private members bills committees.

The Inkatha Freedom Party was offered the chairmanship of the public enterprises committee, the PAC the transport committee and the Democratic Party the public accounts committee.

In a step that angered the NP, the Freedom Front was offered the chairmanship of the defence committee.

But De Klerk indicated yesterday that the row was not over. "It will no doubt come up again from time to time, but unfortunately it is going to lead to some more acrimony. It remains a situation which is totally unsatisfactory."

"I expect the ANC leadership at various levels to look at the situation and ensure that what is happening in Parliament won't impact negatively on the so necessary co-operation in the Government of National Unity," De Klerk said yesterday.

He told a press conference this week: "The red lights are flashing. If elements in the ANC caucus achieve so much power that they don't follow their leadership then I think it holds serious consequences for the GNU."



He revealed that his party caucus had considered the possibility of withdrawing from the GNU as a result of the offer, but on his recommendation decided to continue playing a role in the Government.

**DE KLERK Warns on NP pullout** Top NP sources said yesterday that ANC and NP negotiators had

agreed — before the finalisation of the Interim Constitution in November last year — that the chairmanships of these standing committees would be shared out proportionally to the number of votes each party got in the April election.

Negotiations around these chairmanships began when Parliament convened in May.

One source insisted that initially the ANC had applied the principle of extending the Government of National Unity to the legislature with the appointment of Koble Coetsee as President of the Senate.

He argued that other examples of this were the appointment of Leon Wessels as the deputy chairman of the Constitutional Assembly and Dr Bhadra Ranchod as the Deputy Speaker of the National Assembly.

## Hypocrisy

In a stinging attack on the NP, acting Democratic Party leader Tony Leon yesterday accused the NP of "hypocrisy" over its "peevishness and petulance" for not securing the chairmanship of any committee.

He noted that the NP never awarded any chairmanships to other parties when it was in power.

"What is more revealing about the National Party's attitude is that it is only when an issue of jobs and remuneration arises do they declare a serious dispute with the ANC. It is extraordinary that in 100 days of the new government they should choose an issue of remuneration, rather than principle, to jeopardise the Government of National Unity," he said.

# Three leading ANC men gunning for Boesak's job

SI Times [C/Metro]

By NAZEEM HOWA

ANC regional leader Al-  
lan Boesak is expected to  
be challenged by at least  
three senior figures  
when the organisation

elects a new executive at  
its regional conference  
early next month.

Among those under-  
stood to be in the running  
for the party's chairman-  
ship are Senator Bulelani  
Ngcuka, Mr Tony Yen-  
geni and Mr Salie Manie.  
Both Mr Manie and Mr  
Yengeni are MPs in the  
national parliament.

It is reliably under-  
stood that approaches  
were also made to Justice  
Minister Dullah Omar  
and national executive  
member Cheryl Carolus  
to consider running for  
the post. Both, however,

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have opted to stay out of  
the leadership stakes.

Dr Boesak's chances of  
being re-elected are be-  
coming increasingly re-  
mote as ANC strategists  
are looking for a dynamic  
leader who can attract  
substantial numbers of  
coloured working-class  
votes in the local govern-  
ment elections planned  
for early next year.

Counting against Dr  
Boesak is the extremely  
poor support the organi-  
sation enjoyed among  
coloured voters during  
the April election.

The entire leadership  
question has sparked off  
heated debate within the  
organisation.

(11A)

W Cape <sup>19</sup>

## ANC plans its future <sup>22/8/94</sup>

Political Staff

**THE ANC in the Western Cape will hold its regional conference at the Peninsula Technikon on September 10 and 11.**

ANC spokesman Senator Bulelani Ngcuka said the conference was important to the ANC as it was the first major gathering of the party in the region since the election.

"It is at this conference the ANC in the Western Cape will consolidate itself and shape a path for the next five years."

Mr Ngcuka said a new regional executive committee would be elected.

Among the issues to be discussed will be the building and restructuring of the party, the RDP and local government

# From trade unionist to ANC 'surgeon'

**Anton Harber** talks to Cyril Ramaphosa, the man in charge of rebuilding the ANC

**T**HERE are not many people who could reduce their workforce by 300 people and say it had "worked out marvellously" Certainly not former trade unionists

But then there are not many people who would turn down a cabinet post, opting instead to rebuild a political party with severe morale problems, huge debt, overstaffing and looming local government elections

Cyril Ramaphosa did

The ANC secretary general is now confident that he is building a lean and mean party structure that will give the ANC the edge in next year's local government elections "Reorganisation (of the ANC) is a very difficult task, a daunting one which at some stage I thought would be very traumatic — not only for the people working here but for myself as a trade unionist "In the end, it has worked out marvellously," he said in an interview this week

He had anticipated having to give marching orders to up to 300 loyal cadres who had worked under difficult conditions for poor pay, largely out of dedication to the organisation, and who had missed out on the rush for cushy government jobs It was widely reported that there was dissatisfaction among the cadres, and a good deal of bitterness at being left off the government gravy train

In the end, Ramaphosa has had to retrench fewer than 100 people, of whom only about 15 did not volunteer for it.

He was fortunate: the vast bulk of the 300 went into the country's 10 legislatures or the civil service, notably the security and intelligence forces Another 80 found jobs elsewhere and took voluntary retrenchment. Thus left just a handful of people who, Ramaphosa adds, are "fairly young and still hungry for training"

Ramaphosa has done major surgery on the ANC About 450 jobs have been reduced to 120 The offices that sprawled across 20 floors of headquarters in Shell House, will now fit into just three, allowing the rest to be rented out. Twelve departments become a streamlined six.

He did it by implosion. Every single job was advertised and every single employee who

applied was interviewed afresh Some were headhunted So Joe Shabangu, for example, was brought back from parliament to head the organising department. And a finance department head is still being sought.

**W**hen the president (Mandela) said the other day that the organisation is in tatters he was focusing on the brain drain we have suffered We used to have fairly senior figures heading certain departments and divisions and we no longer have these people We believe we now have a core of people who, out of sheer commitment, want to remain in the organisation and make sure it is strong," he said

"The whole process has been a renewal"

And he's just beginning Cleaning up headquarters is due for completion by the end of September. Then he starts on the regions: cutting back from the ANC's current 14 regions into



Cyril Ramaphosa . Believes the difficult task of reorganising the ANC has 'worked out marvellously'

PHOTO LUANNE CADD

nine, to match the new provinces These will be trimmed so that they can be entirely funded by levies on the salaries of parliamentarians

This part of the reorganisation is to be completed by the end of October, when each region will have held a congress to elect new regional leadership

Then Ramaphosa will put in place a new sub-region and branch structure, by the end of December For example, kwaZulu/Natal, currently three ANC regions, will become one province with up to 12 sub-regions, further divided into branches

Spot the hidden agenda? For one thing, the troublesome Harry Gwala will either have to win election for the whole province of kwaZulu/Natal, an unlikely event, or he will be reduced to just one of 12 sub-regional leaders

Part of the process is to tie each MP to a sub-region They will then be answerable to that structure, creating a rough parliamentary constituency system

Reorganisation of this kind does not come without a cost — especially when you are able to boast about retrenchment deals. "The package has been excellent: four months ex gratia payment and two weeks for every year of service, as well as a bonus that people will have received. Quite a number of people went away

with half-a-year's salary. This was good, but it has not been financially painless for us It has increased our indebtedness, but we thought that was a price we had to pay."

Ramaphosa won't answer questions about the size of the ANC's post-election debt, rumoured to be as much as R35-million He will only say that he is confident that the ANC will be able — through levies on MPs' salaries and other contributions — to cover future running costs of its slimmed-down structures.

The process will be completed well in time to fight the local government elections which, coming about a year into the new order, will provide the first major test of the ANC government's credibility It is likely to provide a key indicator of the public perception of whether the ANC is delivering on its reconstruction and development promises.

The previous campaign leaders are unavailable: Popo Molefe and Terror

Lekota are premiers and Khetso Gordhan is in the civil service This time the man in charge is Shabangu, one of the guerrillas who blew up Sasol in 1980

"He's very disciplined, has an organised way of doing things He's a military man — and that's about what we need," Ramaphosa said He will probably have, once again, the backing of advertising agency Hunt Lascaris and American master pollster Stanley Greenberg

**A**t the moment, Ramaphosa says, 5 000 cadres are being trained for local government election organising, and another 10 000 will be trained during the build-up Efforts will focus on the two provinces where the ANC was beaten, the Western Cape and kwaZulu/Natal

There will have to be another complicated selection process for candidates — but the ANC's lesson in the national election was that this process is a critical part of the early campaigning

Party organisation is in Ramaphosa's hands, but implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme is not — and that is prob-

ably what will decide the elections "People are going to be tempted to judge the ANC by what it has achieved at a national level, and that is why we obviously are going to want to ensure there is implementation of the RDP"

There are two departments especially geared to do this: the ANC's own RDP department, and another dedicated to co-ordination among the 10 legislatures

And if you think that all of this does not give Ramaphosa enough work, he presides over the constituent assembly that has two years in which to draft a new constitution and which keeps him fitting between Johannesburg and Cape Town. Every one of his suppers last week was eaten in an airplane "It takes its toll," he said

But ask him about his opponents and he's off, quick as a flash, to score political points against the National Party Is he concerned about NP leader FW de Klerk's warning that "red lights are flashing" in the government of national unity? "I think the GNU is working quite well De Klerk has not acclimatised himself to being number three in the government."

Is there truth in the allegation that the ANC caucus is unruly? "De Klerk is used to a caucus that operates on the basis of some form of autocracy Our caucus is based on democratic principles where we are able to persuade one another and the majority view prevails

"Obviously there are contradictions and there are bound to be tensions that need to be properly managed But I think a healthy relationship is developing (between the caucus and ANC leadership)"

**R**amaphosa points a finger at De Klerk's own caucus "When we started off there wasn't total rejection of the notion of giving the NP certain positions, such as the presidency of the Senate and the deputy chairperson of the constitutional assembly That was done in the spirit of national unity

"But that is being chipped away now, it is being eroded by the statements of some Nat MPs There is a growing feeling in the ANC caucus that, if the NP wants to play this role of an opposition, then we don't need to be that accommodating"

**‘I think the GNU is working quite well. De Klerk has not acclimatised himself to being number three in the government’**

# Who's the boss, asks W Cape ANC

By Quentin Wilson

JUST who will lead the beleaguered ANC in the Western Cape after its disappointing election showing is proving to be a giant headache for the organisation

While internal elections for a new

Western Cape chairperson and a regional executive committee were scheduled for this weekend, a lack of preparation has forced a postponement to September 10

And according to sources inside ANC leadership circles, the search for an heir to Dr Allan Boesak's position of chairperson, is reaching crisis proportions (11A)

"There isn't anybody of the same calibre to take over. People insist that Allan (Boesak) should not continue because of the election results and his leadership style, but no-one comes up with any reasonable alternative to him," one source said

It is reliably understood that Boesak himself does not want to focus his energies on building the ANC outside of parliament. He has often said he has too much on his plate as minister of economic affairs in the Western Cape parliament to handle duties outside his ministry as well

One suggestion mooted is to follow the NP's path of having a figurehead party boss, while leaving the day-to-day work to others. The question still remains though, as to

who will take responsibility for rebuilding the necessary ANC machinery to contest local government elections next year

Like Boesak, too many Cape ANC leaders have been sucked into top government positions to take on the role effectively

While government ministers Mr Dullah Omar and Mr Trevor Manuel have their hands full with cabinet work, another popular leader, Ms Cheryl Carolus, co-ordinates the Reconstruction and Development Programme outside parliament

"To be honest there is nobody," another source said, "While it would have been nice to have someone like Ebrahim (Rasool), it is unlikely because he is tied up as provincial minister of health. Chris (Nissen) would have also been a good choice, but now he is the deputy speaker of the provincial legislature"

A strong feeling in the ANC is that those elected to the provincial legislature should not be given any further duties. It is felt that the few ANC members there will have to do all they can to watch their numerically stronger NP counterparts

The juiciest option punted so far, in many people's minds, is to rob the national assembly of capable leaders. While parliament brims over with ANC MPs, a few Capetownians there have been fancied for the ANC provincial hotseat

The names include Mr Jonathan Arendse, Cosatu's former general secretary in the Western Cape and Mr Sahe Manne, who headed the South African Municipal Workers' Union and was instrumental in local government restructuring

## South Newspaper

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Political comment and newsbills R Rohan SOUTH is published by SOUTH Press Services (Pty) Ltd (Reg No 86/05157/07) and printed by Nasionale Media Bpk, PO Box 692, Cape Town, 8000 Copyright on material rests with SOUTH

# PAC suspends five regional leaders

Star 2/18/94  
TEFO MOTHIBELI

FIVE members of the national executive committee (NEC) of the Pan Africanist Congress have been suspended pending the outcome of an internal disciplinary hearing, PAC director for publicity and information Siphwe Sithole revealed yesterday.

The five are southern Transkei chairman Mbandazayo Mahlubi; Western Cape chairman Theo Mabuselal; southern Orange Free State regional chairman Thomas Dikotsi, and Mpolose Mangqangwana and Victor Zamela, who are both NEC members without portfolios. Sithole said they were suspended for "undermining decisions taken collectively by the leadership".

She said details of circumstances surrounding their suspension would be made available to the press soon.

Meanwhile, a source close to the PAC told the WeekendStar that the five were opposed to participation in the April election and were suspended for "plotting the poor showing of the PAC in the election".

The group is also said to be part of those calling for the dethroning of PAC leader Clarence Makwetu.

(11A)



# New Govt is a sham — BCMA

■ **FIGHT ON** <sup>Sowetan 29/8/94</sup> Government 'still entrenches

white supremacy' — Mosibudi Mangena:

**By Montsho Matlala**

IT WOULD be foolish to expect the Government to deliver meaningfully to the masses, Black Consciousness Movement of Azania national chairman Mr Mosibudi Mangena said last week

Addressing a rally at the University of Venda in Thohoyandou, Mangena said the Government was the result of sham negotiations resulting from meetings spearheaded by, among others, former South African Military Intelligence

"De Klerk only stopped for a moment to take aboard some sections of the liberation movement, leaving the hungry, homeless and landless temporarily stranded," Mangena said

Without mentioning the ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe and the PAC's Azanian People's Liberation Army by name, Mangena — who is also the commander-in-chief of the Azanian National Liberation Army — said "The demobilisation of these liberation armies implies that the white settler colonial minority is being given

the monopoly for force and violence in Azania".

He condemned the Government's suggestions to sell State land to blacks saying this would complicate procedures for victims of forced removals to return to their land (11A)

"No claims can be made for the land stolen before 1913. For a people who have been victims of a rigorous land robbery exercise and brutal forced removals for a period of nearly four centuries, the attempts are too feeble to make any sense

"This would mean that the policy of deliberate black impoverishment will not be reversed," the BCMA leader argued. Mangena said the present political set-up was still legitimising and entrenching white supremacy as it has very little relationship with the liberation of blacks

"It therefore rests upon us to organise and struggle for the birth of the Azania of our dreams. Failure to do so sees us several decades down the road, having settled for less than 13 percent of our land, control of less than 2 percent of our economy — with millions or more homeless or living in shacks"

# focus on CIVICS

Sowetan 11/9/94

CIVIC associations and local government authorities used to be as different as chalk and cheese. Now that those who fought side-by-side with the civics are in power, harmony is still elusive, it seems.

It is somewhat unclear what role the civics will play once the new local authorities are established.

The civics, which have been at the forefront of the fight for freedom, are struggling to find a place in the transitional local councils.

Will the civics dwindle to "no more than resident associations", as Mr Ivor Jenkins predicts? As a director of the Transvaal office of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa, Jenkins says the role of the civics has been "extremely weakened".

In fact, many of the former civic leaders have decided to embark on political careers with the ANC. In the new arena of legitimate local government the civics are being led by completely inexperienced people, and they will be "outsmarted by politicians", says Jenkins.

Mr Shaun MacKay of the SA Institute of Race Relations is less pessimistic about the future of civics. "They are ideally positioned to be a strong voice of their communities."

MacKay believes a change of approach and emphasis will strengthen the civics.

"The civics will have to perform a developmental, rather than political, role," says MacKay.

Civics should not only act as watchdogs from the outside but should continue to be "part of the process of transforming society". They are also ideally placed to take the Reconstruction and Development Programme to the streets.

SA National Civics Organisation president Lechesa Tsenoli maintains that grassroots activism is still strong.

## People-driven

The word people-driven crops up every time the need to involve the community in developmental issues is raised. But are people still interested in active participation now that the struggle against apartheid seems to be over? Tsenoli is more than convinced that they are.

"In the Midlands, for example, residents are still forming new civics," he says.

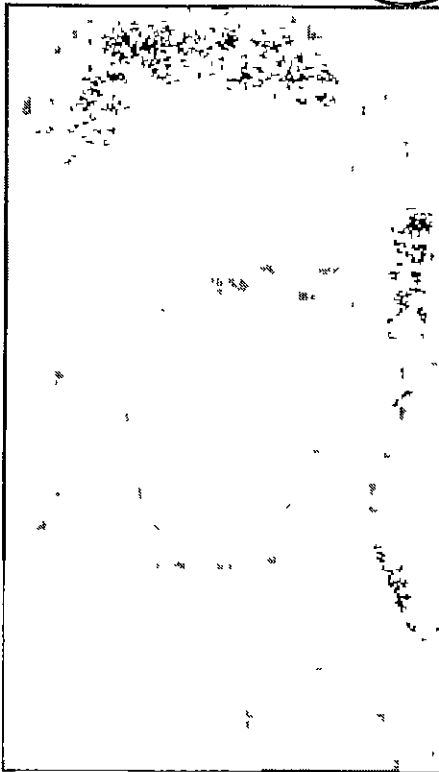
Mr Harry Mashabela, senior researcher at the SA Institute of Race Relations, is hopeful that the people at local level are still interested in politics. "The large majority are the underprivileged. They simply cannot afford not to become involved."

Tsenoli adds that "people will realise that things don't happen just because the government says they will". Many communities are already involved in the RDP's planning and development forums.

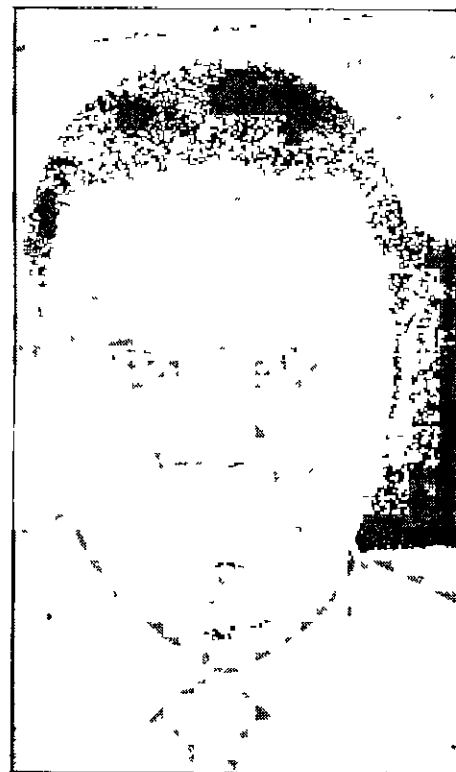
The establishment of the transitional councils, however, is presenting problems.

"Tensions do exist on the ground," admits Mr Obed Bapela, deputy secretary of the ANC

The demise of apartheid has created an existential problem for civic organisations. Visiting German journalist **Oliver Jarasch** examines how the civics are trying to position themselves for the future:



Harry Mashabela



Obed Bapela

in the PWV area. "In spite of the tensions, though, we (ANC) have to strengthen our alliance with the civics." Tsenoli also stresses their close relationship with the ANC. "Tensions are healthy for democracy," he says.

The fundamental problem, though, remains. How are the civics and the ANC going to come to terms with the new situation? Will civics get directly involved in local government bodies? For the ANC there are no doubts. Says Bapela, "Civics were not formed to be in government."

At the same time, the civics will be charged with "identifying people who will be put on the ANC list" for the forthcoming local government elections. Tsenoli, however, supports the concept of co-operation without getting directly involved.

MacKay goes even further. "The civics have to become independent of political forces, otherwise they will get emasculated."

Foreign donors seem to have adopted that view. The European Union, for example, has announced that now that apartheid is dead and buried, it will give money to community organisations involved only in developmental projects.

With that shift, people are already asking if the civics are indeed representative. Previously, their legitimacy was taken for granted.

"Even at the Independent Local Government Negotiation Forum nobody tested the civics' constituency. We accepted it," says Mr Willem van der Merwe of the Department of Constitutional Development.

That will have to change, MacKay stresses. "The membership has to become quantifiable, and the election of the leadership has to be democratic."

Nevertheless, he believes civics still have a role to play at local level. Open forums where residents are invited not only to listen but also to push forward their arguments will be a good way of showing "the transparency the ANC is eager to point out".

To "create lasting solutions", as Tsenoli puts it, sophisticated mechanisms of involving people are essential. Tsenoli is hopeful that South Africa will learn the lessons of revolutions in all parts of the world. "We can rely on our collective culture to avoid the mistakes of a top-heavy government."

**A**fter four months in office, the ANC has begun to look at challenges ahead, writes Political Correspondent Kaizer Nyatsumba

# ANC takes long look at itself in the mirror

Star 29/9/94

**F**or more than 80 years the ANC waged a long and sometimes bloody war against white minority rule in South Africa.

Now comfortably ensconced in Government, the ANC finds that it has yet another battle to fight, this time against a less identifiable but nevertheless far more potent adversary.

The new challenges are listed in a 37-page discussion document presented to the ANC's national executive committee early this week, and which is in the possession of The Star. It was written by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, the ANC national chairman.

The document, "From Resistance to Reconstruction, task of the ANC in the new epoch of democratic transformation," is the first known attempt within the ANC to look at the organisation's strengths and weaknesses since the election.

It also shows a growing concern — bordering on paranoia — about differences inside the ANC itself, and between it and its allies in the "mass democratic movement" — Cosatu, the SA Communist Party and civic organisations.

Although the document, marked "unmandated reflections", will now be discussed by the ANC's regions and branches before the organisation's national congress in Bloemfontein in December, sources said it had received a fairly warm reception in the NEC.

The document says the ANC emerged from the election "as the party of the African masses, (which is) consistent with the historic objective of the democratic revolution of securing the emancipation of the most oppressed and exploited section of our population."

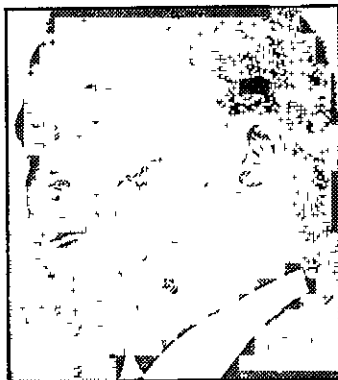
According to the document, the next test of the ANC's strength will be next year's local elections. "Obtaining a decisive victory in the forthcoming local government elections is one of the most important and urgent tasks facing the movement."

To achieve this, says the document, four things will have to be done. Firstly, the ANC will have to hold on to its "proven African support" by delivering real change to the masses and maintaining intra-organisational unity.

"This approach ensures that we move away from the danger-

ous concept that the movement has split into various factions — the extra-parliamentary, the parliamentary and the executive — and ensures that all members of the organisation act together in pursuit of common goals, regardless of where they are deployed," says the document.

Secondly, the ANC will have "to win back the traditional ANC constituency that we lost to the IFP." To this end, action will have to be taken to end violence in KwaZulu/Natal and on the East Rand.



Thabo Mbeki . . . the author of "From Resistance to Reconstruction".

The Zulu royal house and traditional leaders in the province will have to be "persuaded that they should not be involved in supporting any of the parties and organisations that will participate in the local government elections."

"It is imperative that we deal firmly and decisively with violence originating from within our own ranks, whether directed against competing political parties or other members and supporters of the movement."

Thirdly, work would have to be done to counter National Party propaganda aimed at coloureds and Indians, and to actively woo these minority groups.

Says the document "Common sense should tell us that one of the principal issues of the next five years will be the national question, in whatever way it expresses itself. This will put great pressure on the democratic movement to address the interests of all national and ethnic groups in a manner that uplifts the most disadvantaged, the Africans, while not being seen as threatening by the rest of the population."

Finally, the organisation will seek to "retain and increase our support among the coloured, Indian and white middle strata" by involving these groups in the planning and implementation of programmes for reconstruction and development at local and national levels.

It is when the document turns to possible actions the opposition might take to discredit both the ANC and the Government of National Unity that paranoia becomes over-arching. It is feared that the opposition — which includes other political parties, "liberal establishments", the press and "counter-revolutionary forces" — would intensify its efforts to discredit the ANC.

The opposition, says the document, will take advantage of "the 'critical posture' of the white-owned and controlled mass media to broadcast its message far and wide."

"It is necessary to bear in mind that this media is itself driven by fear of a truly non-racial order, because of its concern to preserve its own racial status core with regard to various matters, including ownership, editorial control and policy and staffing," said the document.

The document also anticipates the power struggle that will intensify in the run-up to the December congress as elections for the NEC loom, and says the opposition will set up ANC leaders against one another "on the basis that they represent different tendencies".

It warns that the SACP, Cosatu and ANC parliamentarians, could be "used", "encouraged" and "incited" to project themselves as watchdogs of the ANC in Government.

To counter this perceived threat, it would be necessary to foster unity among ANC leaders and within the organisation generally, to deliver change and to be wary of the "dangerous drift towards 'federalism'".

The document strongly urges that the Government and relevant ANC structures must take measures to ensure that structures originally established for counter-revolutionary purposes are dismantled.

But the document adds a caveat: "The movement must also get ready to deal with the challenge of the exposure of some of its members as having been informers and agents of the apartheid secret service."

# 100 years of solidarity. Now it's time to die

WJM 2-8/9/94  
(114)

Stalwarts of the Natal Indian Congress, which is celebrating its centenary, say it has served its purpose and should be disbanded.  
**Farouk Chothia reports**

**W**HAT was billed as a glorious celebration to mark the Natal Indian Congress' 100th anniversary turned into an occasion where stalwarts of the Mahatma Gandhi-founded organisation wrote its obituary.

The NIC kicked off its celebration a fortnight ago with a march from Durban's Mercury Lane — where Gandhi established his legal practice a century ago — to a hall in Lorne Street named after the Indian pacifist. But the march was a damp squib as a small band of between 100 and 150 activists took part, even NIC president George Sewpersadh left before a citation to honour his contribution to the liberation struggle could be awarded to him.

And to embarrass the organisers even further, NIC stalwart Kesavelo Goonam, the only South African to be stripped of her citizenship under apartheid rule, called for the NIC to disband at the celebration rally. She also decided this week to return her citation to the NIC leadership. "The NIC did a lot of wonderful work since it was founded 100 years ago," she said, "but now is the time to go. People just no longer have any faith in the organisation."

Goonam's call has received wide-

spread support: veteran NIC activist Jaydev Singh, who served a lengthy banning spell under the Suppression of Communism Act, former NIC vice-president M.J. Naidoo, who was part of the 1984 British Consulate sit-in in Durban, and National Association of Democratic Lawyers (Nadel) secretary Krish Govender expressed similar views.

"If the pathetically low turnout is not a pointer to close shop, then I don't know what is," said Naidoo. "Instead of hanging on with no real reason and no real support, we should say 'Thank you for the services rendered. You are not needed any longer.'"

Revived in 1971 as the only legal organisation upholding the Freedom Charter at a time when black consciousness was emerging as a powerful force, the NIC championed opposition against the South African Indian Council (SAIC) in 1978 and the tricameral elections in 1984 with remarkable success.

But the NIC's credibility had reached a low ebb by 1987, when Naidoo led a walkout of activists, charging that a "cabal" had wrested control of the organisation and operated in an undemocratic fashion.

**N**IC leaders continued controlling the United Democratic Front (UDF), became senior figures in the ANC/SACP's Operation Vula underground network, organised a trip for Indian community leaders to meet the exiled ANC leadership in Lusaka in 1988 and the following year, were in the forefront of the Defence Campaign under the banner of the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM). Foreign funding, important for

the survival of the anti-apartheid movement, was also under their control.

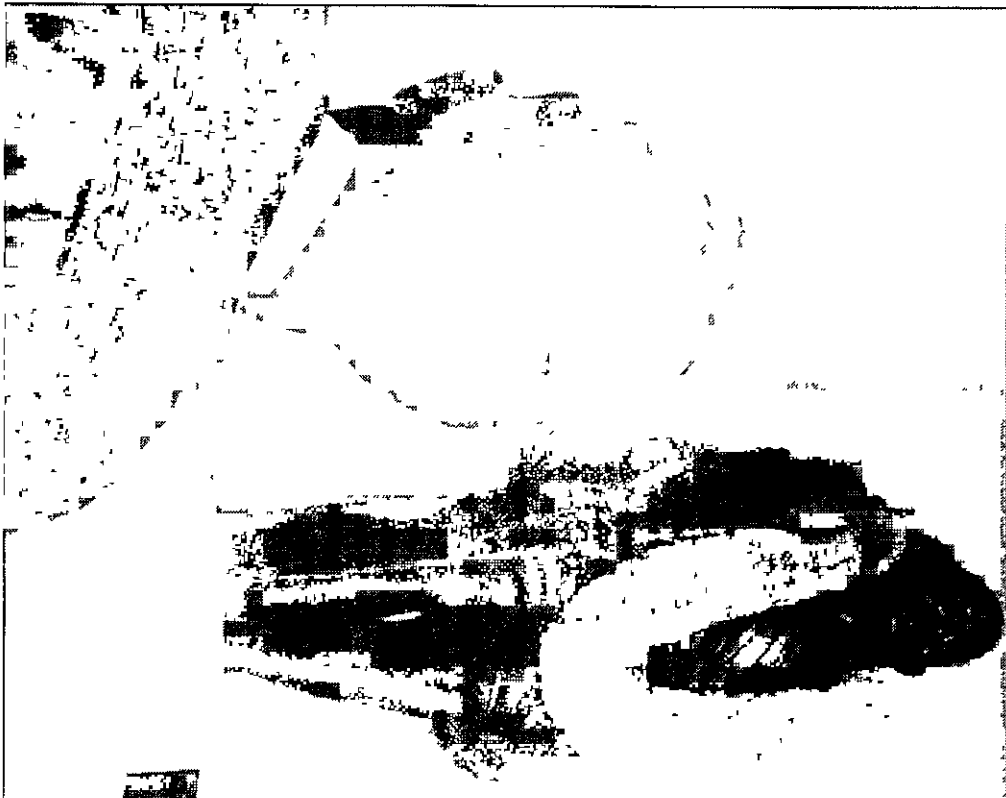
The ANC's unbanning in 1990 saw widespread resentment being expressed towards the "cabal" in KwaZulu/Natal from previously sidelined internal activists and imprisoned and exiled leaders from across the racial spectrum.

**M**any prominent NIC leaders — including Prawn Gordhan and Farouk Meer — failed to be elected to positions in ANC structures in southern Natal, including Indian-dominated branches. In talks with the ANC, the NIC leadership insisted that it was the ideal vehicle to recruit membership for the ANC in Indian areas. Thus offer was firmly rejected.

And when the NIC executive failed to call internal elections, citing more pressing commitments at hand — its current executive was controversially elected in 1987 — the perception grew that it wanted to cling on to power.

But dehard NIC activists still refuse to throw in the towel — including George Naicker, Abdul Randeree and NIC secretary Meer. Meer says his personal view is that the NIC "definitely" has a role to play, but it needs to rejuvenate itself after the "fullest possible consultation and participation of the community".

Meer believes the NIC has a crucial role to play because the National Party has succeeded in winning over many Indians and making them fearful of the ANC. "The Indian community is also concerned about the effects of affirmative action in education and the workplace," he adds. "There has been a legacy of apartheid and it is not



Lost faith ... NIC president George Sewpersadh with a garlanded statue of Mahatma Gandhi, founder of the organisation  
PHOTO: THE LEADER

unnatural for a community to have minority fears. Rather than having these fears channelled in the wrong direction, let's have it channelled into a progressive organisation."

Meer says the fact that the "thoroughly discredited" Amichand Rajbansis Minority Front secured 48 000 votes in the April elections points to the need for the NIC's continued existence.

But Goonam counters that despite its long existence, the NIC had "failed

miserably to win Indian support for the ANC in the April election", while Naidoo says there is a "reasonable possibility" that the NIC would have fared worse than the Minority Front if it had contested the elections under its own banner.

Naidoo argues that the NIC needs to disband on principle: it existed to fill a vacuum left by the ANC's banning and its activists now need to work "frankly" through the ANC to woo Indian support.

Radical socialist predicts workers will desert the ANC before next election

# The struggle goes on

DAVID BREIER

Weekend Argus Political Staff

LEADING African National Congress members of the new government have retreated from their socialist ideals, says veteran Cape Town radical leader Neville Alexander.

Dr Alexander vows to continue backing radical worker strikes against capitalism, accusing the government of working hand in glove with capitalists

The political ruling class has changed but not the economic ruling class, he maintains. And he confidently predicts a mass break-away from the ANC alliance is inevitable as workers realise the ANC no longer represents their interests. Workers will form a new party to fight the ANC in the next general elections due in 1999, he says

■ A new mass workers' party will break away to fight the next general election as the new ANC/SACP-led government has retreated from its socialist ideals, says Cape radical left leader Neville Alexander.

Dr Alexander said this in an interview following a report in Weekend Argus last Sunday alleging "militant, ultra-left Trotskyites" were behind the trucker strike that blocked major highways late last month. Trotskyites in essence believe in continuing revolution against capitalism.

The report cited members of the Workers' Last Party (WLP) of which Dr Alexander is deputy chairman, as being behind the blockade. The WLP fared very poorly in the April election and won no seats.

Dr Alexander denounced the report as "red-baiting" and "crass sensationalism of the worst kind". But he confirmed that WLP

members were involved in most recent strikes, including the truck blockade and the motor industry strike.

"We supported it but did not inspire it," he said of the truck blockade.

Dr Alexander denied he was a "Trotskyite", saying he abhorred labels. He confirmed that some WLP members shared the ideas followed by Leon Trotsky, but he said the WLP was an "amalgam" of different strands.

He would continue opposing capitalism "as long as there is private ownership of the means of production — as long as the potential for exploitation exists".

ARG 3/9/94

11A

Dr Alexander said the WLP was a revolutionary party, but this did not mean it stood for the immediate overthrow of the State.

He said it did not necessarily mean taking up arms, "although it might end up like that". The WLP mobilised, lobbied and supported industrial action, but this did not mean using illegal means.

Dr Alexander was highly critical of leading ANC politicians such as Minister of Trade and Industry Trevor Manuel, for retreating from socialist aspects of the ANC's Freedom Charter which provided for nationalisation of mines, banks and "monopoly industry". "We say the key industries must be nationalised," he said.

"The WLP will support any reforms or progressive measures taken by the government which are in the interests of the working class. But we will fight any measures which attack the working class," Dr Alexander said.



□ STRIKERS' FRIEND Veteran Cape socialist Neville Alexander backs ongoing worker action against capitalist bosses in spite of the fall of apartheid. Picture OBED ZILWA, Weekend Argus

# Moment of truth for Azapo and Black

By KHANGALE MAKHADO

**T**HE Azanian People's Organisation last week postponed its national congress by a month - a postponement not likely to give the socialist movement enough time to answer the intractable question of its future in the mainstream of South African politics.

The congress was expected to chart out the road ahead for Azapo and its sister organisation, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA).

on the crucial question of continuing with the liberation struggle or becoming part of the Government of National Unity. President Nelson Mandela has reiterated his willingness to have small parties forming part of the GNU.

There has been speculation in recent months that Azapo would abandon its long-held stance of non-collaboration politics. At its July council meeting, the organisation was reported to have toyed with the idea of taking part in the municipal elections expected early next year. This was given added impetus

**THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) and its sister organisation, the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) will be taking decisions in**

**October on the vital question of a merger between them and will discuss whether to take part in mainstream politics.**

last week when BCMA chairman Mosibudi Mangena said such participation would "bring the movement nearer to the people who are being ignored by the government they voted into power."

While there seems to be a groundswell of support for participation, observers believe that if this issue is not handled carefully, it could create a lot of divisions within the organisation.

And division at this stage is the last thing both Azapo and the BCMA can afford. Some hardliners in the movement have often argued that those who wanted to join the process (meaning the GNU) should simply quit Azapo or the BCMA and join the "grave train without dragging the entire movement with them".

Should Azapo take part in municipal elections, this, according to analysts, would be one step short of joining the GNU. To many observers it would not make sense for them to take part in municipal elections while claiming they will not collaborate with the national government.

Recent countrywide labour strikes have strengthened their hand. They interpret these as a sign of workers' disaffection with the GNU.

Mangena could not resist declaring that "Nothing has changed. FW de Klerk's gray train just stopped at a station while extra passengers boarded leaving millions of homeless and landless people behind."

The October congress must also finalise the issue of a merger between the two organisations. On the surface there do not appear to be any problems, but in-

siders claim that personality differences could cause friction.

Both organisations have very strong and consistent leadership. But Mangena seems to have a slight edge over Gumeleng Mosala, a likeable theologian who is not regarded as radical enough.

Observers tip the former exile leadership group to win most seats or positions in October.

The October congress will be a "life or death" moment for Azapo and the BCMA. Will they rise to the new political dynamics of a changed SA or will they go the way of dinosaurs?

IP 2022 11/9/94

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# Ngcuka bows out

Political Correspondent

SENATOR Bulelani Ngcuka has pulled out of the race for Western Cape leader of the ANC

Mr Ngcuka, chairman of the ANC caucus in the Senate and regional ANC spokesman, said at the weekend he had been urged by a variety of groups in the region to make himself available for the leadership position at the ANC's upcoming region-

al congress

However, he said pressure of work in Parliament ruled out any chance of his standing for the position

ANC insiders say the incumbent, Dr Allan Boesak, is unlikely to make himself available for re-election, leaving the leadership position wide open. One of the names cropping up in ANC circles for Western Cape leader is former trade unionist Mr

Salie Mame (11A) CT 5/8/94

# Mpetha left forsaken

Sowetan 5/9/94  
By Sowetan Correspondent

(11A)

FOR the past nine months, the ailing veteran ANC activist Oscar Mpetha was left stranded and sometimes without food after his R4 038 monthly stipends from the movement were abruptly cut

Unknown to the 85-year-old man and his family, this hardship happened after a "certain" prominent regional official instructed the national office to deposit Mpetha's monthly stipend into a "new" account as from last October.

A source in the ANC head office claimed that the official - now an MP - did not give reasons as this appeared to be "normal practice".

Mpetha's only source of help was R1 500 a month from a firm of attorneys

whose senior partner is Bulelam Ngcuka, a chief whip in the Senate

Ngcuka's firm, which used to receive Mpetha's stipend from the ANC, continued to pay the his expenses, even though the movement had stopped its payments

## Something was amiss

But last month Mpetha's son, Themba, suspected something was amiss after he saw a letter from the ANC, stating that his father stipends had been increased to R4 038

It also stated that Mpetha's stipend had been increased by 15 percent backdated for six months

ANC's finance head, Mr Themba Luxomo, said he only became aware of the issue after the "Press contacted" him. He said the ANC would take steps to refund Mpetha



ARC 6/9/94  
**Manie poised  
to take over as  
Cape ANC chief**

Political Correspondent (11A)

TRADE unionist and national assembly member Salie Manie is the front-runner to take over as leader of the African National Congress in the Western Cape.

Mr Manie, who led the South African Municipal Workers' Union through a string of tussles with Cape councils, has a strong grounding in local government, including involvement in drafting transition legislation.

All other candidates have withdrawn

The main task of the new regional leader, to be elected this weekend, will be to lead the party in next year's municipal elections.

Disenchantment with current leadership is rooted in the party's disappointing performance in the Western Cape provincial election.

Mr Manie has declined to comment on his candidacy.

# Strict conduct code for ANC

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

ANC public representatives will face instant dismissal unless they sign a new code of conduct which sets down strict rules for party discipline and outlaws any form of "sexual favours", improper enrichment or corruption

The code of conduct, recently adopted by the ANC's national working committee, will apply to all ANC members of the National Assembly, Senate and provincial legislatures

The final paragraph of the document, dealing with "implementation and monitoring" of the code, states "Any member of the assemblies shall forfeit his or her place on the ANC list or the senate if he or she fails to sign this code of conduct within one

## Officers obliged to sign

month of its promulgation or refuses to disclose his or her (financial) interests or gifts within one month of being requested by the secretary-general of the ANC

"Government office or parliamentary posts shall not be used to distribute favours or patronage, nor to seek or obtain any personal fortune or favour"

The document adds that in order to facilitate clean government all members of the assem-

(11A) CT 9/9/94  
blies shall declare their assets to the organisation (but not the public)

"In particular, they shall disclose all consultancies, shareholdings and directorships, or any forms of pecuniary benefit received by them or their family from an external source"

ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa will establish a register of financial interests which shall be accessible to members of the NEC

Public representatives violating the ANC's constitution or policies or deemed to have engaged in "conduct unbecoming" will be "subject to recall" from national or regional legislatures

The code also specifies that no elected member shall use his or her position "to court or demand, or be seen to be courting or demanding, any form of favours, especially sexual favours"

# Cape ANC searches for winning leader

VUYO BAVUMA  
Political Staff

Regional conference will set out to reassure voters

AKR9/9/94

THE embattled regional ANC begins its search this weekend for a leader strong enough to take on the National Party in next year's local government elections — and win.

Holding its regional conference for the first time since losing against the National Party in the April general election, the party desperately wants to reassure its supporters that the notion that the Western Cape is NP territory is exaggerated, if not misplaced.

And if it wins the all-important municipal elections in the region, the ANC hopes not only to diminish the NP powerbase, but also prove its non-racial policies are still music to Western Cape people's ears.

But even the most optimistic ANC member knows this will not be easy, especially since the regional party, by its own admission, is still shell-shocked and disorganised after the election loss.

It has to implement its favourite slogan "power to the people" against the trying background of hunting for a leader when the sources it would normally have drawn on are in either the national or regional parliament.

Many of these key leaders are kept busy by their new parliamentary responsibilities and sometimes miss important meetings.

Consequently an unhealthy gap has been growing between the grassroots and the leadership, most of whom have acquired slick material posses-

sions in line with their well-paid "Comrade MP" jobs.

In a bid to tackle the problem, the regional executive committee transferred the powers of running the day-to-day affairs of the party to a body representing a network of ANC branches.

During the ANC's post-election blues, premier candidate and regional chairman Allan Boesak has been blamed for the defeat.

Though Dr Boesak denied this, the need for a leader to successfully sell ANC policies has become urgent. But there is no obvious leader to steer the regional party's ship out of the stormy waters.

Various names are being mentioned — former unionist Salie Manie, deputy speaker of the provincial parliament Chris

Nissen, former general secretary Tony Yengeim — but none has confirmed he is standing.

Another suggestion is to elect a prominent activist, possibly from the work-loaded body of MPs or MPPs, to act as figurehead with a deputy chairman doing the day-to-day donkey work.

Advocates of this strategy believe this could reverse the shortcomings that contributed to the April defeat.

To many observers, the ANC lost the election race at the start by failing to sell the cornerstone of its policies — non-racialism — to the ordinary person in the Cape Flats' dusty streets.

The reconstruction and development programme was vigorously propagated as the key to future happiness, had

noble goals, but the person in the street in Mitchell's Plain and Hanover Park was more interested in whether his house and job would be safe under an African-dominated government.

Another shortcoming was that the ANC's foot-soldiers, who gave wildly optimistic predictions of their gains, concentrated on traditional territories instead of cultivating support in new areas.

The "we-have-already-won-the-West-Coast" notion also cost the ANC dear as little campaigning was carried out in the area.

In contrast, the National Party with its slick election machine, smoothly brought home its racist-tinged message to the Cape Flats.

In spite of its apartheid baggage that conured bad memories of the past for many people, the NP, though it did not match its rival in quality issues, came up trumps to win the majority of hearts and minds of the people.

Even now, unlike the ANC, the NP appears to have a clean bill of health — and waits patiently for the municipal elections. And should the NP decide to concentrate its efforts in its "Nats-friendly" territory, this would certainly spell doom for the ANC.

The new leadership and an SOS strategy that will be formulated this weekend at the congress at the Peninsula Technikon in Bellville is crucial to ensure the ANC's rhetoric is translated into victory — "not-we-nearly-made-it-losers" in next year's municipal elections.

# ANC code will bind MPs to strict party discipline

ARL 9/9/94

**CLIVE SAWYER**  
Political Correspondent

(11A)

A DRAFT code of conduct for national and provincial African National Congress MPs binds parliamentarians to strict party discipline

Apart from corruption, disobedience to national executive decisions is among offences which will make members liable to instant expulsion from parliament

The draft code also makes it clear that decisions of the ANC's highest bodies, the national conference and NEC, take precedence over party structures in parliament and government.

"Without prejudice to the right of free speech, no elected member shall attempt to make use of parliamentary structures to undermine or-

ganisational decisions or policies"

MPs who fail to sign the code within a month from its promulgation, or refuse to disclose financial interests or gifts, will be expelled from parliament

Clean government clauses are equally strict

Government offices or parliamentary posts will not be used to distribute favours or patronage or to seek any personal fortune or favour

"Any form of proven corruption shall be a legitimate ground for instant dismissal from government or parliament, without prejudice to any subsequent internal disciplinary action in the organisation"

All members of national and provincial parliaments

must declare their assets and describe all other positions for which they are paid in organisations, companies or boards.

"In particular, they shall disclose all consultancies, shareholdings and directorships or any form of money benefit got by them or their family."

Cabinet ministers and premiers will not be allowed any active roles in profit-making bodies.

"They shall surrender directorships and their shares shall be held in blind trusts."

The ANC secretary-general will keep a register of financial interests, to which all NEC members will have access

Every gift valued at more than R200 will be registered

The ANC national working committee will have to be asked for consent for an MP to become a paid lobbyist or consultant to an outside body.

The code also puts demands on MPs' time

"All elected members shall be available for parliamentary, or governmental or organisational work and activity"

Members of assemblies will not be allowed any other full-time job which makes "disproportionate demands" on their time

A clause binds members to being available for constituency work.

Members will be subject to recall from assemblies for "conduct unbecoming" a member or elected representative of the ANC.

# PAC steps up amnesty push

■ PENDING TRIALS <sup>Sowetan 9/9/94</sup> Memo sent to Justice

Minister with list of imprisoned cadres: (11A)

By Josias Charle

**T**HE Pan Africanist Congress has stepped up the campaign for the release of its 42 members

The PAC has sent a memorandum to Justice Minister Mr Dullah Omar calling for the immediate and unconditional release of the prisoners as well as a halt to all pending prosecutions against the organisation's cadres and members

"The PAC holds the view that there are two categories of people who seek indemnity or amnesty. There is the category of those who were directing their efforts towards dislodging the racist minority and undemocratic regime.

"On the other hand there is the category of those who were fighting for the protection and

retention of the *status quo*," the PAC said in the memorandum

There was a dividing line between the two categories. "The first one was obviously in pursuit of a noble goal, which was the liberation of the oppressed masses. The same cannot be said of the other category."

PAC secretary for legal affairs Dr Wilhe Seriti confirmed the memorandum had been sent to Omar and said they were awaiting a reply.

He said the prisoners included Gabriel Mahakoe, of the Free State, who was sentenced to death for murder last year.

Others included eight cadres found guilty of the St James Church attack two years ago. Two others are serving jail terms in Harare. They are Ramudi Maphai (18 years for drug trafficking) and Job Mofokeng (18 years for killing a taxi driver).

**CURRENT AFFAIRS**

**PARTY CAUCUSES**

**A question of style**

There is serious concern in the National Party that the growing influence of the ANC's 312-member parliamentary caucus will undermine the effectiveness of the government of national unity. But ANC MPs dismiss the criticism, saying it reflects a total misunderstanding of how the party's caucus operates.

Nat MPs believe the fear of negative caucus reaction is delaying important policy decisions by ANC Ministers. They claim that SA Communist Party members in the caucus — believed to number about 50 — are particularly active in trying to influence GNU policy. A senior Nat MP says it is clear that the caucus sees the NP as "enemy number one" rather than a partner in government. He says this was illustrated last month, when the caucus rejected President Nelson Mandela's appeal to share proportionally the chairmanship of 25 portfolio committees.

After the row, some Nats said the rejection of Mandela's lead could result in a lame-duck President unable to make decisions without caucus backing.

But an ANC MP, who also served in the previous parliament, says it's simply a

Fw 21/9/94

question of different styles. The rejection by a Nat caucus of a lead by the party leader would amount to a vote of no confidence. The MP claims the ANC's open style allows for debate and acceptance of democratic decisions without undermining the stature of the group or person whose proposal is defeated — even if it is the President. ~~(Sethu)~~ (WJ)

He denies that the caucus is unduly influencing government policy or threatening the stability of the GNU. He points out that the ANC's domination of the Cabinet means legislation and policy decisions will inevitably be acceptable in principle to the caucus.

If changes are deemed necessary, they can be debated in the portfolio committees which are open to the media and the public, and are representative of other parties in parliament. The MP accepts that there are groupings within the caucus that represent the coalition partners, but argues that their different points of view and criticism of one another result in healthy debate rather than unstable division.

The ANC's style of caucusing is certainly new to parliament. Even the DP adopts the traditional highly confidential approach to caucus meetings. But the ANC, while restricting attendance to MPs and senators, has a regular press briefing after its weekly caucus meetings at which details of key

decisions are usually released. All very nice, but the style may change if Cabinet Ministers find that proposals based on long preparation and specialist technical advice are repeatedly blocked by a relatively ignorant caucus.

There comes a point when leaders must stop consulting and start leading. ■

# Nissen is ANC W Cape leader

By BARRY STREEK

THE Western Cape ANC yesterday elected the Rev Chris Nissen as provincial leader

The move was seen as a unifying bid and an attempt to boost ANC popularity among coloured voters

Yesterday Western Cape ANC members rallied round Mr Nissen, who they hope will help the ANC win next year's local government elections

Mr Nissen scored a decisive victory over two MPs — former ANC regional secretary Mr Tony Yengeni and former trade unionist Mr Salie Manie — to take over from Dr Allan Boesak

Mr Nissen received 182 votes, Mr Yengeni 120 and Mr Manie 88

Mr Nissen is a Xhosa-speaking Lutheran priest with strong rural ties and a long anti-apartheid record, including numerous spells in detention

There were no clear ideological lines in yesterday's election contest. Five people stood for the top position, seven for the deputy chairpersonship and 179 for the regional executive

Mr Nissen preached in his parish church as usual yesterday before attending the ANC regional conference in Bellville

He had said on Saturday he had not decided to stand for election, but pressure from ANC branches and individuals persuaded him to change his mind

"A lot of pressure was put on

# CT 12/9/94 (11A) me," he said yesterday

Dr Boesak, who is the Western Cape Minister of Economic Affairs, did not stand for the leadership position, citing the demands of his new ministerial position

Ms Phumsile Ngcuka, the chairperson of the National Assembly's select committee on public service and administration, was elected deputy chairperson of the Western Cape ANC

Ms Ngcuka, the secretary of the ANC women's caucus in parliament, is married to the ANC's chief whip in the senate, Senator Bulelani Ngcuka

The new regional executive committed itself to fighting racism and building up a party machine to fight next year's local government elections

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RALDRU LIBRARY

# Steve

# Biko

Sowetan

12/19/94

# saluted

■ **POWER SHARING** Mabasa hits out at

ANC for 'failing to deliver on promises': (11A)

**By Mokgadi Pela**

**B**LACKS HAD TO TAKE CONTROL of their land and economy to gain true freedom, Azapo leader Mr Lybon Mabasa said in Bekkersdal yesterday.

Addressing a rally to mark the 17th anniversary of Steve Biko's death in detention, Mabasa said "We need land to improve the quality of life of our people. We do not need land to build shacks.

"We also reject the concept of black economic empowerment. Unlike our black brothers and sisters in the United States who needed to be affirmed, in this country we should take control of our economy."

Mabasa blasted the concept of powersharing, saying "If you do that, you end up legalising white plunder of our land and economy. We must take over the whole land, including Sandton." He said the African National Congress was not able to deliver its election promises to the masses.

"That's the problem of inheriting a system instead of dismantling it," Mabasa said.

He said Biko was the greatest "visionary" this

country had ever produced. "When he wrote about fear being the main determinant in South African politics, he was only 22 years old. It's therefore unfair to compare him with lesser mortals, some of whom are in Parliament today.

"Biko belonged to a class of his own. He was in the same league as Amilcar Cabral of Guinea and Latin American revolutionary Che Guevara," he said.

In an apparent reference to the Reconstruction and Development Programme, Mabasa said: "Biko did not talk about development without helping to bring it about. He built schools and clinics along with his comrades through."

He said the greatest gift Biko had bequeathed to the black nation was mental liberation. "He made black people deal with their inferiority complex and challenged the arrogance of white people. He made us proud of ourselves," Mabasa said.

At the same service, Azapo deputy national organiser Mr Monwabisi Duna called on the Government to re-open the Biko inquest and declare September 12 a paid public holiday.

"If those who are in Parliament forget the sacrifices of people like Biko, we are duty-bound to remind them," he said.



# ANC plans to chase votes in Western Cape's rural areas

CLIVE SAWYER  
Political Correspondent

ARL 14/9/94 (11A)

RURAL areas will be a key focus of the African National Congress local government election campaign in the Western Cape

Provincial agriculture minister Lampie Fick is to be asked to speed arrangements for political parties to be given access to farm workers.

Newly-elected regional ANC leader Chris Nissen said the training of organisers for the election would begin at the end of this month.

Mr Nissen said preparation for local government elections had been an important theme at the weekend's regional party conference.

He rejected the notion that his election had been a ploy to capture the "coloured" vote in the Western Cape

He said the ANC did not elect people on the basis of race.

"My election is because of my organisational involvement and not because I can deliver the coloured vote," he said.

He noted that many "coloured" people had said after the April election

that they had been fooled into voting for the National Party.

He expected workers, including members of the Cosatu-affiliated South African Municipal Workers' Union, to back the ANC.

Regional executive member Cameron Dugmore said a special party conference would be held to debate proposals for the internal boundaries of future metropolitan government

There was concern about the neutrality of the present chairman of the demarcation board, Fanie Cloete, Mr Dugmore said.

Other issues at the weekend regional conference included setting up "Reconstruction and Development Programme Councils" to co-ordinate RDP efforts at all levels.

● A report tabled at the conference cleared the names of ANC figures involved in a fishing industry scheme.

Those involved had not misappropriated the name or party funds of the ANC in their business dealings

The regional conference also backed calls for a commission to review salaries of office bearers.

# focus on Steve Biko

Sowetan 14/9/94

**A**N ENDURING image of Steve Biko in the minds of some black people is that of a fallen hero beaten to a pulp by white oppressors enslaved by their own racial bigotry

Biko is also remembered by many as an apostle of hope, and a man whose philosophy has the power to liberate blacks psychologically and whites from prejudice and fear

Black Consciousness adherents throughout the country still get their inspiration from the ideas espoused by Biko

But there is another view of Biko that is bound to make many feel uncomfortable

Family Institute director Dr Saths Cooper has some interesting things to say about Biko

He says Biko was endowed with "enormous energy" to execute his political work and enjoy life "He had the ability to be serious, and also find time to have fun"

Cooper says as a medical student at the University of Natal, he knew Biko to have enjoyed "a hectic sex life" with women of all colours

"That caused him a few problems with some of his mates within the South African Students Organisation" said Cooper

He said few people within Saso were able to reconcile his sex exploits with his political work

Biko was also an enthusiastic rugby player He featured in a medical school team that often played against a white side on campus

"Still, people could just not reconcile this with his political life," Cooper said

Besides being political, Biko lived an ordinary life Yet because of his high commitment to the black cause, people expected him to behave like an angel

Once when Saso had its congress at Natal University in 1991, students objected to the presence of members of the National Union of South African Students

Cooper recalled that Biko told his comrades to behave, and refused to have anything to do with that kind of "immaturity"

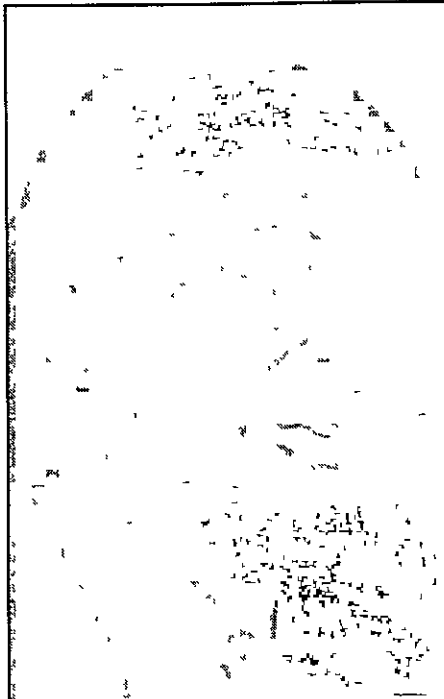
While it should be accepted that Biko shaped the thinking and philosophy of BC, and vigorously opposed bantustans and the puppets who ran them, he saw no contradiction in talking to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

"He would engage Buthelezi intellectually on the deficiency of bantustans, but would never attack the man personally" On whether he thought Biko would encourage Azapo to participate in the Government of National Unity, Cooper said it was difficult to say However, he said there were people within Azapo who felt the organisation would be better off participating within the Government's structures

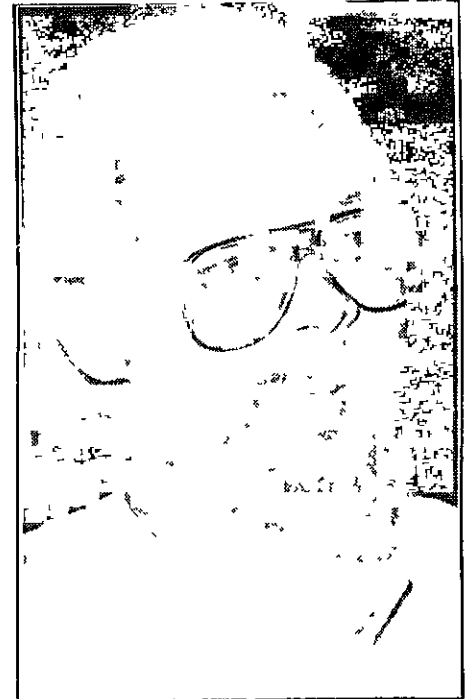
"Those people have a right to speak their views They should fear to be drowned out by those who oppose the idea," he said

He said with the bungling of the Government, especially the disturbing issue of the "grave train", Azapo was best positioned to exploit the situation "But they need to do it within Government structures Azapo needs to appeal to peo-

Dr Saths Cooper says Steve Biko was eminently practical and not a prisoner of his views. He told Political Reporter **Joe Mdhlela** that Biko could well have joined the Government:



Saths Cooper



Itumeleng Mosala

ple, speak cogently on issues There is an opportunity to mobilise," he said

Despite the power and influence Biko wielded within the BC movement, he was subject to normal human constraints

It all started in 1968 when he helped form Saso, and then popularise the well-known slogan "Black man, you are on your own"

Black organisations across the spectrum caught onto the idea and spread it throughout the country The BC movement began a campaign to popularise black names, discouraging blacks from giving their children so-called "Christian names" Black self-help projects began to mushroom all over the place Black consciousness was spread like wild fire

Today, the world celebrates the life of a man who started it all, Stephen Bantu Biko

It is also true that the BC movement is going through difficult times, having lost some of its appeal to the more aggressive people-centred Charterist movement Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala is already talking about Azapo's possible participation in local government elections next year

"It is at this level where our people are, and we need to be there for them," argues Mosala

Mosala's talk about participating in elections next year coincides with Cooper's thinking

Cooper suggests that Azapo can only become effective if they are to serve as an opposition within the present structures

He argues it could be helpful to play this role in conjunction the Pan Africanist Congress, which fared poorly in the April 27 election

"In a way, I think Azapo acted wisely by not taking part in the election as they did not have to endure the humiliation PAC suffered"

Biko Memorial Trust publicity secretary Oupa Ngwenya said "Biko's words continue to inspire black people to walk with pride"

BC diehards like to think of the Government of National Unity as weak and pandering to the whims of big business, and not the black electorate who elected it into power

Cooper said attacking the Government from the sidelines would not be helpful He challenged them to fight within government structures, inadequate as they were

Exactly how Biko could have reacted to the situation today is difficult to say

But Cooper seems to be suggest that Biko was a practical man who could have acted in a manner that would best serve his people

# PAC hardens its attitude to joining the team

□ 'Maybe Mandela is growing old'

Political Staff

PAN Africanist Congress opposition to the African National Congress-dominated government of national unity is beginning to harden.

PAC leader Clarence Makwetu said last night that "maybe" President Mandela was growing old and could not understand the PAC's position on joining the GNU.

Pan Africanist Congress MP Khali- phile Sizani said the PAC would oppose the Constitution Fourth Amend- ment Bill tomorrow.

This bill allows Mr Mandela to ap- point banker Chris Liebenberg as the new minister of finance to replace Derek Keys and for the National Par- ty to be given an additional cabinet position.

The PAC said it was opposed to this because there was no certainty who would be politically accountable for Mr Liebenberg's work.

Mr Mandela appealed at the week- end to the PAC to join the govern- ment.

In response Mr Makwetu said. "Maybe he is growing old. Immediate- ly after he became president we met in Johannesburg, where he put for- ward this suggestion."

He said the PAC had turned down the idea in no uncertain terms then because it was opposed to an enforced

coalition. It was not the duty of the constitution to tell the winning party with whom to work.

"We were surprised on Saturday when he told the world that he has ap- pealed to the PAC several times on this issue, whereas we were under the impression he understood our posi- tion. We fail to understand really why he should insist on this," said Mr Mak- wetu.

Mr Sizani said the PAC would op- pose the Liebenberg amendment, add- ing that governments stood or fell on their economic records. Managing the economy was a political issue but now the GNU was seeking to make an apolitical appointment.

Socio-economic needs of people had been one of the main inputs in the movement's struggle.

"Neither the ANC nor the NP — nor Inkatha Freedom Party — can pro- duce within parliament a finance min- ister to manage the economy and be accountable for whatever mess they are going to make with the economy. Who is going to be accountable to the electorate?"

The PAC was also opposed to the extra costs this would involve for tax- payers, Mr Sizani said.

There was "no willingness on the part of the GNU, especially the ANC component," to exercise its authority over the economy to allow disadvan- taged people into the economy.

11/14 14/9/94 ARC



Some of the cleaners who took part in a demonstration in protest against poor wages.

# PAC opposition to GNU is hardening

Sowetan 15/9/94

**NOT ACCOUNTABLE** Party

**Sowetan Correspondent**

against appointment of Liebenberg:

**P**AN AFRICANIST CONGRESS opposition to the African National Congress-dominated Government of National Unity is beginning to harden

PAC leader Clarence Makwetu said on Tuesday night "maybe" President Nelson Mandela was growing old and could not understand the PAC's position on joining the GNU

PAC MP Mr Khaliphile Sizani also announced that the PAC would oppose the Constitution Fourth Amendment Bill tomorrow

This Bill allows Mandela to appoint banker Mr Chris Liebenberg as the new Minister of Finance to replace Mr Derek Keys and for the National Party to be given an additional Cabinet Minister's position

The PAC is opposed to this because there is no certainty about who would be politically accountable for Liebenberg's work. Mandela appealed at the weekend

to the PAC to join the GNU. In response Makwetu said "Maybe he is growing old. Immediately after he became President we met in Johannesburg where he put forward this suggestion" (119)

The PAC turned down the idea because it was opposed to enforced coalition. It was not the duty of the constitution to tell the winning party who to work with

"We were surprised on Saturday when he told the world that he had appealed to the PAC several times. We were under the impression that he understood our position. We fail to understand why he should insist on this," Makwetu said

Sizani said the PAC would oppose the Liebenberg amendment. Governments stood or fell on their economic records. Managing the economy was a

political issue but the GNU was seeking to make an apolitical appointment

Socio-economic needs of people had been one of the main inputs in their struggle

"They are saying not the ANC, NP or Inkatha Freedom Party can produce within Parliament a Finance Minister to manage the economy and be accountable for whatever mess they are going to make with the economy. Who is going to be accountable to the electorate?"

The PAC was also opposed to the extra costs this would carry for taxpayers, Sizani said

There was "no willingness on the part of the GNU, especially the ANC component", to exercise its authority over the economy to allow disadvantaged people into the economy, Sizani said

# ANC to write report cards on its MPs

(11A) ARG 16/9/94

□ War declared on NP in region

**CLIVE SAWYER**  
Political Correspondent

BRANCHES of the African National Congress in the Western Cape are to compile regular "report cards" on their national and provincial MPs.

And the regional ANC has vowed to turn up the heat on National Party MPs in the region

A resolution calling for "performance assessment" of parliamentarians, proposed by the Claremont branch, was adopted unanimously at the party's regional congress.

The assessments would be the basis of "objective measurement of MPs and MPPs' accountability," the resolution said

The ANC is in the process of appointing elected representatives to geographical "constituencies"

The cabinet approved constituency allowances this week for parties represented in the national assembly and senate

Each party will be paid R3 000 for each MP

The regional conference said procedures to ensure accountability should be worked out between the parliamentary caucus and ANC regions and branches

Meanwhile, evidence has

emerged of harsh criticism by ANC branches of inadequate preparations for local government elections.

The party, which elected Chris Nissen as its new provincial leader last weekend, has given official notice that it will be no mere passenger in an NP-driven province.

A resolution to launch political attacks on NP MPs, with a possible return to protest politics, has been made as awareness grows that parties must within months return to the hustings to contest local elections

The NP majority in the region allowed it to maintain as much of the old order as possible, a regional conference resolution said.

"The NP has been using parliament to their advantage and to the detriment of the ANC," it added

"While they pay lip service to the reconstruction and development programme, it is not their intention to make fundamental changes in the province"

But ANC popularity still made it a power to be reckoned with. The party had alliances in all spheres of society

It would be able to link the politics of protest to reconstruction to improve socio-economic conditions

# Azapo might contest local elections

By Waghied Misbach

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) will participate in local government elections next year if the process delivers "genuine democracy to the people".

In addition, plans to merge Azapo and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) are already at an advanced stage. BCMA members, said Azapo

leader Professor Inimeleng Mosala this week, will now be known as Azapo members.

The BCMA was formed in 1980 at a conference in London by Azapo members who had fled South Africa after the 1976 uprisings.

The organisation was used to organise the Azanian National Liberation Army (Azania) from outside the country. It was Azapo "strategy" to carry

out armed raids into South Africa using the BCMA as a cover.

"We could then say it was the BCMA, not Azapo, that was conducting the armed struggle," said Mosala.

Mosala said there would no longer be an armed struggle, and all opposition would be carried out on the political terrain.

Azapo was already involved in various local government forums

and was "likely" to contest the elections next year.

A "firm decision" will be taken at Azapo's congress in Johannesburg on October 7, Mosala said (11A)

He also did not rule out Azapo forming an alliance with the ANC and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) to contest the elections.

Azapo had considered this political alliance before the April elections.

# ANC MPs

## agree to sign code

(11A)

CT 16/9/94

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
Political Correspondent

**THE ANC's 312-member caucus yesterday endorsed a strict code of conduct which forces MPs and senators to disclose sources of income to the party and outlaws public representatives using their position to gain "sexual favours"**

ANC chief whip the Rev Arnold Stofile said that members of the caucus had agreed to sign the code after a lengthy discussion but certain parts of the code required "further refinement"

These included issues dealing with confidentiality, appeal mechanisms and the code's administration.

Mr Stofile described the code as "a sensitive matter" that was "a totally new thing for most of us"

The ANC's chief whip in the Senate, Mr Bulelani Ngcuka, said there was "basic agreement" on the code and that almost half of the caucus had signed

Failure to sign may result in immediate expulsion from the ANC.

Mr Stofile said a "small committee" would soon be appointed to look into the issue of the removal of apartheid symbols from Parliament

He said that some members of the ANC caucus wanted to see the immediate removal of some of the offending symbols but it was decided the matter should be investigated before any steps were taken

# Mandela firm on firearms

**ESTHER WAUGH**

Weekend Argus Political Staff

ALL Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) arms stored outside South Africa must be handed to the governments of the host countries, President Nelson Mandela has ordered

Defence Minister Joe Modise said yesterday a list of all MK's arms stored inside South Africa was given to the SA National Defence Force's logistics staff division on July 20.

Replying to a question by Inkatha Freedom Party senator Phillip Powell, the minister said the weapons included pistols, AK-47 rifles, small-arms ammunition, limpet mines and a variety of explosives

Mr Modise said all MK's weapons had not been accounted for, but the collection would take place in three phases

During the first phase, MK weapons stored in bulk in the PWV and Western Cape were collected on July 26, August 4 and August 6.

These weapons were being stored in SANDF depots, he said

Underground arms caches were being checked and their lifting would start within the next few weeks.

Weapons in the possession of individuals would be collected by SANDF officers on a regional basis or be handed in at special assembly points, said Mr Modise

■ **CHRIS WHITFIELD** reports that the state ombudsman has ruled on a two-year dispute between re-

■ The collection of MK arms — some of which have not been accounted for — is a three-phase project, says defence minister Joe Modise.

trenched members of the SA Navy and the state.

He said the state's actions were "not morally defensible"

Mr Justice P J van der Walt called on parliament to review the circumstances in which the April 1990 retrenchments took place and ensure that "improper prejudice" suffered by the individuals was redressed

The ombudsman pointed out in his report tabled in parliament yesterday that the Defence Command Council had confirmed on April 12 1990 that "members due to retire shortly would also receive the full benefit of the new salary and allowances and that their pensions and gratuities would, after their retrenchment, be re-calculated on the new salaries"

The only conclusion to be drawn was that "the state, through the Defence Command Council, unequivocally undertook that members of the navy retrenched on April 30 1990 would share in and benefit from this salary adjustment, even though the salary adjustment only took effect after their retrenchment", said Mr Justice Van der Walt.

111  
ARL 24/9/94



# Race tensions hamstring ANC

By NAZEEM HOWA

RISING racial tensions within the Western Cape region of the African National Congress have left key election strategists extremely concerned about the organisation's prospects in next year's local government elections

Well-placed sources this week warned that unless immediate attempts were made to resolve the tensions within the ANC, irreparable harm could be done to its electoral campaign

"The regional defeat we suffered in April has led to an incorrect assumption that the lack of support from coloured voters was the cause of the ANC losing the election," one source said

"It seems that we still have not come to terms with how to attract voters from the coloured community, which is in the majority in this region," another source said

SITimes [C] Metro

## Battle lines

Ironically, the battle lines are not drawn between coloured and black members of the organisation, but between Africanists and nationalists

The issue dominated the recent regional conference with several national and regional speakers alluding to the need to resolve the tensions (IA)

Newly-elected ANC Western Cape leader Chris Nissen said this week that increasing racial tension was to be expected 2519194

"But what we must not lose sight of is the fact that 500 000 coloured people voted for us in the election," Rev Nissen said

"I'm more than optimistic that we will do better in next year's local government elections

"People have had several months of an ANC-led national government and they have seen that there is no bogeyman who is going to take their houses," Mr Nissen said

The organisation met yesterday to develop an in-depth strategy for the election campaign

According to Mr Nissen, the ANC was being inundated with visits from coloured voters who had supported the NP in April

"There is a strong sense of remorse — almost a confessional — among lots of coloured people about how they voted in the election"

In addition, Mr Nissen said, he expected the large number of coloured voters who stayed away from the polls to support the ANC in the next election "because they see how not voting allowed the National Party to win this region"



Rev Chris Nissen

# PAC men face trial for tavern massacre

1/2/10/94

(11A)

Weekend Argus Reporter

SIX Pan Africanist Congress members suspected of murdering four people during the Heidelberg Tavern attack late last year are to be tried in the Supreme Court on November 14, the Cape Town Magistrate's Court has heard.

PAC regional chairman Theo Thobile Mabusela, 37, of Khayelitsha, PAC regional organiser Nkosinathi Michael Siyolo, 42, of Guguletu, PAC fieldworker Richard Madoda Dala, 46, of Khayelitsha, and PAC members Luyanda Gqumfa, 24, of New Brighton, Zola Mabala, 20, of Mdantsane, and Brian Vuyisile Madasi, 22, of Guguletu, will appear in the Supreme Court on 16 charges relating to the massacre in Station Road, Observatory, on December 30.

According to the Supreme Court indictment they fired on patrons at the Heidelberg Tavern and killed Bernadette Sharon Langford, 22, of Mowbray, Lindsay-Anne Fourie, 23, of Somerset West, Rolande Lucille Palm, 22, of Observatory and the owner of the Machados Tavern adjacent to the Heidelberg Tavern, José Nosolino Rato Machado Cequera.

They also allegedly attempted to kill five other patrons in the tavern by firing at them and threatening to detonate a handgrenade.

On December 17 they allegedly tried to kill a sergeant when they opened fire on the SADF military base in Eisleben Road, Nyanga, and attempted to kill a constable at the Lingelêthu West police station in Makabeni Road, Khayelitsha.

Magistrate W J Faught presided. Chris Cilliers appeared for the State and Patrick Arendse for the accused.

# Buthelezi seeks support in feud

HOME Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Saturday sought populist support for his feud with ANC-aligned elements in the Zulu Royal House, publicly accusing his cousin Prince Israel Mcwayizeni of being manipulated by the ANC.

He also rejected last week's allegations that his interruption of a live television programme last Sunday threatened the freedom of speech and press freedom. The incident had been "turned around by the media to be an issue of interference... a preposterous suggestion."

Addressing the third and final King Shaka Day celebration organised by the KwaZulu-Natal government at Enseleni on Saturday, the Inkatha leader accused Mcwayizeni, an ANC MP, of "behaving like a bull in a china shop" since his reconciliation with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

"He does not have the ability to destroy me or the respect with which I am held by the majority of the Zulu people... the majority of the Zulu people during the April election voted for me. Maybe the prince is unaware of time, just as Rip van Winkle slept throughout a revolution."

In contrast to his speeches at Shaka Day celebrations last weekend — when Buthelezi spoke of "a new spirit of tolerance" emerging between political parties and the king, Buthelezi said the Zulu royal house was in danger of destroying itself.

Mcwayizeni, who served a brief tenure as regent prior to the coronation of Zwelithini, had spent "several years in the wilderness, where he connived against the very institution of monarchy and against the king", he said.

MARK ASHURST

Focusing his criticism on Prince Sifiso Zulu, whose TV interview he disrupted last week, Buthelezi warned that the Royal Council revived by Mcwayizeni had failed in its duty to preserve Zulu unity.

He appealed to those council members who wanted the monarchy to survive "to do something to prevent this".

"To foist a youngster like Sifiso Zulu on us as spokesperson for the king and the royal house is to add insult to injury."

In the wake of the Cabinet motion of "severe censure" for his disruption of the SABC's Durban studio, and his "unconditional apology" last week, Buthelezi repeated his claim that Sifiso had drawn a gun, and went on to launch a stinging attack on the media.

"When you are persona non grata in media circles as I am, the fact that the man was about to make an attempt on my life is of no consequence... I am equated with vermin, and an attempt to kill me is not newsworthy."

"In terms of Zulu culture it is quite extraordinary that a youngster like Mr Sifiso Zulu should not respect age."

Meanwhile, SABC CE Zwelakhe Sisulu denied reports on Friday that he had cleared Zulu of the charge that he produced a gun. "This is absolutely untrue. I did not say anything of the kind."

SAPS spokesman Maj Bala Naidoo said the police investigation into the incident was at a "very, very advanced stage".

No findings from the investigation had yet been made available to the government or the SABC, he said.



Disapproving religious groups heckle me... city's Library Gardens on Saturday to cele...

## PAC leaders told to recruit whites

THE PAC should recruit whites and devise new slogans that recognised that the "new president is not a settler", PAC general secretary Ikhosana X said on Saturday. **3/10/94**

Speaking at the PAC's Western Cape congress in Salt River, he said it was important for PAC branch leaders to clearly understand the organisation wanted to recruit whites.

"We've never had a problem with whites in the struggle, but with those who seek constitutional guarantees against black majority rule."

On winning mass support with appropriate slogans, he said. "We are led by Nelson Mandela, who is not a settler. If the government fails, you cannot sing 'one settler, one bullet'."

The PAC also had to address the "so-called coloured question" in the Western Cape, where coloured voters were considered pivotal in ensuring the NP's provincial election victory.

He proposed the NP be tackled with "cultural work" that countered cultural domination by whites. **(11A)**

Earlier, Western Cape PAC acting chairman Kwedi Mkalipi said the government of national unity was "fumbling" and not delivering its election promises. It was the PAC's task to exploit this situation — Sapa

## Govt proposal for public servants' code

THE Public Servants' Association (PSA) wanted to study government's proposed code of conduct for public servants before commenting on it, the PSA said on Friday.

The Public Service Commission announced on Friday a plan to draw up a code of conduct for public servants and invited proposals from interest groups and individuals.

The code would be aimed at ensuring public servants acted responsibly, rendered proper service and were deserving of the community's trust.

The code provided guidelines to officers and employees on their relationship with the legislature, political office-bearers, the public and other public servants.

THEO RAWANA

"Although a contravention of any of the provisions of the code of conduct or failure to comply therewith could be regarded as misconduct in terms of section 20(t) of the (Public Service) Act, the primary purpose of the code is a positive one, namely, to promote exemplary conduct by all public servants."

PSA spokesman Anton Louwrens said his organisation would look at and study the plan in the Government Gazette before commenting.

"We are sure it is not the intention of government to force anything down public servants' throats," he said.

me is "Power, Land and Freedom"

# PAC wants better deal for Apla

Sowetown

Ukhokhoza

**By Lulama Luti**  
Political Staff

ABOUT 6 000 former members of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, the military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress, are awaiting integration into the country's new defence force.

Voicing its dissatisfaction with the pace at which the integration process is moving, the PAC has called on President Nelson Mandela to issue a proclamation declaring Apla members as belonging to the South African National

## Defence Force

In all, a total of 1 207 Apla members have already been included in the process to bring together non-statutory and statutory forces under the SANDF

## Legal status

"The legal status of Apla members at the moment is that they are not members of SANDF. They've come in through negotiations between Apla, the SANDF and Government said PAC spokeswoman Ms Siphwe Sithole

"This is unacceptable because it disadvan-

tages them in that they do not enjoy the same benefits as their counterparts in Umkhonto we Sizwe

Their service as Apla members is not recognised," she said

She added that a proclamation by Mandela would put Apla members on par with MK members

It would enable them to qualify for pensions, disability grants and be ranked accordingly

Sithole added that the slow pace at which the process was moving placed an added burden on PAC coffers

# PAC splits over whites

C. Reed 9/10/94

AN earnest first attempt at recruiting whites en masse into the Pan Africanist Congress's ranks with an eye on next year's local government elections - has served to reveal a wide gap of opinion and interpretation of the party's policies between the PAC leadership and rank-and-file members.

General secretary J.Khoisan X set the scene for what is expected to be a bruising battle between the two factions over policy matters at the next few months. In his keynote address to the PAC's Western Cape regional congress last weekend, he appealed to delegates to intensify their recruitment drive among coloureds and whites.

But his appeal was afterwards death a debilitating blow by the militant youths, who are said to have been vociferously opposed to the inclusion of "non-Africans" and to have scuppered efforts to elect whites and coloureds to key posts.

Following the fracas that ensued, the election of the new regional executive committee was postponed by 14 days. At the forefront of the resistance to the new drive is believed

**The PAC's Western Cape regional congress has revealed deep-seated differences on party policy. Political correspondent THEMBA KHUMALO reports.**

to be the Pan African Students Organisation (Paso), the PAC's student wing - which was also vehemently opposed to the suspension of the armed struggle by the party's former military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), earlier this year.

During the days of the PAC's armed struggle, police believed that Paso members were actively involved in Apla military operations. Scores of them were rounded up and some were later convicted for acts related to Apla activities.

However, the PAC leadership is still reeling from its poor performance during the April general elections which failed to take the party beyond the required 5 percent threshold to qualify for a cabinet post - is thought to be convinced that the opening of membership to all races is among the tactical strategies needed for performing better in the local government elections to take place next year

Also, the party's support among coloureds - especially in the Western Cape which was considered to be the PAC's second stronghold after Transkei - has left much to be desired. The PAC's exclusionist slogan "one settler, one bullet" left many coloureds confused about their acceptance within PAC ranks.

Political commentators say the PAC leadership may have had good intentions with its new-found policy on open membership, but predict that it may take decades to convince the white electorate to embrace the party unreservedly.

The wave of terror attacks by Apla on white farmers and revelers in hotels and pubs just before the suspension of the armed struggle this year is too fresh in the minds of many whites, observers believe. In the light of the problems experienced last week, it is difficult to say whether the party leadership will press ahead with

its all-races recruitment drive; or whether it will go back to the drawing board to consider more skillful ways of introducing the subject to members.

However, the tone of a subsequent statement issued by PAC regional vice secretary Andiswa Ntsodo suggests that the leadership was hardly shaken by last week's resistance. Instead, it claims the split on the recruitment issue is a figment of the imagination of journalists and external forces.

"This is a very untrue play by the external forces who are trying very hard to manipulate the PAC regional congress elections. The PAC is distancing itself from such a statement and we are dismissing it as a pack of lies and a malicious attempt to tarnish the image of the party," Ntsodo said in his statement.

He went on to say the PAC had no room for anti-white racists "and we are not prepared to keep a baggage of people with low morals. Non-racialism is a principle of the PAC which cannot be compromised. We would rather keep the membership of a few quality people than a big quantity of racist thugs."

abstraction -

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# Era ends as black groups merge

Star 10/10/94

For the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA), the weekend marked the end of an era when it merged with the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo)

ment elections, preceded Azapo's 11th national congress at Nasrec, near Johannesburg

Former BCMA chairman Mosibudi Mangena was elected as Azapo's new president. He replaces Professor Itumeleng Mosala, who earlier described the Government's Reconstruction and Development Programme as "a huge hoax"

The BCMA's dissolution, which was postponed by a month for a commission to make recommendations on the BC groups' position local govern-



: U-N

# ANC alliance backs Nissen

By BARRY STREEK  
 Political Staff

THE ANC-led alliance yesterday endorsed the ANC's Western Cape leader, the Rev Chris Nissen, to succeed Dr Allan Boesak as Minister of Economic Affairs in the province — after Mr Nissen had threatened to resign if not backed.

The ANC/SA Communist Party/Cosatu alliance's decision overturned the candidate sup-

ported by the ANC's provincial caucus, Ms Tasneem Essop, and the candidate supported by the ANC's women's and youth leagues, Ms Lynne Brown.

The move will prevent a leadership crisis for the ANC in the Western Cape — particularly as Mr Nissen only took over from Dr Boesak as provincial leader last month — but the tussle reflects other serious tensions, particularly in its provincial

caucus

Both Ms Essop, the ANC's chief whip, and Ms Brown, its education spokesperson, are members of the caucus, as is Mr Nissen, current Deputy Speaker in the provincial legislature.

Last week the caucus voted to support Ms Essop, who defeated Mr Nissen and Ms Brown, although its decision had to be endorsed by the ANC's provincial executive.

Mr Nissen then wrote a letter to the executive insisting that he take over Dr Boesak's Economic Affairs ministry.

He also said he would find it impossible to fulfil his leadership role unless given the post.

At the alliance meeting yesterday the SACP and Cosatu delegations both supported the ANC provincial executive committee decision to endorse Mr Nissen. (I/A) 2/11/94

## Car kills five at bus stop

**BUSINESS BRIEF**

|                    |          |
|--------------------|----------|
| Gold (Ldn) (close) | \$391,05 |
| Gold (NY) (close)  | \$390,85 |
| Dollar             | CLOSED   |
| JSE Overall Index  | CLOSED   |
| FT 100             | 3032,20  |
| Dow Jones          | 3821,32  |
| Nikkei             | CLOSED   |

PRETORIA — Five people were killed and seven injured yesterday morning when a car ploughed into commuters at a bus stop in So-shanguve, north of here. Police said the car suddenly swerved off the road and into the commuters.

Four men and a woman were killed instantly. The driver, who was allegedly under the influence, was arrested and charged with culpable homicide. The dead and injured were on their way to work — Sapa

## Deal with EU could net huge loans for SA

From LINDA ENSOR

PRETORIA — A landmark co-operation agreement, opening the way for more than R1 billion in potential loans for South Africa, was signed by the government and the European Union (EU) yesterday.

The deal will provide a framework for co-operation programmes and enable the European Investment Bank to extend its lending operations to SA. Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and EU external economic affairs commissioner Sir Leon Brittan signed the pact at the Union Buildings. Mr Mbeki said SA's future depended on good relations with the EU, which

was SA's largest trading partner, absorbing over 40% of exports. Also, the EU programme for reconstruction and development in SA, together with those of its member states, accounted for over half of all foreign aid to SA.

The agreement was only the first step towards a permanent relationship between SA and the EU, Sir Leon said. Negotiations on an agreement between SA and the EU which would cover all areas of co-operation, would start shortly, Mr Mbeki said.

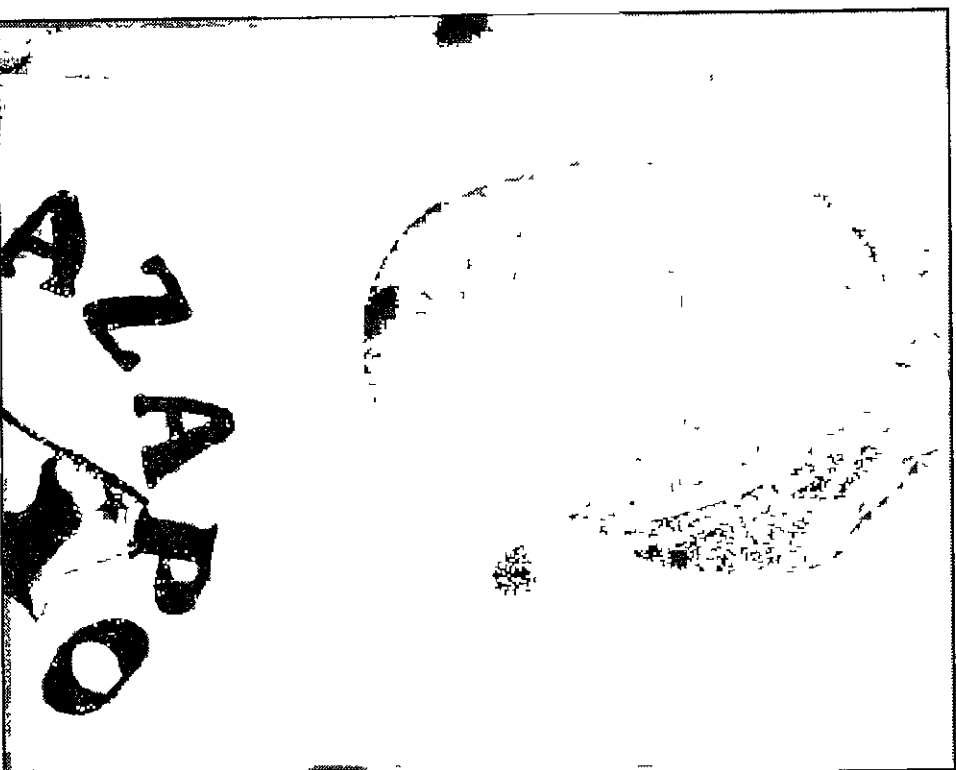
● Urgent EC meeting on SA millions — Page 2



# Azapo stalwart to give women a voice

By Alexandra Zavis

Soweto 7/10 - 11/10/94



**STRUGGLE VETERAN:** Azapo's Mrs Joyce Kalaote, who is in the city to bolster the Women's Forum in Langa

REVITALISING the Langa-based Women's Forum and ensuring that women make their voices heard is the aim of Mrs Joyce Kalaote, a founding member of the Azaman People's Organisation (Azapo)

Mrs Kalaote flew down specially from Johannesburg to promote these goals

"Azapo is a non-sexist organisation, but women have tended to hold back," she said "We need to pull up our socks"

She hopes women will speak up on gender issues at Azapo's national conference later this month

Kalaote became an activist while a student nurse in Port Elizabeth in the 1960s

She was living with her sister, a cousin of Mr Steve Biko, when the South African Students' Organisation (Saso) was formed

She dedicated herself to Saso until it was banned after Biko's death in 1977

Less than six months later she helped found Azapo

She now chairs the Women's Forum, but has paid a heavy price for her activities

"I was detained with my elder sister in August 1978 until June 1979. My home was bombed in 1986 and I lost three members of my family

one after the other," she recalled "My daughter went into exile in 1978 when she was 14 and only returned in 1991" (11A)

But she is proud of her daughter and her other children "It is in the family. All of us go out to contribute to the struggle in different ways," Kalaote said

But the battle is far from over, she believes

"I feel, if this government of national unity could deliver what it has promised, that would be fine

"But the constitution was drawn up with the enemy, and the white oppressor is still in government. It is not going to be good for blacks."

However, Azapo had never been opposed to talks, she stressed

"When talks began Azapo said we could negotiate, but we need a venue outside South Africa, and we need a neutral mediator," she said

These demands were not met

Azapo leaders would talk with the government because they were committed to democracy, but the organisation would only sit round the table when it was confident negotiations would proceed in a democratic way, she said

This did not include "the enemy"

Meanwhile, Azapo would continue to work among grassroots communities and promote education and self-reliance



# ANC quits Cape cabinet

12/10/94

11A

**MICHAEL MORRIS**  
Political Correspondent

PROVINCIAL government in the Western Cape has been plunged into crisis with the ANC pulling out of the cabinet in protest against "unilateral" cabinet and civil service restructuring by the National Party.

The ANC provincial leadership — which warned that the controversy meant all its work with the NP "is hollow and meaningless and takes on a farcical character" — has raised the issue with President Mandela and the party's national leadership.

In what threatens to be a major political row, the ANC's provincial ministers and caucus announced at a Press conference their withdrawal from all cabinet engagements, while the cabinet meeting began without them.

Western Cape premier Hermus Kriel was to put the NP's point of view at a Press conference today.

The ANC said a provincial official, a Mr Myburgh, had "accidentally" disclosed NP plans, at a meeting on Friday, for restructuring the civil service, appointing officials and effectively reshuffling the cabinet.

No ANC ministers had been consulted about this, caucus leader Allan Boesak said.

In a toughly worded statement, he said this was "taking place unilaterally without, or even in spite of, input from ANC provincial ministers".

It made a "mockery" of affirmative action, "frustrated" the RDP, rendered elected representatives "ineffective", and "poisons the emerging co-operative relationship which some of us have been able to develop with those officials who have been so professional in their desire to promote democracy and reconciliation, and who have grasped the opportunity to break with the past".

Dr Boesak said ANC ministers would withdraw from all cabinet business until the issue had been "satisfactorily cleared up" and four conditions met.

These were that

- There be an "unequivocal commitment that the four negotiated ministerial positions allocated to the ANC remain untouched unless changed through proper negotiations with the ANC"

- The "right of ministers to be the final arbiters of restructuring, and appointments in their ministries be respected"

- All agreements between the ANC and NP at organisational and leadership levels be honoured.

- There be an undertaking immediately "to cease and desist from any unilateral restructuring of the civil service, and to respect the principles of transparency and affirmative action"

Dr Boesak, ANC regional leader Chris Nissen and fellow ministers Lerumo Kalako, Leonard Ramatlakane and Ebrahim Rasool warned that the crisis had "serious implications" for provincial government and provincial unity.

The ANC ministers said they were concerned at the possibility of the NP seeking to use officials for political ends.

# Ramaphosa Resolves

ARCF 31/10/94

(11M)

## Rejects speculation of links with JCI or of heading

**CLIVE SAWYER**  
**Political Correspondent**

CYRIL Ramaphosa, secretary-general of the African National Congress, says he is not in the market for chairmanship of a new business group to be formed from the unbundled Johannesburg Consolidated Investments.

He had dismissed as "ludicrous" speculation that he would form his own labour-based party.

"It would be madness for any of us to go off and form parties of our own". But Mr Ramaphosa today stopped short

of ending speculation about his political future, particularly that he faced a possible challenge to his leadership.

It would be up to the party's national congress to decide whether he retained his position, he said.

Commenting on weekend reports that he was a contender to run black-controlled interests from the unbundled JCI, he said he was not in the market.

"No approach was made to me," he said. He was aware that Gosatu had been "toying around with a number of ideas" regarding the future of JCI.

Ramaphosa have been "rife of a challenge to his leadership at the national congress in Bloemfontein in December."

Among those named as possible contenders for the leadership are ANC chief whip Arnold Stofle.

It is expected that there will be soul-searching at the congress as the ANC shapes its dual roles as a parliamentary party and a liberation movement.

There is concern in ANC circles that its accession to formal political power should not distance it from its grassroots support.

Asked whether he would be available to keep his position, Mr Ramaphosa said this was up to the conference to decide.

Speculation about Mr Ramaphosa's future followed his defeat by Thabo Mbeki for the deputy presidency.

Mr Ramaphosa, who chairs the constitutional assembly — the national assembly

and senate sitting together to write South Africa's new constitution — was said to be frustrated at losing the role of heir apparent to President Mandela.

Mr Mandela has made it clear he intends quitting the presidency when his term expires at the end of the government of national unity phase in 1999.

Observers predicted Mr Ramaphosa would be reluctant to face a second round of defeat by Mr Mbeki in the turn-of-the-century leadership contest.

Mr Ramaphosa's duties as chairman of the constitutional assembly have been among factors cited as bearing on his future as ANC secretary-general.

The constitutional assembly sits in the parliamentary buildings in Cape Town,

while ANC headquarters are in Johannesburg.

It is widely believed that Mr Ramaphosa, who attained a high profile during the Kempton Park constitutional talks, declined a cabinet post because he failed to win the deputy presidency.

The ANC has slammed speculation about Mr Ramaphosa's future as an attempt to sow division in party ranks.

It has emphasised there was no contest between Mr Mbeki and Mr Ramaphosa for the deputy presidency or any other position.

The party rejected the notion there were cliques within it, or any power struggles looming.

new party

ANC in <sup>(11A)</sup>  
APR 13/10/94  
compromise  
over Nissen

**MICHAEL MORRIS**  
Political Correspondent

**AFRICAN** National Congress Western Cape leader Chris Nissen is to take over outgoing provincial minister Allan Boesak's cabinet portfolio in spite of a caucus vote in favour of Tasneem Essop filling the post.

The ANC appears to have resolved the leadership crisis by offering the caucus a compromise — a comprehensive gender strategy in all areas of government.

Ms Essop was chosen as Dr Boesak's replacement at the weekend, in part reflecting concerns in the caucus about the absence of women in the provincial cabinet.

This coincided with a warning from Mr Nissen that he would be unable to fulfil his role as leader without taking over the important economic affairs portfolio.

Provincial secretary James Ngculu — in a statement confirming the decision of "the ANC, together with its alliance partners" that Mr Nissen would, in fact, become the new minister of economic affairs — said the decision "had been arrived at by a democratic process and allowed all the relevant structures to participate in the discussion".

# ANC's Cape blunder

(11A) (2/3)

wm 14-20/10/94

Mondli waka Makhaŋya

**T**HE ANC's sudden withdrawal from the Western Cape cabinet this week appears to have been a blunder and it may have to find a face-saving way of returning

Led by Economic Affairs Minister Allan Boesak, the ANC's four members of the regional government boycotted Wednesday's regional executive meeting and resolved to boycott all executive business in protest at what they allege was a unilateral restructuring of the cabinet by National Party provincial premier Hernus Kriel

This precipitated a local crisis, as a result of which the four are due to meet President Nelson Mandela and ANC secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa

The ANC's action was based on the discovery of a handwritten sheet of paper entitled "Possible Allocation of Posts" which suggested splitting up certain portfolios, particularly those of ANC MECs

Besides Boesak's portfolio, those of Environmental Affairs MEC Lerumo Kalako and Health and Social Services MEC Ebrahim Rasool were affected. The paper also suggests the number of senior officials to be appointed

The ANC sees this as an attempt by Kriel to curb the influence of the ANC and shift reconstruction and development-related work to NP ministers and entrench the former

Cape Provincial Administration (CPA) civil service in senior positions

ANC suspicions were backed by the fact that Kriel had already approached the ANC about a possible executive reshuffle, which was rejected

The paper is handwritten, unsigned and bears no official stamp

The ANC made no attempt to authenticate its origin. After obtaining the document on Tuesday, the ANC caucus met on Wednesday morning and took the decision to quit government.

Kriel maintains the paper was a "theoretical exercise" by a junior official of the former CPA.

Observers pointed out that the ANC had chosen a "weak excuse" to bring to the fore their frustrations with the NP

Describing the "strike" as the "last nail in Boesak's coffin", Democratic Party Western Cape leader Hennie Bester blamed the decision on poor leadership by Boesak

"The ANC has immense bargaining power. It dominates in the national government and all it has to do is exercise that power and Kriel will surely get the message," Bester said

Even the timing of the ANC walk-out was ill-judged, coming on the heels of a bitter internal fight over Boesak's portfolio when he takes up his ambassadorial posting in Geneva shortly.

# Ramaphosa's foes gear up for a fight

(11A) WJM 14-20/10/94

The ANC's December conference will determine the party's direction — and could result in a major reshuffling of top posts. **Chris Louw** reports

**A**FRICAN National Congress secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa will face strong resistance to his re-election at the ANC's national conference later this year because of growing criticism of his management style

He will certainly be opposed as party chief at the conference in December in Bloemfontein

Strong resistance is building in certain quarters in the ANC to what is termed Ramaphosa's "authoritarian management style" Ramaphosa's supporters say this is a smoke-screen to replace him as secretary general and establish a new conservatism in the party

Names mentioned of people who will be opposing Ramaphosa include the ANC's chief whip, Reverend Arnold Stofile, and Reverend Frank Chikane, who recently resigned as secretary general of the South African Council of Churches

The December conference is seen as crucial for the ANC "The 1991 conference was basically aimed at consolidating the different factions within the ANC," said one source "This year's conference will decide the direction the ANC will take now it is in government."

Members of the ANC's highest decision-making body, the National Executive Committee, will be elected in Bloemfontein It is predicted that "a lot of heads will roll" — mostly those of people seen as "leftwingers", including members of the South African Communist Party and former trade unionists

Ramaphosa's supporters say he is "unfairly carrying the can" for the ANC's failure to develop its structures outside of parliament "The ANC outside of parliament is completely depleted at the moment It is in serious trouble," said an insider.

Resistance to Ramaphosa burst to the surface at an NEC meeting at the end of August, when he was castigated for not following correct procedures in appointing people to senior positions One of his appointees, ex-trade unionist Phillip Dexter, was last month unceremoniously deposed by the NEC as co-ordinator between the ANC caucuses in the various legislatures in the country

Arguments bandied about were that he was "not African", that he was "too young" and that he was not experienced and senior enough Dexter was also accused of having leaked stories about the parliamentary "grave train" to the media

The appointment of Jackson Mthembu as head of the Department of Information and Publicity was also resisted by influential NEC members, but according to sources no acceptable excuse could be found to get rid of him An attempt to smear him as an incorrigible womaniser was knocked down and he was appointed

Unity in the ANC is fragile at present, it is said New interest groups have developed since the April elections, and new alliances are continually formed

"Old loyalties seem to have been replaced by expediency," said one source "The new loyalties are cutting across traditional boundaries Where people are based now seems to define who their comrades are. Tensions have developed between Shell House, the cabinet, parliamentarians and members of the regional governments"

The situation is made more complex because of jockeying for "posts, positions and possibilities" — not only because of attendant status but also because of financial rewards "In these new dynamics all kinds of agendas are bubbling through — ethnic, anti- or pro-communist, anti- or pro-trade unionist," said an insider

The issue is further complicated by a growing "Africanist sentiment" in the organisation "Conservatives in the party are keen to prove the new government is a success They are in close cahoots with the National Party and do not care what kind of democracy is established, as long as the world applauds them," said a source

Members of the SACP are finding themselves in the firing line as concern grows about militancy in the trade union movement Former unionists in parliament say they find themselves isolated from decision-making

Criticism of the government by senior SACP and Cosatu members has raised the heckles of ANC cabinet members Prominent SACP members, including



Homage to a man of peace: Deputy President Thabo Mbeki unveiled a bust of Mahatma Gandhi this week at Durban's Old Station Building. Indian High Commissioner Mangalmurthi joined him in commemorating the 125th anniversary of Gandhi's birth, in a function organised by the Indian Embassy

PHOTOGRAPH RAJESH JANTILAL

## Ramaphosa under attack

(11A) WJM 14-20/10/94

From PAGE 3

Jeremy Cronin and Cheryl Carolus, are seen as "too sympathetic" towards trade union mass actions to bolster demands for increased wages, and too critical of government

A socialist conference planned for next month and to be hosted by Cosatu and the SACP is said to have created "unease and tension" in conservative circles in the ANC, loosely gathered around Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

A document headlined "Unmandated Responses" was recently circulated anonymously among NEC members. According to people who saw the document, it argued that party mem-

bers should refrain from "rocking the boat", and should rather get in behind the government, helping to stabilise it.

The author and status of the "working document" are not known, but in leftist circles it is believed Mbeki was involved.

But Cronin said that, despite the tensions, he expects a "call for unity" to emerge as theme at the December conference. "People hoping for a dramatic change of course will be disappointed"

It is believed that Ramaphosa has been forced for logistical reasons to include SACP members and former trade unionists in his support group as his popularity is undermined by a campaign against him in the party.

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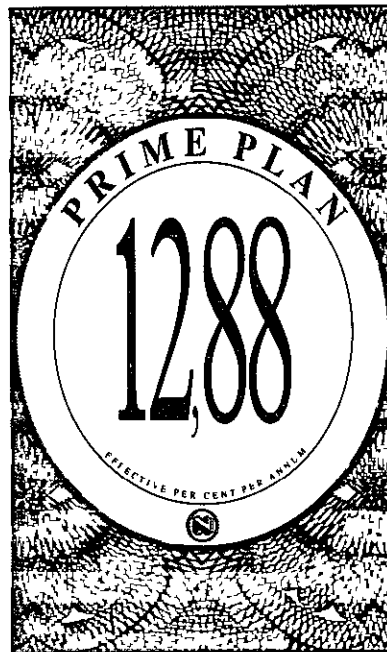
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# Time out – but the game's not over yet for Mange

CIPRES 14/10/94

JAMES Mange has kicked out the soccer ball and ditched his dreadlocks – but he's not done with politics yet

Even though the SOCCER Party scored no goal during South Africa's first democratic elections in April, its leader believes there is still a place for it on the political playing field

That the Sports Organisation for Collective Contributions and Equal Rights only got 6 000 votes – its 0,1 percent of the total denying it even a single seat in the National Assembly – does not seem to faze Mange.

"Our target was not to win the elections and as such the results were not unexpected," he explains

"To us the idea that people enjoyed voting was indeed fulfilling and we have also said that the real elections would be in 1999"

However, now that the preliminary games are over, as it were, the SOCCER Party has decided on a change of tactics a new name, new colours – one could almost say a whole new ball game, except that the party's soccer ball has also been dumped

**After failing to win a single seat in the National Assembly during the April elections, the former SOCCER Party has shifted the goalposts. With a new name and new colours, it's vowing to stay in the political game, writes KHANGALE MAKHADO.**

11A

It has been replaced by a red, mustard and black flag and the revamped SOCCER Party has changed its name to New Generation African Party (NGAP)

It's targeting the youth, says Mange, "because tomorrow belongs to the young"

Mange – a former Robben Island prisoner, Umkhonto We Sizwe commander and death row prisoner – has also adopted a new image. Gone are his rasta dreadlocks – replaced by a more fashionable American S-curl soft perm

Mange says the red in the party's new flag represents the blood of the martyrs of the struggle, the mustard represents hope for the future and the black represents the indigenous majority of Africa

There has also been a slight shift in party policy, says Mange

– the NGAP will now concentrate on bread and butter issues

During the campaign for the April elections the SOCCER Party had promised to take care of all those people whose needs were ignored by mainstream political organisations

This included legalising dagga smoking and prostitution. But it seems the pot smokers and sex workers were either too busy with their daily chores to make their mark in the SOCCER Party box – or just did not believe the party could deliver.

These issues, although not to be discarded, will now play second fiddle to a new set of priorities, says Mange

"We are mainly going to concentrate on issues affecting our people – which would include housing and all the imbalances created by apartheid

"We are also going to monitor those companies coming into our country who use black faces to empower the very same people who all along have benefited from the apartheid regime."

"We are going to be very vigilant in pursuance of our goals and if it comes to a push, there is bound to be a lot of boxing between the new party, the government and the ANC," he says

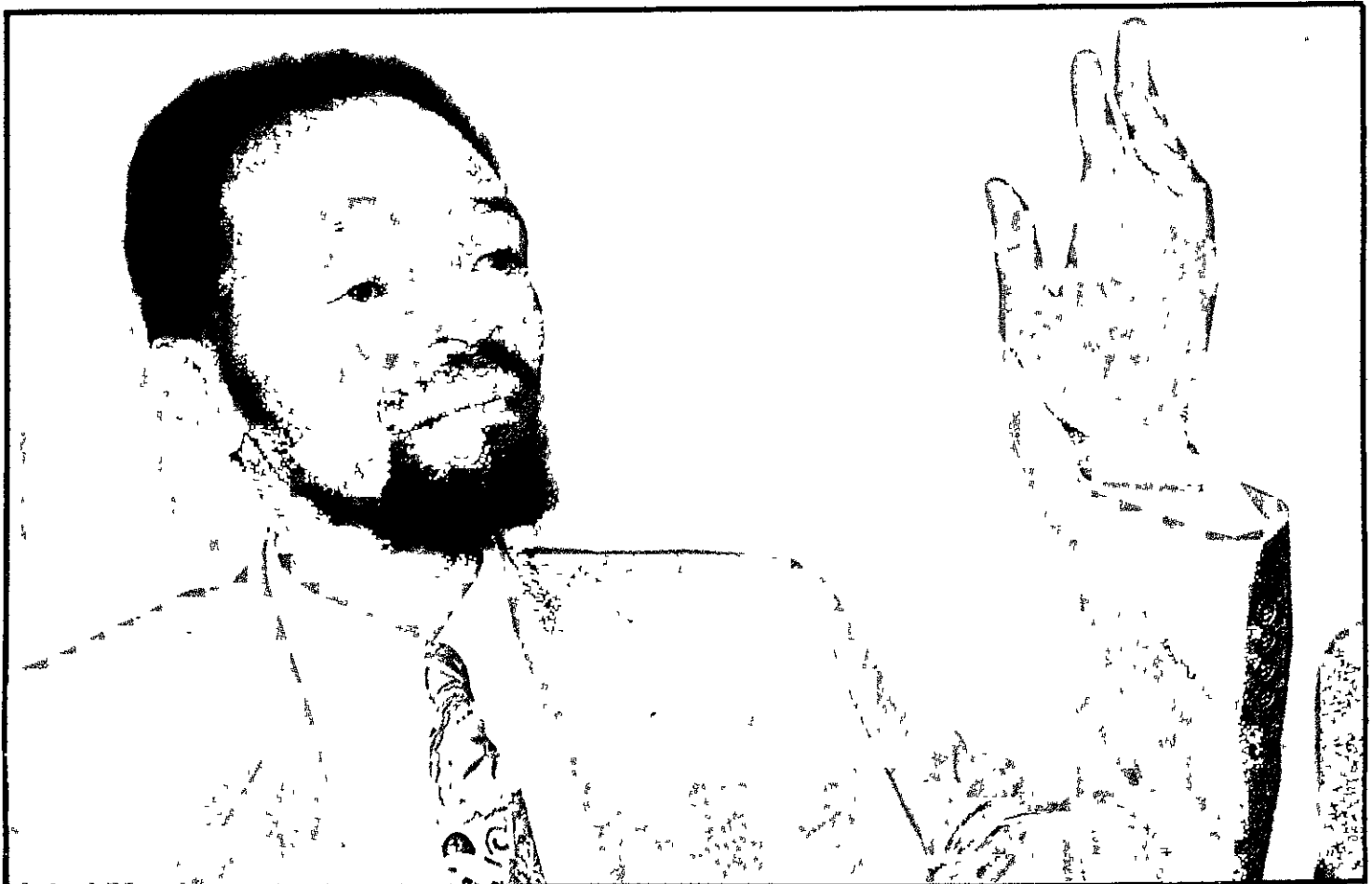
The future looks bright for the new-look NGAP, he says – "We could have a million members within the next three years or so"

A crucial test of the party's viability would be its performance in the local elections that are coming up next year

But it is uncertain whether Mange is going to put the NGAP to this test

When asked, Mange frowns and looks at NGAP national executive member Ronnie Shongwe before saying the decision whether to take part or not rested with the committee.

It's a weighty decision. Another dismal failure would consign the party to the dustbin of history



**ALL IN THE GAME ... The SOCCER Party may have been caught off-sides in the April elections, says James Mange, but it's a whole new ball game for the New Generation African Party. ■ Pic: THULANI SITHOLE**

# Slogan out — Makwetu

Staff Reporter

27/10/94

(11A) 27

THE PAC did not have to tell its members to stop using the racist slogan "One settler, one bullet" as they knew not to use it any more, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said last night. Mr Makwetu was reacting to statements by Mr Justice Poswa, advocate for the three killers of US student Ms Amy Biehl, who said the slogan had been formulated by political leaders and the three had been swept up by South Africa's volatile situation. The three were sentenced by Mr

Justice G. Friedman yesterday to 18 years in jail each for murdering Ms Biehl on August 25 last year. Mr Makwetu said the PAC had dropped the "One settler, one bullet" slogan immediately after the armed struggle was lifted earlier this year. He said it was unnecessary to inform PAC members to stop using the slogan, as "they know". However, Mr Makwetu did not have comment on the use of the slogan by PAC supporters during the trial and yesterday, after the three were sentenced

# Amy's mother sees hope for her murderers

By WILLEM STEENKAMP

THE killers of Ms Amy Biehl, who were sentenced in the Supreme Court yesterday to 18 years in jail for her murder, now have the opportunity to improve their lot in life.

This was said yesterday from Newport Beach, California, by Ms Biehl's mother, Mrs Linda Biehl, who expressed relief that the 14-month saga following her daughter's death on August 25 last year had ended.

Mrs Biehl said she hoped Mongezi Mangina, Makhona "Easy" Nofemela and Vusumzi Ntamo would have remorse for their actions.

"I know they've had very difficult lives, but if they want to improve themselves they can," Mrs Biehl said.

She said witnesses had come forward in their trial, had told the truth and were believed by the court, something of which township residents could be "proud".

She was glad that Mangina, Nofemela and Ntamo had not been sentenced to death, the penalty asked for by the prosecution, saying "I just don't think more death on top of death would be right in this case."

She added that her daughter had also been opposed to the death penalty, and would not have agreed with its imposition.

Mrs Biehl also expressed sympathy with the killers' families, saying the murder of her daughter and the subsequent trial was a "definite tragedy" for them also.

She said the Biehl family would retain personal ties with South Africa and were involved in establishing a foundation for disadvantaged people here, and the family would continue to visit Cape Town.

"I know we will be back," she said, adding "We appreciate all the help that we've had from the people in South Africa."

# Biehl: Theft also alleged

A YOUTH appeared in the Cape Town Regional Court yesterday in connection with stealing goods from the car of American student Ms Amy Biehl during the fatal Gugulethu attack on her.

He was released on R200 bail on condition that he appear again today.

The in-camera hearing was adjourned so that his advocate, Mr Justice Poswa, and state advocate Mr Leon Norrier, who were both attending the Supreme Court sentencing of Miss Biehl's killers yesterday, could be present.

The charge sheet indicates that the youth may be charged with theft.

JAILED ...  
Mongezi Mangina

JAILED ...  
Vusumzi Ntamo

JAILED ...  
Mzikhono Nofemela

By Alexandra Zavis

# Mangena to head Azapo/BCMA merger

South

(11A)

14/10 - 18/10/84

MR MOSIBUDI Mangena takes over the leadership of the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) at a time of growing support for black consciousness

One thousand delegates attended this year's annual conference, which saw the integration of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania (BCMA) into Azapo

"Azapo is not so much small as disorganised," Mangena said

"Even when people say they have a branch in this or that township, we find they only have 10 or 15 members in good standing. Others haven't paid their subs, for example

"Our biggest task is to rebuild the organisation"

Mangena, the former chairper-

son of BCMA, believes the merging of the two black consciousness organisations is a vital first step in the rebuilding process

"BCMA brings its experience of interaction with other liberation organisations the world over.

"It also brings dedication, sacrifice and a high level of discipline, learned while involved in military activities"

Under his leadership, Azapo would continue the struggle to liberate people in those areas the elections had not changed, Mangena said

na said

Black people are still denied land, economic participation, ownership of the means of production and adequate social services, including health, education and housing

"Black people make up 90 percent of the population, but whites still own 98 percent of the economy and over 70 percent of the land. Social services are also still below par despite the elections," he said

But Azapo would conduct this

struggle on the ground and not from within government

Although some members felt that the organisation should make their voice heard in the various forums set up to discuss the way forward, Azapo would not participate in local government elections next year

"There is no point in participating only at the lowest level of government," Mangena said.

"This does not mean we will avoid contact with government while recognising they are weak

and have bound themselves to a constitution that will not help them, we would like them to succeed and will help where we can."

Azapo would retain its military wing, the Azanian Liberation Army (Azanla), but would not direct any activities against the new government, Mangena said

Mangena has 24 years experience as a political activist with the South African Students' Organisation and the Black People's Convention

He was arrested in June 1973, charged with terrorism and consequently spent five years on Robben Island. Upon his release in 1978 he was banned and banished to Potgieters in the Northern Transvaal. He fled the country in 1981 and has been chairperson of BCMA since 1982



## CURRENT AFFAIRS

without discussing the issue with him

The ANC's agreement to return to the Cabinet is interpreted by some opponents as a humiliating climb-down. Local ANC leaders were hoping to see President Nelson Mandela and win support for their boycott. But it appears they were, instead, told by Mbeki and Ramaphosa to resolve the crisis themselves by talking to Kriel.

There is strong suspicion that last week's crisis was manufactured by the ANC to hide problems in the party. Earlier, new provincial leader Chris Nissen needed the intervention of the national leadership to secure a place in the provincial Cabinet after provincial office bearers failed to give him sufficient backing. (11A)

Nissen was elected to replace Allan Boesak, who quit recently and will soon also resign as provincial Economic Affairs MEC to take up an appointment as ambassador to the UN in Geneva. Nissen is expected to succeed him in the Cabinet.

The ANC's protest shows again how the party is struggling to cope with its status as a minority force in the province. Relations in the Western Cape government are far more strained than in any other province where the ANC and NP are in alliance.

The boycott is also evidence that the ANC in the Western Cape has been unable to cross the divide between protest politics and negotiation.

Democratic Party leader in the province Hennie Bester says the action again illustrates ANC weakness there. "At best it was a limp-wristed move which puts a serious question mark over the ANC's ability to use the substantial bargaining chips at its disposal to influence provincial policy and government."

Bester says that while the DP sympathises with ANC claims of the unilateral restructuring of the provincial administration and apparent reluctance to implement affirmative action, ANC MECs chose the least appropriate way to air grievances.

"They should remember the age of boycott politics is over. If you want to achieve something, you negotiate for it." ■

## WESTERN CAPE

### Manufactured crisis

Provincial government in the Western Cape appears to be back on track this week after Deputy President Thabo Mbeki and ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa convinced local ANC leaders to end their boycott of the provincial Cabinet and discuss grievances with provincial premier Hennis Kriel. (11A)

The ANC announced last week that it was pulling out of the provincial Cabinet, in which it is a junior partner to the National Party (NP), after uncovering what it claimed was a Nat plan to unilaterally reshuffle the administration.

The allegation was denied by Kriel, who expressed surprise that four Cabinet colleagues had taken such a drastic step.

# Inyandza now part of the ANC

Sowetan 2/10/94

By Bhekis Matsebula

THE Inyandza National Movement in the former KaNgwane homeland has decided to become part of the African National Congress. The decision was taken at a central council meeting held at kaBokweni on Sunday.

According to Mr David Mkhwanazi, MEC for environmental affairs in the Eastern Transvaal and Inyandza central committee member, the merger process and strategies about the forthcoming local government elections would be discussed by his movement and the ANC. (19)

# Azapo out of local poll

Staff Reporter

THE Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) is to explain at its regional conference in Guguletu this weekend why it supports participation in local negotiating forums

The organisation campaigned against participation in the national election in April this year

National publicity secretary Mr Vuyisa Qunta said yesterday that Azapo

ET 24/10/94  
would not campaign against the local elections scheduled to be held next year, but would not participate

"Perhaps after the interim period we will participate in elections," said Mr Danile Landingwe, national vice-president for the Cape region.

In the meantime, Azapo is willing to participate in local forums

Mr Qunta said Azapo had suspended hostile activities after the April vote.

# Promotion on cards for Zuma

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Jacob Zuma is poised to replace Deputy President Thabo Mbeki as national chairman of the African National Congress, reliable sources say

Zuma, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa's deputy, is understood to have won the backing of the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) for the position. 26/10/94

The highest-ranking Zulu in the ANC hierarchy, Zuma would almost certainly have been included in the Cabinet had he not opted to stand for the premiership of KwaZulu/Natal in the April election.

Zuma is widely credited with the success the ANC has achieved in establishing closer relations with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

He is tipped to take over from Walter Sisulu as ANC deputy president at the ANC's national congress in Bloemfontein in December.

## Misgivings

Ramaphosa is under pressure to make himself available for re-election at the congress, sources say.

This follows last week's newspaper reports that he was not standing for re-election.

The Star, which had learnt about his misgiving, can now reveal that Ramaphosa was indeed considering his options.

The sources said Ramaphosa would no longer stand against Mbeki for the ANC deputy presidency and he might also not stand for re-election. They said he had cited work pressure for his decision.

At a meeting two weeks ago, the ANCYL's national executive committee resolved to back Ramaphosa for re-election as secretary-general. But he was reportedly said to be unavailable.

ANC

Fm 28/10/94

## Cyril testing

strategist

Fm 28/10/94

While the political contest with Mbeki has effectively been settled in Mbeki's favour, Ramaphosa has landed himself in dead-end jobs. As secretary-general, it



Ramaphosa

is impossible for him to satisfy ANC supporters and, come the local government elections, which might turn into a fiasco in which the ANC is unlikely to improve its showing, Ramaphosa will carry the can.

His position as chairman of the Constitutional Assembly is hardly more alluring. Some observers argue that the assembly will be a sideshow to the more pressing business of parliament. It's thought in any case that the ANC might want to defer the cardinal issue of power sharing in a new constitution until 1999, for example. Again, Ramaphosa might get the blame.

It would not be surprising if a Cabinet reshuffle took place in the next couple of months — the usual six months having elapsed, after which new governments tend to weed out underperformers. Perhaps with this in mind, and now regretting his heat-of-the-moment rejection of a Cabinet post, Ramaphosa might be positioning himself for a more high-profile job as a Minister, where he will certainly feel less vulnerable. The question of who holds high office in the ANC is simply not as important as being in Cabinet.

It would seem that the struggle now, ahead of the national conference, is whether Ramaphosa can be voted out as secretary-general and, if so, what berth may be found for him. It's thought that old-guard exiles of the movement (some of whom dislike him intensely) want ANC chief whip Arnold Stofile to replace him. Assuming that Mbeki (incumbent national chairman) is elected ANC deputy president (replacing Walter Sisulu) and being thus anointed as Mandela's heir, Jacob Zuma (Ramaphosa's deputy) will become party chairman. Both Stofile and Zuma would arguably be more in line with old-guard sentiments. ■

Whether they come from Cyril Ramaphosa's camp or that of his opponents in the ANC, rumours claiming that the ANC secretary-general is to step down, or be edged out, have been in the air for some time. They suggest that jockeying for position ahead of the ANC's national conference in December has begun in earnest — despite earlier advice from ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki that the organisation should guard against mischief-makers bent on "inciting interpersonal competition among the leadership" designed to split the ruling party.

Both the ANC and Ramaphosa have of course vehemently denied any such suggestion — just as they deny perennial reports about rivalry between Ramaphosa and Mbeki. But the speculation refuses to go away. High-minded injunctions about concentrating on substantive issues are all very well, but ambitions remain a fact of power politics, and "leaks" happen because someone wants them to.

Few credit the suggestion that Ramaphosa wants out and plans to enter the corporate world or head an alternative party. But he could well be testing the water and weighing his options, not for nothing has Ramaphosa been described as a master

# Finance chief halts flight of bosses and money

**CLIVE SAWYER**

Weekend Angus  
Political Correspondent

HAD finance director-general Hannes Smut not put a stop to it, 11 heads of government departments would have been flown from Pretoria to Cape Town just to listen to a parliamentary budget debate.

Finance minister Chris Liebenberg told the senate the government's travel and entertainment bill

was "frightening" — R186 million since the April election.

If just 10 percent of this expense was saved, 10 000 houses could be built a year.

He asked whether any private company would have allowed the expense of flying the 11 directors-general across the country just to listen to political speeches.

Mr Liebenberg, who was introducing the first reading of the Appropriation Bill, disclosed that last year

the government had used up the total savings of the corporate sector. He said this year's budget was on course, with revenue and spending as planned.

Mr Liebenberg said he was aware of concern that rising interest rates would make it difficult for the government to keep the deficit under control. *AR 5/11/94*

Strategy had been changed and borrowing was being done for

shorter periods at lower interest

Mr Liebenberg said he had been "surprised and disappointed" that the Press had highlighted only two aspects of the six-point economic plan announced by deputy president Thabo Mbeki last weekend.

These were the so-called belt-tightening measures and privatisation.

The budget was tight: "We cannot manufacture money unless we want higher inflation" *(119)*

# ANC 'torture victim' pursues persecutors

DAVID BREIER  
Weekend Argus Political Staff

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world-

ATROCITIES committed in African National Congress torture camps during its years in exile are being investigated internationally and threaten to embarrass President Mandela's Government.

The ANC last year accepted collective responsibility for human rights violations in its camps - including abuses by senior members now in South Africa's new government. No action was taken against individuals.

But in the latest development, Amnesty International in London, the world's best-known human rights organisation, has taken up the issue.

The organisation confirmed this week that it was exploring legal remedies for a Cape Town former exile who alleges the ANC tortured him in the 1980s.

Thozamile Anthony Ntomi, 29, alleged earlier this year that the ANC tortured him in its notorious Angolan detention camps, including Quatro.

After getting nowhere with his campaign in South Africa, Mr Ntomi is still determined that his former torturers

World human rights organisation Amnesty International in London is exploring the case of Cape Town man Thozamile Ntomi, right, who says the ANC tortured him in its Angolan camps



should be prosecuted and barred from public life.

He says two of them are provincial MPs, whose camp names were Che and Shaven Head. But he has not named them. He says both are now members of provincial legislatures in the former Transvaal.

Mr Ntomi refuses to take his case to the proposed Commission for Truth and Reconciliation as he says it will grant indemnity.

He has laid a charge at Robodebosch police station, near the University of Cape Town, where he is a student. He named 42 individuals and groups whom he said were par-

ticipated in assaults and torture.

But Cape Attorney General Frank Kahn said he had jurisdiction only in the Western Cape and could not prosecute curried elsewhere.

A Cape Town district surgeon examined Mr Ntomi last month and found the scars of electric burns on his hands and wrists, which Mr Ntomi says he suffered at the hands of ANC torturers.

He was also found to have suffered a fractured skull, a deep gash on the forehead and a broken finger. Injuries he claims were also the results of torture.

114  
Rkt 5/11/94

Amnesty International researcher Mary Rayner confirmed in London this week that Mr Ntomi had been in contact with the organisation, which was in the process of providing him with advice on international legal remedies.

"We haven't completely explored all the remedies that may be available to him," she said.

None was easy. "But we are seeing the beginnings of the establishment of such tribunals," Ms Rayner added, citing the human rights abuses inquiry in the former Yugoslavia.

She said the International Court of Justice in the Hague could be approached only by nations.

According to Mr Ntomi's official police statement, he first fell foul of the ANC in exile as a 17-year-old in 1982 when he questioned the circumstances surrounding the death of his friend Mac Phaulles in an ANC detention camp, the ANC claimed Mr Phaulles was bit-

ten by a snake.

Mr Ntomi's statement says he was warned that his campaign up for picking up a gun that was left lying in the grass. The instructors beat me, kicked me and look me for an injection which paralysed me for several hours.

That, he says, was the start of his torture ordeal. He said he was beaten continuously, knocked unconscious, suffocated, given electric shocks and his body was eventually covered in wounds and scars.

He says he was released from detention in 1984, but the ANC refused to let him attend his school in Tanzania. He is particularly bitter at the ANC for preventing him from receiving an education.

In an interview this week, Mr Ntomi said he joined the ANC as a youth "because I wanted to play a part in removing apartheid". But instead he had become a victim of the ANC.

"If I keep silent now, I lose again. I gain nothing by keeping silence," he said.

He was particularly galled at seeing two of his alleged torturers on TV as members of provincial legislatures.

Mr Ntomi said friends had warned him that his campaign to prosecute senior ANC members could cost him his life. "Most people say I won't make it," he said.

The ANC says the truth commission is the correct forum for Mr Ntomi to raise his case.

# ANC 'torture victim' pursues persecutors

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# Start relying on yourselves — Azapo

By Alexandra Zavis

THE Azanian People's Organisation adopted a more pragmatic approach to the liberation of black people at its annual regional conference this weekend

"We must move away from just telling people about their blackness to identifying problems on the ground," said Mr Selema Mashiane, newly elected regional publicity secretary

South  
"Regarding unemployment, for example, we need to come up with projects instilling a sense of self-reliance in people.

"Black people cannot sit back saying, 'We have been promised' They must stand up and say, 'We must do it for ourselves'"

4-11-81/1194  
"Political power has not liberated people economically,"

Mashiane said (11A)  
Another problem is tribalism  
"Coloured people, for example, don't even seem to know their own identity — Coloured, so-called Coloured, Black, African?"

"We need to re-emphasise our oppression as a group"

In addition to Mashiane, the new executive committee is Mr Jimmy Yekiso, chairperson, Mr Zohile Ndindwe, vice-chairperson, Mr Thumie Pietersen, organiser, Mr George Bongo, deputy organiser, Ms Priscilla Welcome, secretary, Ms Kuku Fassie, deputy secretary

## R600 000 boost for Atlantis farm project

THE Hartebeeskraal Farm project at Atlantis received a R600 000 boost yesterday from the Reconstruction and Development Programme fund.

Western Cape MEC for health Mr Ebrahim Rasool announced the financial assistance at the west coast town

He said 90% of the money would be used for construction, which would create much-needed jobs for the unemployed people at the town.

A multi-purpose community centre, which would include gym and sports facilities, would also be built. — Sapa

# ANC veteran Mpetha dies <sup>(11A)</sup> at 85

CT 16/11/94

Staff Reporter

VETERAN ANC activist Mr Oscar Mpetha, 85, — “the forgotten man of anti-apartheid politics” — died last night at his Guguletu home

His grandson, Mr Andile Mpetha, said the ailing former Robben Island prisoner who suffered from diabetes and had both his legs amputated in recent years was alone at his Uluntu Drive, Guguletu, home with his private nurse when he died last night at about 6 40

Mr Mpetha was a founder member of the Food and Allied Workers' Union and Western Cape president of the ANC until he was banned in 1959

In 1983 he was convicted of terrorism and sentenced in the Cape Supreme Court to five years' imprisonment by Mr Justice D Williamson after a marathon three-year trial

Mr Mpetha was released on R1 bail pending appeal but re-arrested at his Nyanga East home in 1985 to serve his sentence

He was the oldest political prisoner in South Africa

In 1989, after discussions with Mr Nelson Mandela, who was still imprisoned, then-president Mr F W de Klerk ordered the release of Mr Mpetha and seven other prominent political prisoners

Mr Mpetha lived to fulfil his 1990 birthday wish “to see freedom in my lifetime” when he voted during the April election in Guguletu

He leaves four children — Esther, Carl, Temba and Thembeke

# Sanco evaluates ANC ties <sup>(11A)</sup>

JOHANNESBURG — The South African National Civics Organisation yesterday expressed concern at "the significant level of conflict" between it and the African National Congress

Officials told a press briefing that Sanco's national executive committee had agreed there was a need to develop a record of understanding with the ANC, defining their relationship

The briefing followed five days

of executive committee talks on Sanco's future

The officials said Sanco wanted to clarify areas of co-operation with the ANC and simultaneously ensure Sanco's independence. Sanco would arrange a meeting with the ANC to discuss the matter

Sanco president Mr Lechesa Tsenoli said the civics organisation was growing rapidly, not dying as some people thought

CT 17/11/94 (20)  
He cited the recent launch of a kwaZulu/Natal Midlands branch, plans for a North-West branch and the establishment of new "civics" and sub-regional bodies, many of them in informal settlements and rural areas

Mr Tsenoli said that while Sanco had decided to support the ANC in local government elections, candidates should enjoy public support in addition to being endorsed by the ANC — Sapa

# 'We are growing': The Civics in the new SA

**HOW** is Sanco doing since the elections?

Sanco is growing — for example in areas like the Northern Cape and in the north of Natal. The end of the repressive homelands has made it possible for us to work in areas where we were previously prevented from being active. There has also been an increase in the number of requests to us to assist with establishing new civics. The climate is now one in which it is easier to mobilise and organise.

Key ongoing issues for Sanco include the involvement of our structures at various levels in the implementation of the Local Government Transition Act. Our campaign for community-responsive banking is ongoing, we have been centrally involved in ensuring that the implementation of the RDP is people-driven, and lastly, we have been interacting with various ministries to ensure the policy frameworks which are emerging will be civic-friendly.

**Sanco played a central role in the struggle against apartheid. What is its role now?**

WE will be giving the issue of local government urgent attention, otherwise our whole process of democratisation will come to nothing. We will be pushing for the Minister of Constitutional Affairs to establish a cabinet-level, dedicated machinery to give local government the sensitive treatment it needs — it is the first level of government that ordinary people engage with, and it's the area where the impact of apartheid can be addressed best. We want a dedicated ministry.

**ARE** civic associations inclusive enough to speak on behalf of communities?

CIVICS cut across party-political and other affiliations. There can never be a blanket term to describe civics. They are uneven. In some areas they are very representative and in others less so. We cannot claim that every civic is 100 percent representative, and we also think that this is a good thing. Civics are different kinds of organisations depending on their context. This is one of their strengths. Some emerged through the block and street committee system, while others came about when community leaders and different kinds of community groups came together to establish a civic. This all affects their representivity. Attempts to ignore civics on the basis of their perceived weaknesses have proved disastrous for many development projects.

**DOES** this affect the ability of civics to speak 'for' communities?

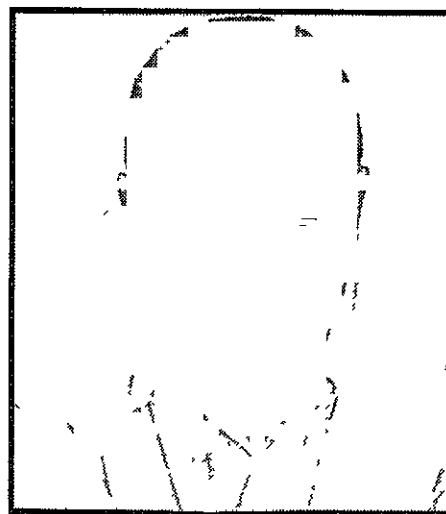
THE issues civics take up are so valid and

**What is the future of the civics? Will they play a leading role in the new local government system? The new president of Sanco (the South African National Civics Organisation), Lechesa Tsenoli, has been involved in community struggles since his days in the United Democratic Front in KwaZulu/Natal. Born in Lesotho, he has lived and worked throughout South Africa. In this interview he looks to the future.**

pressing that when we speak, while we do not speak for absolutely everyone, we aim to be as representative as possible — we have to be. We are aware of the instances where civics have not done proper consultation, and those campaigns generally fail. There have been instances of undemocratic leadership but this is not the situation we support. This is why we are increasingly using groups like IMSSA and NADDEL to ensure the proper election of civic leadership. While the representivity of civics is important, too much should not be made of this issue. It is their facilitative elements which are more important. We feel that development will never be sustainable unless it is supported by community groups.

**WHAT services and benefits does Sanco National offer its members?**

ON their own individual civics cannot make a difference. We therefore play an important role in synthesising and analysing experiences on the ground. We also make interventions to create an environment friendly to civics. For example we want to influence legislation on local government so that it supports civics. Without Sanco civics would have a far smaller impact. There is also the issue of resources we want to be able to provide support to affiliates so that they are able to get greater access to resources. We aim to build up the civic infrastructure. Capacity building is something we prioritise through organisational development and support. We have a number of major projects in the pipeline, including one with a Swedish organisation for adult basic educators and one dealing with negotiating skills and conflict resolution. Our role in advocacy and in articulating the needs of the poor and disadvantaged is a critical role we play at the national level.



**HOW** does Sanco's relationships with its affiliates operate?

OUR affiliates participate in regional workshops, and this is where they inform us what their needs are. They make collective recommendations, and we act on these. We have found that effective communication is our biggest problem, although there have been levels at which we have managed to communicate. Sanco has been constrained by the political pressures it has been exposed to nationally, which has limited our ability to devote enough resources to developing our effectiveness.

**HOW** can civics participate in policy formulation?

BY intervening at a national level to ensure that input from civics is taken into account when drafting policy. We seek the advice of others, and we develop options and possibilities. In this process we rely a lot on our allies in the NGO sector and in other progressive organisations. We interact with them through brainstorming and intervening in whatever is happening. We also commission studies and investigations, for example we are doing one on development finance, and we have a report coming out soon on Local Economic Development, which we see as a key pillar in an urban and rural development strategy.

**WHAT** does a democratic government mean for civics?

THE danger is that of co-option by the government. It's now so different from the old days — the government is committed to doing the right things. This could easily land up generating apathy but that will take years to happen. We don't simply want to support government, we want to support people in their demands. If the

government plays along, then good, but if not, then they cannot expect civics to support them anyway. We are conscious of the need to cooperate wherever possible, but we also want to retain a culture of being critical.

**HOW** do you see your relationship with political parties in the future?

OUR relationship with political parties is always defined by the issues at hand. We always saw ourselves as integral to the liberation process. We are now in a new situation but our broad principles remain the same. Our perceptions of the usefulness of the relationship will determine how we relate to political parties. We hope to do more work on political tolerance and deepening democratic accountability, which will allow us to keep an independent but close relationship to political parties.

We see no reason to change our decision to support the ANC but we must get direction on these and other matters from people on the ground.

**WHAT** impact will next year's local government elections have on the civics?

THERE is a belief that local government elections will make civics unnecessary. This is incorrect. What concerns us is good local governance, and we see this as meaning that structures in communities can interact with formal public authorities from a position of strength. This is the best formula for sustainable development. Formal public authorities are generally so big they cannot deal with communities, while their legitimacy cannot be taken for granted. People vote every five years or whatever. What determines the meaning of the democracy we have landed up with is the recourse communities have between elections. We want developmental local authorities, and we need to build institutions and structures to construct them. We must recognise that the process of democratisation is never complete — we are always only working towards it.

Sanco will not be contesting local elections as Sanco, although people may decide to support their own candidates. That is the nature of elections at a local level. We think that is a good thing. We do intend participating in discussions around who the candidates should be in local government elections. We don't want to do this here on the 12th floor of our office building in Johannesburg, but rather in local communities. That is where people know what is good for them and who is defending their interests.

■ *With acknowledgments to Development and Democracy, published by the Urban Foundation*

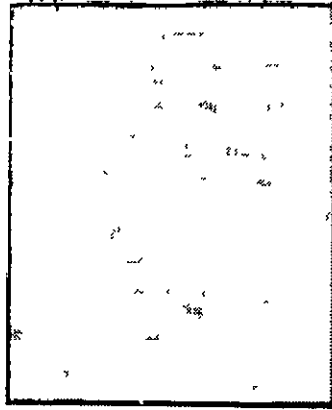
ARG. 19-20-11-94

# Zulu king gets ANC backing over status

DURBAN — A committee will be established this weekend to act as a link between the people of KwaZulu-Natal and King Goodwill Zwelithini, the monarch's spokesman, Prince Sifiso Zulu, said yesterday.

Prince Sifiso said King Goodwill had received "overwhelming" support from traditional leaders, church groups and other bodies in KwaZulu-Natal for his peace plan, announced last month, and his rejection of the controversial House of Traditional Leaders Act.

"This group approached us and said they wanted to visit the king, register its support

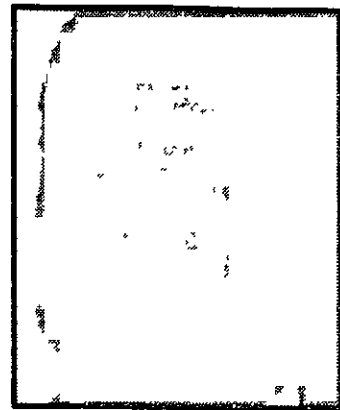


□ Prince Sifiso Zulu

for him and act as a facilitator and catalyst between the royal house and the people of the province," he said

Prince Sifiso said the group intended calling itself the KwaZulu-Natal Co-ordinating Committee and would formally announce its launch and programme of action at the king's Enyokeni palace in Nongoma tomorrow

He said the committee had no intention of replacing traditional structures between



□ King Goodwill Zwelithini

the king and his people, but had said it wanted to co-ordinate "the actions of people and groups in support of the king"

Meanwhile, the African National Congress is planning a rally in Durban's Umlazi township tomorrow in support of the king's rejection of the House of Traditional Leaders Act, said an ANC spokesman

— Reuter

# ANC Youth League favours Ramaphosa for senior position

**ESTHER WAUGH**  
Weekend Argus Political Staff

**JOHANNESBURG.** — Any suggestion that the fortunes of African National Congress luminary Cyril Ramaphosa are in decline should be carefully scrutinised: The ANC Youth League has just reaffirmed him as one of the movement's foremost leaders by nominating him as their secretary-general. Youth League president Lulu

Johnson told Weekend Argus the ANCYL supported Deputy President Thabo Mbeki for nomination as deputy president of the organisation in the place of the present incumbent, Walter Sisulu, who is not available for re-election.

It further supported the present deputy secretary-general, Jacob Zuma, for nomination as chairman — the post to be vacated by Mr Mbeki on the as-

sumption that he would be available for the post of deputy president.

The ANCYL is also proposing president's spokesman Joel Netshitenzhe for the post as deputy secretary-general.

The final decision on the ANC's leadership is to be taken next month at the movement's three-yearly national conference in Bloemfontein. Johnson emphasised that the

Youth League — which was celebrating its 50th anniversary this year — did not want the conference to be 'stuck' on who would fill the top six positions in the leadership, and rather wanted it to map out its strategies for the next three years.

For this reason, the ANCYL wanted the debate about whether the organisation's secretary-general should be a full-time post to be clarified before

the conference on December 17.

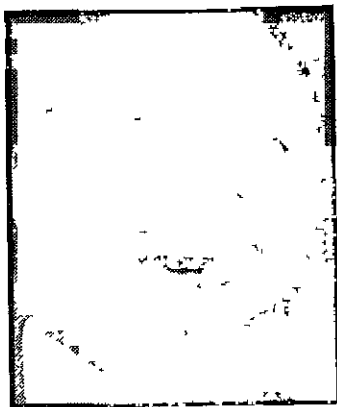
In the event of Mr Ramaphosa being unavailable for the post, Johnson said the ANCYL supported ANC chief whip Arnold Stofile. Mr Stofile, however, indicated he was unavailable.

The youth league wanted the conference to map out "a clear strategy for the revolution and the way forward," said Johnson.

## position

"The perspective should be based on a clear appraisal of what the Government of National Unity has been able to achieve in bringing the major players into government

"But, it should go beyond that to characterise the ideological position of the ANC for the local government elections as well as the election in 1999," said Johnson



TOP MAN: Cyril Ramaphosa

# Back from the bottom of behind

By DAN DLAMINI

"I AM back, and I am back with a vengeance" — this is the stern warning from deposed Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope to his political opponents.

Mangope was addressing more than 800 supporters at the launch of his new multi-racial United Christian Democratic Party in Klerksdorp yesterday.

He said the party's leaders would be elected at its congress early next year. The launch of the UCDP coincided with the sacking of North West MEC for Agriculture, Rocky Malebane-Met-

sing and the rejection of the Barolong land claim by the Potchefstroom transitional local council

The council consists, among others, of members of the ANC who have been campaigning for the dispossessed to get their land back. (IA)

The divisions in the provincial government and the rejection of the Barolong's land claim were a morale booster for Mangope's party which intends contesting the local government elections next October

A finger-wagging Mangope told the cheering crowd that there was no government in the

North West Province. He said state machinery had collapsed while members of the legislature were engaged in power struggles

He attacked the government for attempting to discredit him with a commission of inquiry into his private affairs while other former homelands which were rotten with corruption were not being probed

Mangope said Bop was the "most prosperous" province and had long since begun with the RDP

He said the UDCP came about because ordinary law-abiding people needed a party which would deliver the goods



# KwaZulu/Natal row grows

BIDAY 21/11/94

DAVID GREYBE

CAPE TOWN — The political row between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party over traditional leaders in KwaZulu/Natal escalated yesterday when the ANC announced it was taking the matter to the Constitutional Court.

President Nelson Mandela also joined the fray, voicing his concern over Inkatha's handling of the potentially explosive issue.

The ANC has accused Inkatha, the ruling party in the province, of steamrolling the legislation through the provincial legislature three weeks ago without proper consultation with all parties.

The ANC does not dispute the need for houses of traditional leaders in all provinces, but objects to the manner in which the legislation was handled.

It has accused Inkatha of politicising the

issue by retaining effective political control over the Zulu monarchy.

The house of traditional leaders will act as a separate chamber to the provincial legislature and have specific functions related to customary law. (IA) (S)

A senior ANC government source warned of "very serious conflict" unless all parties in the provincial legislature agreed on the role of traditional leaders.

ANC transport minister Sbu Ndebele said the ANC would file papers with Constitutional Court president Arthur Chaskalson calling on the court to nullify the law. He said the ANC would meet its lawyers today to finalise its case.

To Page 2

## KwaZulu/Natal

BIDAY 21/11/94

From Page 1

The ANC hoped the court would deal with the matter urgently when it began sitting in mid-February.

A presidential spokesman said Mandela did not think that "the way the Act was adopted was regular", but Mandela did not want to comment further. (IA) (S)

Ndebele said only the NP supported Inkatha on the matter. The PAC had publicly distanced itself from the legislation, the DP had abstained when the Bill was put to the vote, and ANC MPs had walked out.

According to the ANC, the Act reduced the power of the Zulu king to that of a chief while placing "real power" in the hands of the king's traditional prime minister — a position claimed by Inkatha leader and national Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi. It accused Inkatha of "politicising" an issue which was crucial for future peace in the province.

Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, who is accused by his critics of having switched sides since the election, to become an ANC

supporter, has publicly rejected the Act. He claimed he was not consulted as stipulated in the interim constitution.

He and the ANC have both claimed there is no such position as traditional prime minister. Inkatha said the prime minister was elected by traditional leaders.

Zwelithini says he is politically neutral, according to his spokesman Prince Sifiso Zulu. Sapa reports that Zulu, at a rally near Durban yesterday, appealed to all chiefs and indunas to be politically neutral.

The ANC has also contested Inkatha's claim that it consulted more than two-thirds of the province's chiefs and indunas. Ndebele said those consulted by Inkatha included a group of former KwaZulu homeland MPs "brought together by Buthelezi" in an organisation called Iso Lesizwe (eye of the nation).

The KwaZulu/Natal traditional leaders' house will have 82 seats, which is one more than the provincial legislature.

# Mangope launches party

Sowetan

FORMER Bophuthatswana president Dr Lucas Mangope and several former Klerksdorp city councillors on Saturday launched the United Christian Democratic Party marking Mangope's return to the political arena

The UCDP is the first political party to be formed in South Africa since the April elections and hopes to function fully after the 1995 local government elections

Looking relaxed and healthy, Mangope (72) assured his political opponents that he was still a force to be reckoned with — much to the delight of the crowd

According to Mangope, the new party comprises his own Christian Democratic Party and a rapidly growing grouping of political leaders and their constituents from the former Western Transvaal

WA

## A new veneer

"Our critics, fearful of the threat and potential of the UCDP, are going to try and dismiss us as remnants of an older order with a new veneer. Let me advise them here and now that they adopt such an attitude at their own peril," he warned

Strongly criticising those responsible for toppling the Bophuthatswana government in March, he said he would not be intimidated

"It simply will not work. I am back and I am back with a vengeance," he said

The UCDP is being co-chaired by Dr Johan de Witt and Mr Kgomotso Ditshetelo

Mangope briefly sketched the party's aims, which included the restoration of law and order, a professional public service and creating jobs and wealth for the North West province

Mbeki set to succeed Sisulu

# Race is on for Ramaphosa's ANC post

B/Day 22/11/94

TIM COHEN

DEPUTY President Thabo Mbeki is unlikely to be challenged for the position of party deputy president at next month's ANC national conference, but the race has already begun for the post of secretary-general — which Cyril Ramaphosa will probably vacate, senior ANC sources say.

Three candidates, all MPs and members of the ANC's national executive committee, have emerged as front-runners for the secretary-general post — National Assembly chief whip Arnold Stofile, ambassador designate Mendy Msumang and Josiah Jele.

The posts of treasurer-general and chairman appear to have been clinched already by former secretary-general Henry Makgothi and deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma respectively.

Zuma's current post will probably be contested, although there is a debate within the party about whether it should go to a woman. Top contestants are prominent Women's League members, Deputy Welfare Minister Sankie Nkondo, MP Brigitte Mabandla and Thandi Modise-Mkwana, wife of Defence Minister Joe Modise.

ANC sources said some elements in the party felt the most deserving person should get the post regardless of gender, but there is also a strong lobby to reserve the post for a woman.

President Nelson Mandela will be unop-

posed for the post of ANC president.

The deputy presidency will become vacant with the retirement of Walter Sisulu, who has long wanted to retire but who was persuaded to remain in an attempt to avoid a bruising struggle for his post. (11A)

It is understood that Ramaphosa has informed the ANC Youth and Women's Leagues that he will not be available for re-election and will not contest the deputy presidency.

Youth League members have nevertheless expressed their support for him, although conceding that it will be impossible for him to remain Constitutional Assembly chairman and do justice to his party post.

Apart from a thorough revamp of executive positions, the conference, from December 17 to 21, is likely to reduce the number of ANC regions from 14 to nine so that the party's regions coincide with SA's new provinces.

The party will also elect 50 members to its national executive committee, its highest decision-making structure aside from the conference.

A final agenda has been drawn up, although organisers are promising an interesting line-up of local and foreign speakers and guests. The conference, the organisation's 49th, will be held in Bloemfontein where the party was founded 83 years ago.

# Nissen takes over the reins

CT 24/11/94 (11A)

By CHRIS BATEMAN

WESTERN CAPE Economic Affairs Minister Dr Allan Boesak yesterday took final leave of his post to prepare for his ambassadorial posting to Geneva

He will be succeeded by ANC regional chairman Mr Chris Nissen

Announcing the official appointment of Mr Nissen, Premier Mr Hennis Kriel thanked Dr Boesak for helping establish provincial unity between the ANC and the NP.

Mr Nissen is to be sworn in tomorrow

Dr Boesak, who is in Pretoria on a Foreign Affairs orientation course, will not return for next week's legislative sitting, denying his opponents an opportunity to quiz him over controversies on Swedish aid and the rental of office space

He has yet to properly explain the alleged unauthorised spending of about R840 000 in Swedish aid on video production equipment by his Foundation for Peace and Justice.

The Swedish International Development Agency has suspended FPJ funding

Dr Boesak officially takes up his post as ambassador to the UN in Geneva on February 1

# Call for leaders to behave

THE ANC Youth League yesterday castigated North-West premier Mr Popo Molefe and his sacked agriculture MEC Mr Rocky Malebane-Metsing for their conduct in the ongoing public wrangle that has split the organisation

The ANCYL said the conduct of the two men did not befit "persons of their standing".

It condemned "all types of threats" by people involved in the dispute, which has seen youth structures in the province split in support of the two men

Molefe sacked Malebane-Metsing last week, claiming he was not contributing to reconciliation and nation building

However, Malebane-Metsing, who gained popularity in the region during the failed coup in the then Bophuthatswana homeland in 1988, has the support of various ANC structures

The ANCYL said in statement it was "not in the culture of the ANC to seek to solve internal organisational problems through the Press

"The constitutional structures of the ANC are there for the service of all members and leaders to address their problems that are political and organisational

"We would like to urge all interested parties including the two leaders to leave the matter in the hands of the senior structures of the ANC to resolve the issue amicably," the statement said

The statement came after failed attempts by the national leadership to resolve the matter

Yesterday rumours abounded that provincial leaders aligned to Molefe had rejected a compromise position proposed by the national leadership —  
*Sowetan Reporter and Sapa*

Edited by Mike Siluma

**I**nternal discussions within the organisation are getting increasingly intense ahead of the national congress next month, writes Political Correspondent Kaizer Nyatumba

# ANC: the struggle continues



Past performance... the ANC's national congress in 1991, held at the University of Durban-Westville.

Three months ago, a 38-page confidential discussion document was presented to the ANC's national executive committee (NEC). Contained in it was a frank assessment of the organisation's strengths and weaknesses after the April election, and a sober look at the problems then facing the ANC as the main partner in government.

The organisation had been in power for only three months, a wave of labour strikes was sweeping across the country, and it was becoming increasingly apparent that the high expectations of the black masses who had almost given the ANC a two-thirds majority in the elections would not be easy to fulfil.

Entitled "From Resistance to Reconstruction Fasks of the ANC in the new epoch of the democratic transformation", the document — which had been authored by ANC chairman and deputy president Thabo Mbeki — was lucid and very carefully thought out. If it was realistic in its appraisal of the challenges facing the Government of National Unity (GNU) in general and the ANC in particular, it also showed an amazing degree of paranoia within ANC ranks, especially with regard to "counter-revolutionary violence" and criticism from the media.

The 100-day political honeymoon had just ended, and for the first time the ANC in Government found itself the target of sometimes very biting criticism from the press. And so the press itself came in for some sharp criticism from Mbeki, who had himself been on the receiving end of fairly sharp exchanges with the media.

"It is necessary to bear in mind," he wrote, "that this media is itself driven by fear of a truly non-racial order because of its concern to preserve its own racial status quo with regard to various matters, including ownership, editorial control and staffing."

Now the ANC faces challenges of a slightly different kind, keeping all its components together and preparing for next year's local government elections. Different views are already being exchanged ahead of the organi-

sation's first post-apartheid national congress in Bloemfontein next month.

A new document in The Star's possession, entitled "Discussion Document ANC strategy and tactics" was first tabled at the organisation's last NEC meeting this month. Subsequently amended, the 13-page document — also authored by Mbeki — will be put before the NECs of the ANC, the ANC Youth League and the ANC Women's League this weekend.

It is divided into two broad sections, resistance and transformation. The first, beginning with the history of the ANC since its formation in Bloemfontein in 1912, looks at the origin of the movement's armed struggle and ends with the negotiations which began in 1990 and culminated in the country's historic election this year.

It is in the second section that real issues are discussed.

## Only some gains

According to the document, the ANC's strategic objective remains the transformation of the country into a united, democratic, non-racial and prosperous society — which "can only be achieved through struggle."

Although the adoption of the Interim Constitution last year and the April election amounted to "a qualitative historical moment in the course of (the) transfer of political power from the white minority to the democratic majority, this moment marked a decisive but not complete transfer of political power."

"The democratic majority has won only some of the important elements of that political power necessary for the advancement of the struggle towards the completion of the current phase of the democratic revolution," says the document.

The organisation, Mbeki avers, is the vanguard political movement at the head of the process of transformation, and must therefore continue to anchor itself in its mass base. It should remain a broad democratic movement by accepting into its ranks all who accepted and abided by its policies and objectives, and had to continue to mobilise and

organise the ANC Women's and ANC's Youth Leagues.

At the top of the organisation's agenda for the future should be "the all-round political, economic and social emancipation and upliftment of the black majority" (which) is the section which displayed overwhelming confidence in the policies and objectives of the ANC.

The document says the black working class, the black rural poor and "the significant section of the black middle strata" represented forces which possessed "the best political and ideological potential to lead and defend the process of transformation."

Then Mbeki touches on the importance of the ANC continuing its alliance with organisations such as Cosatu, the SA Communist Party and civic organisations.

He says the process of reconstruction and development was taking place at a time when labour organisations had reached "an unprecedented level of organisation and political maturity", when rural communities were acutely aware of and reclaiming their right to land, and when numerous "democratic organisations of civil society" in both urban and rural areas were sprouting up.

"These are sections of our society most eager to see a thorough-going process of social transformation," says the document.

The Government's centrepiece Reconstruction and Development Programme also finds mention, with the document saying the ANC's task of building organisational capacity was "inseparable from successful implementation of the RDP." The ANC, therefore, had to pursue its strategic political objective by exercising "effective organisational and political leadership" at all levels of the mass democratic movement.

The document also speaks about the importance of business contributing to the successful implementation of the RDP, restructuring and transformation of organs of State such as the security forces, destroying all centres of counter-revolutionary violence and destabilisation still existing, and ensuring the continued existence of the GNU.

**Burnt out after gruelling negotiations and then elections, Cyril Ramaphosa faces serious opposition for his post of secretary-general of the ANC at its Bloemfontein congress next month. Political Correspondent EDYTH BULBRING reports**

Sunday Times  
27/11/94

(119)

SEVERAL days before the ANC's Durban congress in July three years ago, Cyril Ramaphosa, the National Union of Mineworkers' general secretary, was not returning telephone calls

In desperation, a journalist said to his secretary "Ask him is he making himself available for secretary-general of the ANC?"

The answer came back "Cyril says yes"

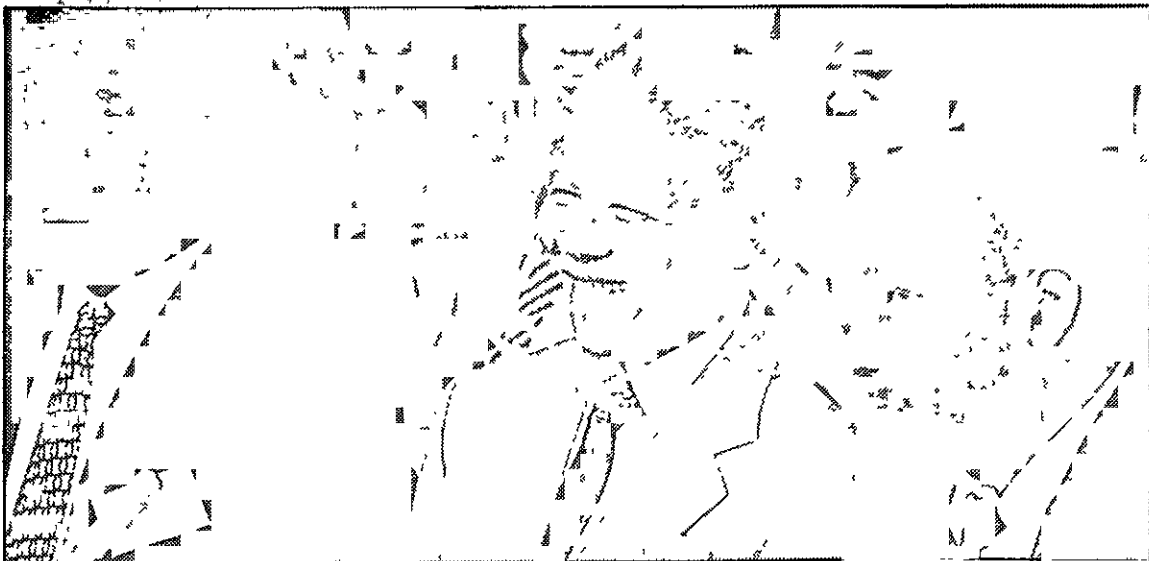
Within five minutes Mr Ramaphosa was on the telephone to the journalist

in nervous outrage he had been joking. In fact he had not decided, but if there was overwhelming pressure from the organisation, "well", he said ambiguously

In Durban several days later, having sewn up his support and made it clear he would not settle for another position, Mr Ramaphosa ground opponents Alfred Nzo and Jacob Zuma into the dust and was elected secretary-general

In the run-up to the ANC's congress in Bloemfontein on December 17, similar games are being played. Lists of prospec-

**PONDERING POWER . . . Cyril Ramaphosa has suffered political blows**



**WHO'LL BE IN THE FRONT SEATS?** Cyril Ramaphosa in the front row at Codesa with Nelson Mandela and Jacob Zuma. Thabo Mbeki was, for the moment only, in the second row (between Mandela and Zuma)

tive candidates are being floated and then leaked to the press, lurid details are being whispered about aspirant office bearers — and Mr Ramaphosa is again playing his cards close to his chest

In the years since Durban, things have changed dramatically for the ANC and for Mr Ramaphosa

The ANC is in power. But there are tensions with its allies, the South African Communist Party and the

Congress of South African Trade Unions. There are also tensions within the ANC itself between those who are in Parliament and those who are working outside of government, between the cabinet and the caucus

As an organisation the ANC lacks direction and its internal structures are a mess, party members say

The Bloemfontein congress will attempt to outline a direction for the organisation and elect an executive

Three positions are likely to be opposed. President Nelson Mandela will retain his position as president, Thabo Mbeki will emerge uncontested as the deputy president to replace Walter Sisulu, and Natal leader Jacob Zuma will take over from Mr Mbeki as the chairman of the organisation

Of the six office bearers in the ANC, the role of secretary-general is the most critical to getting the organisation back into shape, and in preparing to face the October local government elections

But in building the organisation, the secretary-general will also have the opportunity to establish a power base. Commanding such a support base will be important when the time comes for the organisation to elect the next president of the ANC and, in all likelihood, the country

In order for Mr Mbeki to be assured of succeeding Mr Mandela, he needs to have a secretary-general loyal to working towards this ambition, rather than promoting his own

Mr Ramaphosa will attend the Bloemfontein congress in a weaker posi-

tion behind him and has become skilled in manipulating the emerging interests of Africanists within the organisation

A comment made this week by a senior ANC member was that should ANC official Cheryl Corulus stand for the position of secretary-general, she would be ripped apart by the Africanists including Winnie Mandela and Peter Mokaba because she is coloured. There have also been disturbing signs of "anti-white" rhetoric in the PWV's battles against Housing Minister Joe Slovo

**If Cyril contests the position he runs the risk, as one senior ANC member put it this week, of 'having his political throat slit for good' by Thabo Mbeki**

over the province's approach to housing

Burnt out after the gruelling negotiations and the elections, Mr Ramaphosa went through a painful divorce — and suffered two savage political blows

He made it clear that he was interested in one position in the cabinet and one only — deputy president

But it was given to his

which offended Mr Mandela

Mr Ramaphosa later claimed that he turned it down on the grounds that he wished to devote his energies to his job as secretary-general. Later, however, he accepted the position as chairman of the Constitutional Assembly, belying his original claim

Congress is likely to insist that the job of secretary-general be a full-time one — and Mr Ramaphosa will have to decide whether to forsake his constitutional role for the organisation

At stake is a political career

If he stays with the Constitutional Assembly, his job will be over in 18 months and he will be left without a political role or a power base

If he decides to contest the position of secretary-general he risks, as a senior ANC member put it this week, "having his political throat slit for good" by Mr Mbeki

In the run-up to the congress, bogus candidates are being floated — some call it marking territory — with a view to confusing the lobbies and discouraging other competitors

So far, three candidates have been mentioned to fill Mr Ramaphosa's position — Josiah Jele, Mendi Msimang and Arnold Stofile. Neither Mr Jele nor Mr Msimang are serious contenders as they have been earmarked for ambassadorships to the UN and London respectively and will have to withdraw if nominated

Mr Stofile has not made his position clear, but some say he would not go up against Mr Ramaphosa

At the same time, lobbies are stating their backing for candidates. One of the most interesting is the alleged support for Mr Ramaphosa from the youth league which for some time has supported Mr Mbeki. Its claim to back Mr Ramaphosa is considered by some to be a ploy to instil confidence before springing a booby trap.

One scenario being sketched is that a candidate, hand-picked by Mr Mbeki, will enter the race at the last moment and the people who never intended standing in the first place will drop out. At this point the youth league would switch its backing to Mr Mbeki's candidate, as would other powerful groupings such as the women's league, Africanists and former exiles of whose support Mr Mbeki can be assured of

Should Mr Ramaphosa decide to take on this candidate, he would be able to count on the backing of the unions and some powerful premiers

Some say, however, that he will not enter the race for secretary-general

# Cyril weighs up

# his chances

# Lekota loses ANC chair in Free State

PHUTHADITJABA, Free State — Free State Premier Mr Patrick Lekota lost the vote for chairman of the ANC's Free State branch in a surprise result at the party's provincial congress yesterday (11A)

Mr Lekota was convincingly beaten by Mr Pat Matosa in a tense election which saw emotions run high ET 28/11/94

Mr Lekota said after the vote that his defeat would not affect

his position as premier. The premiership was a government post, while Mr Matosa's position was a political one.

Nevertheless, ANC members said it was tragic that Mr Lekota had paid the price for his reconciliatory position towards whites.

Radicals claim Mr Lekota neglected the people who put him in office. He is now just an ordinary member of the ANC's pro-

vincial executive committee.

The Free State and the Eastern Cape are the only ANC-controlled provinces where the premier is not also chairman of the regional executive.

Mr Motosa received 263 votes against 190 for Mr Lekota. Mr Motosa was secretary of the ANC in the north Free State.

A group at the congress said it wanted Mr Lekota out as it supported the separation of the

political post of chairman and the government post of premier. Another group felt he was too busy as premier to do two jobs.

Mr Matosa yesterday pledged support for Mr Lekota as premier and offered the loyalty of the ANC's executive committee to the provincial legislature, but some predicted tension in the premier's office where Mr Matosa is regional co-ordinator of the RDP — Sapa



# Lekota loses bid for top ANC post

Sowetan

28/11/94

By Mathatha Tsedu  
Political Editor

**F**REE STATE PREMIER Mr Patrick "Tenor" Lekota yesterday failed to win the ANC chairmanship ballot in an upset outcome that is bound to have political repercussions for the ANC in the province. Lekota came third when two of his juniors in government, RDP commissioner Mr Pat Matosa and MEC for economic affairs Mr Ace Magashule, piped him to the post for the chairmanship and deputy chairmanship, respectively.

Lekota was elected one of 20 additional members on the committee. He told *Sowetan* that he accepted the outcome as the expression of the will of the people. Lekota is the only premier so far who has lost the chairmanship of the province that he leads. The delegates' mood at this first unified provin-

cial conference held in QwaQwa was ugly when the results were announced.

(11P)  
Matosa, from Welkom, was voted in by 33 branches and Lekota by 22. Magashule received 26. It became clear on Saturday that the race was between Matosa and former Northern Free State chairman Magashule.

The first provincial elections will not be forgotten as they were marred by accusations that voting was on tribal lines. Accusations were that the Northerners had packed the delegates.

Only one Southerner, secretary Mr Kaiser Sebothelo, was elected. His deputy is Ms Annah Buthelezi, while the treasurer is Mr Aaron Mnguni. Twenty additional members, including Lekota, were elected.

Lekota was accused by delegates during the congress of not consulting the branches in the region. He said he had been prevented from doing so by both the North and South regions of the ANC in the province.

# Rift erupts in ANC as Lekota loses

By Lulama Luti and Sapa

A MAJOR rift has erupted in the Free State region of the African National Congress after premier Mr Terror Lekota's defeat as chairman of the region at the weekend

Lekota failed in his bid to win the chairmanship of the province when he lost to RDP commissioner Mr Pat Matosa during a provincial conference held in QwaQwa on Saturday

In a dramatic move yesterday, the Kroonstad branch of the ANC an-

nounced it would ask the party's national executive committee to review Matosa's election as the ANC's Free State chairman

Matosa, formerly ANC Northern Free State secretary, beat Lekota by 263 votes to 190 in the race for the provincial chairmanship

ANC Kroonstad organiser Mr Oupa Ramasia reportedly claimed the elections were undemocratic because 17 of Kroonstad's 19 delegates were denied entry to the congress

The latest saga in the Free State comes

hot on the heels of yet another unresolved dispute between North-West premier Mr Popo Molefe and dismissed MEC for agriculture and environmental affairs Mr Rocky Malebane-Metsing

Attempts to obtain comment from officials at the ANC regional office drew a blank as most of them were said to have been tired and gone home to rest

Matosa's personal assistant Ms Charmaine Olfant told *Sowetan* that while her boss was in the office, he could not, however, come to the phone as he was busy in consultations

*Sowetan* 29/11/94

(11A)

for national hero poorly attended

Sowetan

30/11/94

EA

# Mpetha's funeral causes concern

By Mathatha Tsedu  
Political Editor

■ **BELOW STANDARD** Family fear

Oscar's burial will not be honourable:

**T**HE FAMILY OF Mr Oscar Mpetha is worried that the funeral the former ANC leader will get when he is eventually buried in Nyanga will be below standard

Mpetha died two weeks ago, his burial is planned for Saturday, 20 days after his death. His daughter, Miss Mathilda Mpetha, told *Sowetan* yesterday the family was worried by the fact that two memorial services, organised by the ANC in Cape Town, were poorly attended.

Miss Mpetha would not explain why the funeral had been delayed for so long,

but *Sowetan* understands that financial difficulties in the family, and reluctance by the ANC in the region to get involved were major causes. Party spokesman Mr Manfred van Rooyen said the ANC had a budget of R14 300 for the funeral. ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu would represent the national leadership.

Mpetha was the honorary life president of the ANC in the Western Cape. He died on November 14 aged 85. He had lost both legs due to diabetes and the ANC gave him a monthly allowance of

R4 038 which was inexplicably stopped in October last year. The mistake was corrected after a media outcry.

Mpetha said: "What would you do, or how would you feel if you were us and your father, who is very popular here, could not even have a decent memorial service?"

"My father neglected us as children, devoting his time and life to the struggle. We grew up knowing that. But what we have now seen leaves us very worried indeed," she said.

# Hani killers' appeal

## Appeal rejected

11A

Southern

11/2/94

THE APPEAL Court in Bloemfontein yesterday found that there was a grave case for former Conservative Party politician Clive Derby-Lewis to answer in regard to the murder of South African Communist Party general secretary Mr Chris Hani on April 10 1993.

The court found he had been properly convicted of Hani's murder and that his appeal against his conviction for the murder must fail.

After a careful perusal of the trial court's judgment on sentence, Mr Justice Hoexter, with the concurrence of Mr Justice Botha, Mr Justice EM Grosskopf, Mr Justice Eksteen and Mr Justice Howie, was not in the least persuaded that it had overlooked any relevant matter proper for its consideration, or that it was actuated by any misdirection.

Mr Justice Hoexter said the trial court correctly pointed out that in cases of this sort, the elements of retribution and deterrence naturally came to the fore. He said few crimes could be regarded by a court as more atrocious, or as

being more calculated to arouse the revulsion of decent members of society, than the sort of murder of which Derby-Lewis and Polish immigrant Janusz Walus were duly convicted.

The trial court ultimately concluded that, in the case of each appellant, the death sentence was the only proper penalty.

"So far from being assailed by any doubts in the matter, I entirely agree with that conclusion. I would therefore confirm the death sentences," said Hoexter.

Further consideration of their appeals against the death sentences by the Appeal Court was deferred until the Constitutional Court has ruled on the constitutionality of the death sentence in such a case as this.

Derby-Lewis' appeal against imprisonment for five years for unlawful possession of a pistol and ammunition was also dismissed.

The two men were convicted by Transvaal Judge President Mr Justice CF Elloff in the Rand Supreme Court on October 14 1993 for the murder of Hani.—Sapa.

# No split in ANC, says Ramaphosa

B/Day

11/2/94

ADRIAN HADLAND

PROBLEMS within the ANC in the Free State and the Northwest did not signal the development of divisions within the party, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

Briefing the media on the party's national conference in Bloemfontein, scheduled for December 17-21, Ramaphosa said the ANC expected to emerge "strengthened, rejuvenated and united".

In the Northwest, where former agriculture minister Rocky Malebane-Metsing was dismissed recently for undermining premier Popo Molefe, Ramaphosa said he believed a solution had been found by the ANC's national executive committee.

In the Free State, premier Terror Lekota lost the party chairmanship in a regional party congress last week, with one branch claiming its delegates had been barred from attending the election.

The Free State results had been the expression of the majority of delegates' wishes but did not constitute a split within the ANC, Ramaphosa said. "While we have had problems in the Northwest and the Free State, I am not aware of any division within the ANC."

Sapa reports that the ANC's Free State caucus accepted the election results in which Lekota lost his position as party provincial chairman to Pat Matosa.

The caucus expressed confidence in Lekota's leadership and government, and reaffirmed its commitment to a policy of reconciliation adopted by Lekota after the April elections. Lekota's loss of the chairmanship was attributed in some quarters to that policy, seen as embracing whites and neglecting blacks.

Meanwhile Molefe said his government accepted the national executive committee's view that Malebane-Metsing should be accepted back into the provincial gov-

ernment. However, Malebane-Metsing would not be reinstated to his former post. He would remain a member of the legislature until his dismissal was reviewed, depending on his conduct. (11A)

Ramaphosa said about 3,000 delegates were expected to attend the party's 49th national conference later this month. They would "deliberate and take decisions on the challenges facing the ANC and SA".

The objective of the conference, under the theme "from resistance to reconstruction and nation-building", would be the consolidation and extension of the gains made by the democratic movement.

Eleven commissions would be established to discuss a wide-ranging number of issues relevant to the party's future.

The ANC would incorporate resolutions and action programmes from the commissions into a consolidated declaration to be announced by President Nelson Mandela.

Secret ballots would be held to elect members of the national executive committee as well as for the key posts of president, deputy president, secretary-general, deputy secretary-general, national chairman and treasurer-general.

Ramaphosa said the ANC believed an urgent meeting between the ANC, the NP and the Inkatha Freedom Party should be held to discuss international mediation on the Constitution.

It is believed the need for a meeting was mooted last month by the Constitutional Assembly's management committee, but was not regarded by Inkatha as sufficient.

Sources said this week that unless mediation was resumed, Inkatha would consider pulling out of next year's local government elections.

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# 'Support for ANC dropped 7%'

Star 2/12/1994

Cape Town — Public support for the ANC fell 7 percent between the April election and September, according to a national survey commissioned by the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (Idasa)

The results were released yesterday

The survey of 2 517 people in urban and rural areas also found reduced support for all the other major parties

The ANC's support dropped from 60,6 percent in April to 53,6 percent in September, the National Party's from 18,7 to 15,8 percent, the Inkatha Freedom Party's from 5,8 to 4,1 percent, the Democratic Party's from 1,5 to 1,1 percent and the

Freedom Front's from 2,1 to 1,8 percent

Support for the Pan Africanist Congress rose from 1,5 to 1,6 percent

The number of respondents who declined to disclose their voting preference rose from 8,2 percent in April to 12,5 percent in September

Idasa executive director Professor Wilnot James said a post-election drop in party support was "not unusual" but the "floating vote" appeared to show a marked rise (IIA) (332)

The survey found much political intolerance among all communities. Only 26 percent of respondents said they would allow activity by political opponents in

their town or neighbourhood

Supporters of most parties showed relatively high intolerance (60 to 80 percent would not allow activity by political rivals), but only 19 percent of DP respondents felt this way.

Significantly, 24,4 percent of respondents who identified with the African Christian Democratic Party voted for the NP in April, as did 18,6 percent of DP and 18,2 percent of FF supporters

The survey found most IFP and FF supporters identified with their parties for racial or ethnic reasons. DP, NP and ANC supporters listed ideology, policies and performance as the main reasons for their support — Sapa.

ANC

Fun 2/12/94

# Ears far from the ground?

**The startling** failure of Free State's charismatic premier Patrick "Terror" Lekota to win re-election as chairman of the ANC in that province seems to underline the seriousness of a backlash against the organisation

Various factors may have combined to deny Lekota the job. Voting along tribal lines has been suggested. But the one that sticks out and may have been decisive is the charge that he has been too conciliatory to whites. Radicals claim he has neglected the people who put him into office.

The feeling appears to extend beyond the Free State. North West premier Popo Molefe (who was closely associated with Lekota in UDF days) is arguably the victim of a similar problem. Though Molefe's opponent Rocky Malebane-Metsing is not an especially likeable figure, he has shrewdly articulated the bitterness of those who feel left out.

It may be significant that in both provinces, opponents have also charged that Molefe's and Lekota's claims to be local lads are tenuous. This could be an indication, says Wits University's Tom Lodge, that the extraparliamentary ANC wants its own identity and is signalling to the leadership that they won't be party poodles. It is not necessarily an unhealthy sign, if it is understood and accommodated.

In the Free State, meanwhile, the Kroonstad branch is challenging last Sunday's ballot upset. However, the margin by which Lekota was beaten by two of his juniors is significant. Winner Pat Matosa, former secretary of the ANC in north Free State (where Lekota was chairman before the April general election), received 263 votes to Lekota's 190. The deputy chairman's job went to Lekota's MEC for economic affairs, Ace Magashule. In terms of branch votes, Matosa was backed by 33 branches, Magashule 26 and Lekota 22. This is a long way from the ANC's national congress elections four years ago, when Lekota came fourth — behind only Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki and the late Chris Hani.

Aside from Eastern Cape, where premier Raymond Mhlaba did not stand, Free State is the only province that hasn't elected the premier as chairman of the organisation as well. Eastern Cape has decided that those in government should in principle not stand for party posts. The ANC in Natal has yet to hold its party elections.

According to one ANC MP (of Indian origin), there is an overwhelming impression that when it comes to allocating jobs, or relocating squatters, or dealing with MK rebels in the Defence Force, that the

ANC bends over backwards to placate whites. Further, that very little is seen on the ground in terms of the fruits of democracy and freedom. The RDP sounds good on paper but in practice is too vague. In short, not enough is being done for Africans. The message is expected to be rammed home at the ANC's national congress in Bloemfontein this month.

As though in anticipation, the ANC executive committee's revised conference discussion document on strategy and tactics, originally drafted by Mbeki, makes some interesting points.

For example "The character and strength of the ANC must continue to reside in its mass base," including "our ability to mobilise and organise the ANC Women's League and the ANC Youth League." It says "The main content of the current phase of the democratic revolution con-



tinues to be the all-round political, economic and social emancipation and upliftment of the black majority." And its main motive forces are represented by "the black working class, black rural poor and the significant section of the black middle strata."

(11A)  
The documents note that reconstruction and development are taking place at a time when certain sections — labour, rural communities and many organisations of civil society — are "most eager to see a thorough-going process of social transformation."

It says. "The continued predominance of the national question points to the amount of work we still have to do in organising and mobilising the white community." This applies to the coloured and Indian communities "to a certain extent."

Tougher rhetoric on affirmative action and educational and other issues can therefore be expected following the congress. But the question is how meaningful it will be, given the constraints imposed by the constitution and restraints in terms of the economy and investment. The ANC leadership is certainly aware of this and has warned against populists raising false hopes.

Asked whether Lekota's defeat might reflect growing anti-white feeling, UCT's Robert Schrire says he predicted six months ago "that the honeymoon of a multiracial coalition government would not hold in the face of unrealised expectations." Politics, he explains, is essentially about delivering constituencies. While it made sense, in the first glow of democratic transformation, to bring whites, coloureds and Indians into the Cabinet, their inclusion is starting to be questioned.

The ANC's Border region chairman and chief whip, Arnold Stofile, said months ago that the organisation could not be the nice happy family it was if its leading non-African figures could not deliver their constituencies. Mandela repudiated this view, but it is evidently still held by significant numbers among the ANC's African members. Indeed, Africanists in the organisation might well be expected to ask what people like Joe Slovo or Kader Asmal, for example, are doing in Cabinet, given that it was African people overwhelmingly who voted the ANC into power, while most whites, Indians and coloureds backed the NP. This fact is recognised in top ANC discussion papers such as the one by its chairman, Thabo Mbeki.

Significantly, on one mysterious recent list of prospective new candidates for the ANC's NEC, only one white (Ronnie Kasrils) and one Indian (Dullah Omar) make the grade. However, it includes hardliners Winnie Mandela, Harry Gwala, Peter Mokaba and Tony Yengeni. And it is worth noting that ever since the PAC ceased to be a credible political force on April 29, Africanists, whether for opposition or ca-

# Cyril backed for top ANC post

SI Times 4/12/94

By RAY HARTLEY

THE ANC's powerful PWV region is set to nominate Cyril Ramaphosa for the position of national secretary-general at a meeting today to prepare for the party's national conference later this month.

Highly placed sources said regional representatives had informed Mr Ramaphosa, who has not yet committed himself to standing, of their intention to nominate him.

Although the PWV had the most ANC branches, it was not clear how many of the 3 000 voting delegates at the conference would be from the region.

Mr Ramaphosa said this week that a calculation based on both branch strength and success at the polls in April would be used to determine votes, but he did not know how the two factors would be weighted against each other.

Mr Ramaphosa's strongest rival, ANC Chief Whip Arnold Stofile, could have the backing of the Eastern Cape, which has fewer branches than the PWV, but had a superior showing in the elections.

Two weeks ahead of the ANC's Bloemfontein

conference, there are strong signals that its members are growing impatient with reconciliation and are demanding a greater emphasis on the delivery of basic needs. (1A)

A strategy document prepared by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, in his capacity as ANC chairman, has outlined how the party should cope with the new pressure.

Mr Mbeki's "strategy and tactics" document said: "We should seek to build a united society which would not be torn apart by competing and antagonistic ethnic and racial demands

"This requires, among other things, that we should continue to oppose any 'federal' solutions which seek to distribute political, economic and state power on the basis of race and ethnicity."

The document said that the uneven development and "vast disparities in natural endowment" among provinces threatened co-operation between central and provincial governments and between provincial governments themselves.

"They tend to engender a scramble for scarce resources and pose the real danger of fanning racial and ethnic tensions."



# 'Chiefs should not be political'

CP NEWS 4/12/94  
By CP CORRESPONDENT

STATE President Nelson Mandela yesterday made an impassioned appeal to chiefs in KwaNatal to abandon party politics and play a leading role in developing rural communities.

Speaking at the ANC provincial conference in Durban – the first provincial conference of the organisation in the province since 1960 – Mandela said that the creation of democracy in South Africa had restored the dignity of traditional leaders. (11A)

“No longer should it be that they are used as tools of political parties,” Mandela told delegates.

He called on the chiefs to “seize this opportunity with both hands” and play their rightful role in uniting communities beyond the boundaries of party politics, and in ensuring that the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was implemented.

He stressed the need for the creation of a House of Traditional Leaders to promote unity and community interests, rather than party political interests.

The reference was clearly pitched to address the controversial issue of the House – which meets in Ulundi on December 9 despite ongoing political battles about its composition.

The ANCV – at provincial level – has accused Inkatha of ramming legislation through the provincial parliament to create a House dominated by Inkatha.

ANC spokesman John Jeffrey indicated this week that the organisation would challenge the creation of the House in the Supreme Court in an attempt to ensure that it is not merely an extension of Inkatha.

# Zuma re-elected unopposed

AFRICAN National Congress deputy general secretary Mr Jacob Zuma was yesterday re-elected unopposed as Kwazulu-Natal leader of his organisation

ANC leaders from throughout the province were yesterday afternoon still locked in various commission discussions at the first Kwazulu-Natal conference since the ANC's banning in 1960. Spokesman Mr Mlungisi Ndhlela said only Zuma and northern Kwazulu-Na-

tal office bearer Mr Senzo Mchunu had been elected to provincial executive positions by 3pm. Mchunu was elected secretary.

He said Midlands ANC leader Mr Harry Gwala was nominated for Zuma's position but he withdrew.

Ndhlela said delegates were discussing proposals to restructure the organisation's branches in Kwazulu-Natal. One proposal is to increase from three to 10 the number of sub-regions.

*Sowetan* 5/12/77

The ANC provincial executive committee will have 25 members.

Opening the conference on Saturday, President Nelson Mandela said the occasion was among the few events that had the potential to impact decisively on the future of the ANC (MP)

He urged members to strengthen the ANC's electoral machinery, make inroads into rural communities, show unity of purpose among leadership and woo Indian and coloured communities.

into the organisation

The provincial conference commissions were yesterday afternoon also discussing the implementation of the Reconstruction and Development Programme, consolidation of the peace process and the integration of armed forces.

Ndhlela said the organisation was likely to announce its weekend resolutions at a Press conference next week. — *Sapa*

# Historic conference (11A) re-elects ANC leader

ETS/12/94

DURBAN — ANC secretary general Mr Jacob Zuma was re-elected unopposed yesterday as the party's kwaZulu/Natal leader, at its first conference in the province since it was banned in 1960

Spokesman Mr Mlungisi Ndhlela said Midlands ANC leader Mr Harry Gwala was nominated for Mr Zuma's position, but withdrew the proposal

Only Mr Zuma and northern kwaZulu/Natal office-bearer Mr Senzo Mchunu had been elected to provincial executive positions by 3pm yesterday, the latter as secretary

ANC leaders from throughout

the province were still locked in commission discussions

Mr Ndhlela said delegates were discussing proposals to restructure the organisation's branches in kwaZulu/Natal

Opening the conference on Saturday, President Nelson Mandela warned his organisation not to underplay the significance of its election loss here and in the Western Cape

The ANC had to strengthen its electoral machinery and pay sufficient attention to rural areas as well as show a unity of purpose at leadership level. It also had to develop strategies to reach out to

the Indian and coloured communities

Mr Mandela also praised Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's peace initiatives, saying it was hoped they would restore traditional structures to their "respected, non-partisan role"

He said democracy had restored the dignity of traditional leaders

Mr Mandela's statements took place against the backdrop of attempts by the Inkatha Freedom Party to change local government elections — in order, according to the ANC, for chiefs to be used as political instruments — Sapa

**NEWS** Province changes name to

# 'Too early for change'

**■ PWV RESOLVE** Time is not right  
*Sowetan 8/12/94*  
 for ANC to become a political party:

**By Mzimasi Ngudle**

**T**HE African National Congress must remain a liberation movement until it has liberated society, the organisation's PWV region resolved this week

The resolution will be submitted to the ANC's 49th national conference in Bloemfontein this month, deputy secretary of the ANC PWV region Mr Obed Bapela said

He said the region recognised that the ANC had attained only political power, while the apartheid state machinery — the civil service, army and police — remained intact

"We regard Parliament and Government as an instrument to transform the state machinery," said Bapela

"The ANC has gone only quarter way to liberating society. The other three-quarters is still the terrain of struggle as mapped out in our strategy and tactics adopted at the Morogoro conference in

1969 "

He said the ANC needed to "adhere to its tactics", which were confirmed by the organisation's National Consultative Conference in 1991 *(U1A)*

"If we were to become a political party now, we would surely lose all the ground we have covered and serve narrower interests above those of a broader society "

Meanwhile, nominations for the first three top ANC positions remained unchanged in all regions that have released their lists so far

Northern Transvaal's incomplete nominations have chosen Nelson Mandela as president, Thabo Mbeki as his deputy and Cyril Ramaphosa as secretary-general. These nominations tally with earlier nominations from the PWV and the Eastern Cape regions

These two regions differed only in respect of a treasurer-general

Northern Transvaal ANC provincial administrator Mr Eugene Masete said nominees for the other three posts would be made during the weekend

# Leadership shake-up in ANC on the cards

THE leadership of the African National Congress — excluding the top six positions — is set to undergo a thorough shake-up when the ANC conference begins in Bloemfontein next weekend

The development was confirmed in a statement through the ANC's department of information and publicity on Thursday which said the ANC "would like its national executive committee to be representative of all communities and provinces"

ANC sources said on Thursday President Nelson Mandela was leading an initiative to change the composition of the party's executive structure, the 50-member NEC

## Appointed a committee

One source said Mandela had appointed a committee to oversee the process of making the NEC more representative of minorities and the ANC's regions.

"If proposals by the president are anything to go by, there will be changes to the NEC

"The president is more concerned about the representativeness of the NEC in terms of gender and minorities," one ANC source said 9/12/94

The initiative could see established ANC figures departing from the NEC in favour of little-known candidates from the regions (1/19)

The ANC statement said a "list committee" had been formed to oversee the process of making the NEC more representative

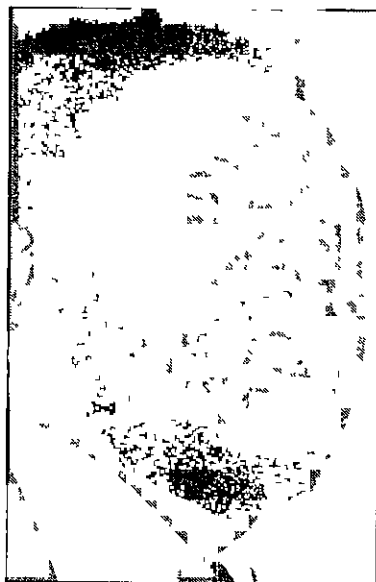
It was holding consultations with the ANC in the provinces, the ANC Women's League and the ANC Youth League.

The committee comprises South African Communist Party secretary general Charles Nqakula, Congress of South Africa Trade Unions general secretary Sam Shilowa, Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma, Senate deputy president Govan Mbeki, South African National Civic Organisation president Lechesa Tsenohi and outgoing ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu. — Sapa

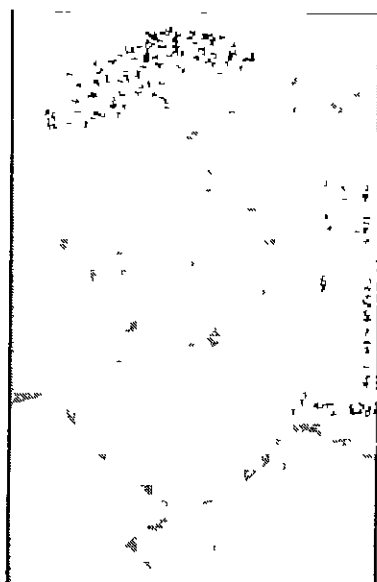
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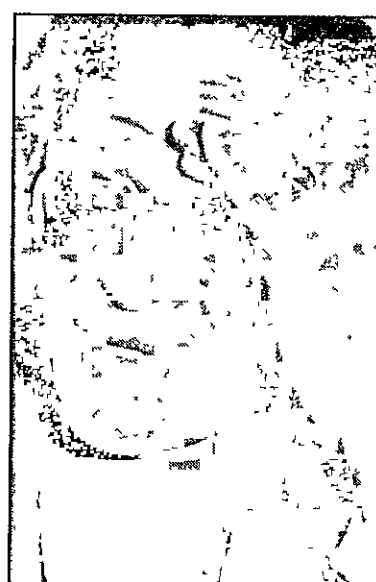
Nelson Mandela



Cyril Ramaphosa



Obed Bapela



Desmond Tutu

**Quotes**

Issues threatening the survival of the organisation look certain to be played down at the insistence of certain layers of the ANC leadership

# 'ANC must face new crisis'

By Mzimasi Ngudle

## ■ MAIN ISSUE *Party must be acutely aware of the apathy gripping people:*

**W**HETHER Cyril Ramaphosa stands or falls as the ANC's secretary-general will not generate concern during the organisation's 49th national conference next week

Leadership tussles and jockeying for positions will get no more attention than the post-April challenges faced by the organisation, as Mr Obed Bapela, a spokesman for the ANC PWV region which is one of the most powerful regions, observed

Whether the organisation remains a liberation movement or opts to become a political party will also not duly concern the 3 000 delegates who will attend the conference

Whatever it calls itself, at the end of the day the organisation will remain the same

But what is crucial is for the organisation to fight for survival and address threats to its grip on political power

That threat is the erosion of the mandate that put it in political power in April. This mandate now hangs precariously on the ANC's capacity to provide houses, schools, food and healthcare

The ANC needs to address post-April challenges to remain in power, and to succeed in next year's local government elections

However, these challenges are not defined with any precision and the content of discussion is likely to be obscured and will probably end inconclusively

Bland statements like "charting out a programme that will carry the movement for the next ten years" is the kind of talk likely to warp the proceedings

But charting out a programme capable of working even within five years may prove to be a will-o-the-wisp

Sources identify discontent with party leadership, its level of organisation and democratic processes as posing a serious danger to the survival of the organisation.

Contentious issues arising from this discontent have reportedly not been addressed at regional congresses and will not be a subject of heated debate at the conference.

Sources said this will leave the doors open for ANC bureaucrats to impose ready-made solutions to its loyal and compliant leadership. They point out that issues hurting the ANC most will not be hotly debated, as burning issues have been shelved at regional congresses and are not likely to be raised at the national conference

"Issues threatening the survival of the organisation look certain to be played down at the insistence of certain layers of the ANC leadership," said one source

For example, the sources say the fate of about 4 000 Umkhonto WeSizwe cadres dismissed from the new South African National Defence Force may still remain unresolved at the close of the conference

The sources say the ANC has, since its

unbanning, craftily used its bureaucracy to direct party policy and even silence "internal party opposition" to its policies. They are confident that this norm will pervade throughout the conference

Delegates to the congress need not be surprised at finding out they came to listen to the master's voice

Already, there are reports that the ANC leadership will be elected under a plan called the "Mandela Initiative", the effect of which will be to override nominations from the ANC regions, the Women's League and the Youth League

Rumblings of discontent from disillusioned ANC supporters speak louder about collusion between the ANC leadership and big business on one hand, and government authorities on the other

Their objections are heard daily when they stage protest marches, in their letters to editors, on bus and taxi rides, in bars and at parties

While impossible to gauge the extent of such antipathy, it is clear that it is growing in alarming proportions

There are as yet no distinct groupings from within the organisation which stand up to challenge party policy. However, with the 1999 elections just over four years away, the ANC must be acutely aware of the apathy that slowly grips its constituency. And not least when a very prominent community and church leader like Archbishop Desmond Tutu openly passes a vote of no confidence in the country's popular leader President Nelson Mandela, who is sure to be re-elected ANC president at the conference

In Australia this week, Tutu said bluntly he would be confident of the new South Africa only when Mandela steps down as the country's president

Tutu made the statement at a time when perception was gaining ground that Mandela was overly sympathetic to whites and cared little about blacks

This perception flows down to ANC leaders in the national and provincial governments, who are seen as merry-makers on a gravy train

Prominent educationist Dr Gordon Sibuya notes that "certain white people still go about as if they are in control and in charge of us"

Two academics from the University of South Africa, Dr DL Mosoma and Professor TK Mofokeng, have even suggested that if the ANC continues to marginalise blacks, "serious consideration should be given to the formation of a new opposition party"

Will ANC voters be keen to elect the third layer of gravy train riders when local government elections are held next year?

The ANC needs to answer this question if it means to pose any serious challenge to

the National Party, which has kicked off its campaign in earnest

In all, the organisation needs to look seriously at its credibility crisis

It should go beyond its adherence to the bare concept of non-racialism and look at practical measures to uplift poor black communities

This certainly takes more than a goodwill visit by Mandela to squatter communities, who still face the prospect of being bulldozed out of their makeshift settlements (11A)

The ANC's success record in Government will translate to the stability of its extra-parliamentary organisation — which is where the strength of any political party lies

Needless to say, its poor record in Parliament will impact adversely on its structures

The continuing dissipation of its

structures, which is due partly to the exodus of almost its entire provincial and national leader to Government, is likely to run deeper if delivery of social services is not forthcoming

As a majority party in the Government of National Unity, the ANC must expedite the implementation of measures such as the Equal Opportunities Bill, address the housing crisis with more vigour and so on

And, if it cannot be black enough in its cloak of non-racialism, then at least to be less white than it is

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ARG 14/12/94

## Wrangle over IFP's campaign debts

(I.P.A.)  
DURBAN — Inkatha Freedom Party MP Walter Felgate may have to appear in court to testify in a R438 000 claim against the party for payment of alleged outstanding debts from their election campaign

A Supreme Court application was brought against the party by a holding company for the media consultants, Mass Media Coordination, which was employed by the IFP in November 1993 to assist with the party's election campaign and fundraising

According to papers filed by the managing director of the company, Mr Johan Pottas, the company ran up a bill of R670 000 which the IFP failed to pay despite extensive requests for payment

ARG 14/12/94

# This could be Carolus's chance for top position

CLIVE SAWYER  
Political Correspondent

11(A)

THE Western Cape regional executive of the African National Congress has backed the movement's reconstruction and development chief, Cheryl Carolus, to be deputy secretary-general

Elections for the national executive will be held this weekend at the movement's landmark national conference in Bloemfontein, the ANC's first such gathering since the election victory

The nomination will boost Ms Carolus's already strong chances of getting a job many in the movement believe should be reserved for a woman.

The Western Cape has backed serving secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa to keep his post, a move widely expected to happen following negotiations in past weeks to end speculation of a contest between Mr Ramaphosa and deputy president Thabo Mbeki

The region is to propose six people to the national executive as part of an effort to make the body more gender-representative, and more representative of all regions

The nominees are Vivien Taylor, head of the ANC's welfare department in the Western Cape, Nomaandia Mfeketo, a member of the national

executive of the ANC Women's League and co-chair of the Cape Metropolitan Negotiating Forum, posts, telecommunications and broadcasting minister Pallo Jordan, public service and administration minister Zola Skweyiya, and justice minister Dullah Omar

The Western Cape's nominations for the top six positions are

- Mr Mandela — president,
- Thabo Mbeki — deputy president,
- Jacob Zuma — national chairman,
- Cyril Ramaphosa — secretary-general,
- Henry Makgothi — treasurer-general

Some branches have indicated support for Dr Jordan to be national chairman and for trade and industry minister Trevor Manuel to be treasurer-general

Provincial secretary James Ngculu said the Western Cape executive met Mr Mandela at the weekend

A list of recommendations by Mr Mandela will be tabled alongside another list of names of national executive committee nominations from branches

It is expected the region will reconcile its list with that of President Mandela before the conference



# Mandela launches his 'Long walk to freedom'

ESTHER WAUGH  
The Argus Correspondent  
in Johannesburg

A book that began on Robben Island was last night launched in what was probably one of the most opulent estates in Johannesburg's northern suburbs

The launch of President Nelson Mandela's autobiography, "Long walk to freedom", was most certainly the most high-profile book launch in South African publishing history

The more than 500 guests, assembled in a giant white marquee, made up the new South Africa's glitterati

The guest list ranged from business leaders, Constitutional Assembly chairman Cyril Ramaphosa, Senate President Kobie Coetsee, Easter Transvaal Premier Mathew Phosa, Nadine Gordimer, Ali Bacher and Stix Morewa, United Democratic Front activists and MPs

The launch of the book, which goes on sale today was held at Sandhurst house of insurance magnate Douw Steyn

Mandela, dressed in a casual shirt, was clearly in a mood to talk — entertaining

guests with several anecdotes of his life

Turning to politics, the president said the government was now in a position to address the genuine concerns of the majority after allaying white fears

The government was, however, limited by the budget in addressing the needs of the majority

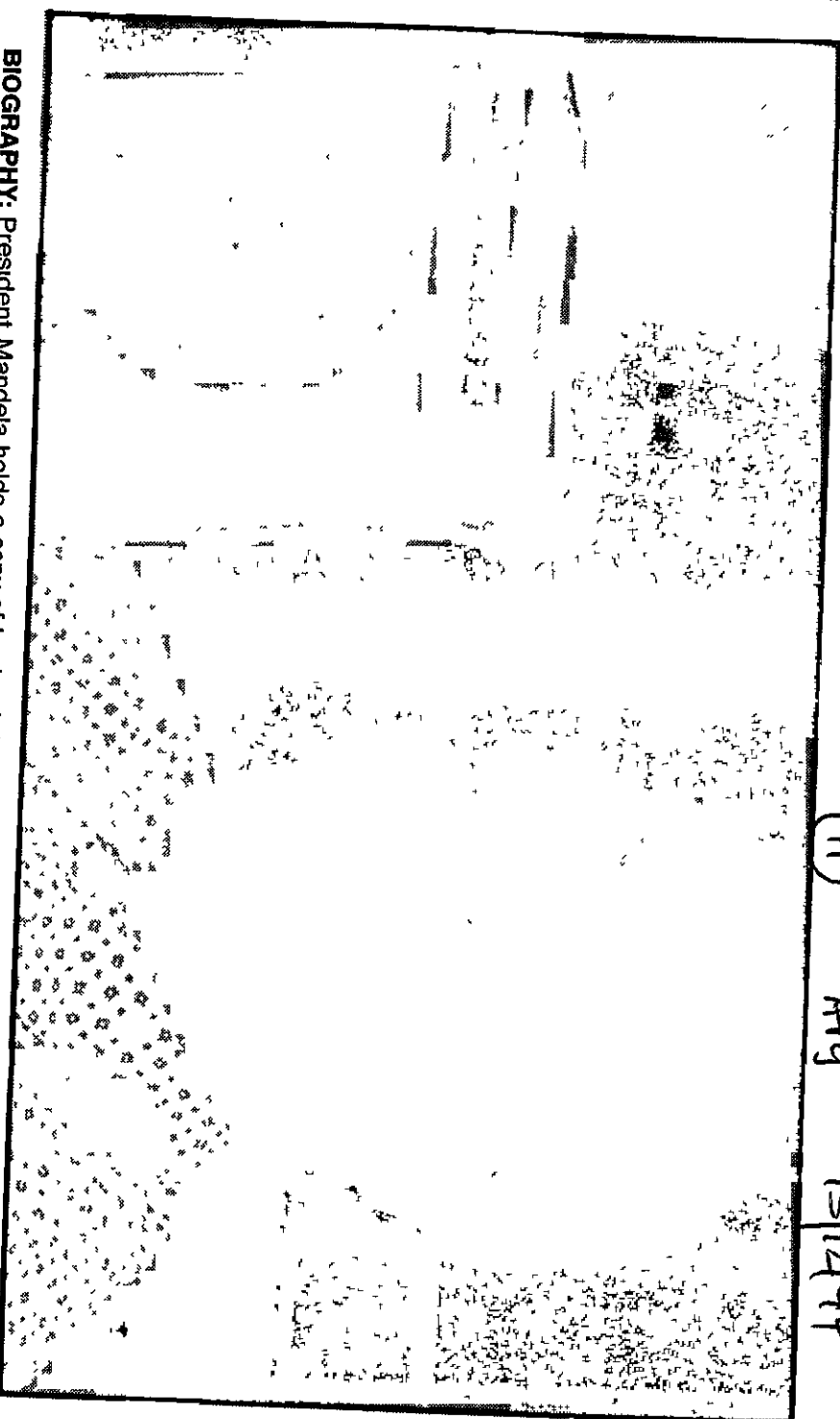
The budget, drawn up by the previous government, was designed to serve the interests of the white majority with the bulk of the money being spent on salaries while only nine percent was devoted to improving living conditions, he said

Meanwhile, earlier yesterday at a press conference Mr Mandela said negotiations were under way for the film rights of his book

But Mr Mandela quipped "I'm no actor" — he would not be available to star in the lead role

He disclosed that he was in the process of writing another book and had been making notes on the four years since his release on February 11, 1990

Mr Mandela has reached the start of his presidential years in his note-making but warned that it would be a



**BIOGRAPHY:** President Mandela holds a copy of his book 'Long walk to freedom' which was launched in Johannesburg last night. It goes on sale today.

long process as he had little time

He joked that he wanted to return to jail as there he

could read what he liked as well as think and plan

The president told the conference he was sympathetic

to the fact that the price of the book — R80 — meant it was out of reach for South Africa's five million unem-

ployed people, the seven million people living in shacks and the majority who lived below the bread line

Discussions were, however, under way to publish a cheaper paperback version

He would hold discussions with the ANC leadership to decide how the proceeds of the sale of the book were to be spent

Mandela said since his release in 1990 he had raised about R231 million in Africa, about R154 million in Asia and since August about R87.5 million for the ANC

He had never used any contributions for his private life and had reported all contributions to the ANC leadership

Mandela said confidential issues and experiences, which involved colleagues, had been left out of the book

He wrote the book clandestinely at night while in prison where "we were not allowed to keep diaries"

His writing would first be checked by ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and then by ANC MP Ahmed Kathrada for factual accuracy

The book was smuggled out of Robben Island by current Transport Minister Mac Maharaj

A copy of the smuggled book was buried on Robben Island but was later discovered, and his right to study was withdrawn

11 Arg 15/12/90

ARG 16/12/94

# 'IFP is likely to pull out of coalition'

ANN EVELETH

DURBAN. — Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party is likely to pull out of South Africa's coalition government early next year, party officials have told Associated Press.

Speaking on condition of anonymity, three national figures and a provincial official agreed that a withdrawal was being planned. Inkatha's participation in the cabinet has handcuffed it to decisions pushed through by its rival, the dominant African National Congress, one of the sources said.

Under the interim constitution, parties achieving at least five percent of the vote were entitled to join the cabinet, where decisions are made by consensus. The agreement of the major parties to jointly take responsibility in a government of national unity was a key factor in increasing business confidence in South Africa.

Any withdrawal from the government by Inkatha also would raise fears of renewed political violence in the country, and especially in KwaZulu-Natal, where hatreds run deep between ANC and Inkatha supporters.

Parks Mankahlana, spokesman for President Nelson Mandela, played down the possibility of any withdrawal, either by Inkatha or the National Party.

"There has been so much talk about the National Party and IFP pulling out of the government, I don't think that the rumours even warrant an investigation," Mr Mankahlana said.

The issue of Inkatha's withdrawal will certainly top the agenda of the party conference in January or February, said Theminkosi Memela, spokesman for the Inkatha-led provincial government in KwaZulu-Natal.

He said the decision to stay or pull out would depend on "the level of conflict between the ANC and IFP, both nationally and provincially, at that time." — Sapa AP.

# Mandela story <sup>CT.</sup> breaks all records ①

By EUNICE RIDER

**PRESIDENT** Nelson Mandela's autobiography, *Long Walk to Freedom*, broke all South African book sale records yesterday when it sold out within minutes at dozens of book stores on its first day on sale.

All 200 copies ordered by Exclusive Books in Constantia were sold out by 9am yesterday and another 300 were sold out at the Claremont branch just two hours later.

Constantia branch manager Mrs Ester Richards, who has been in the bookselling business for 30 years, said the sales were "unbelievable".

"I have never seen anything like it — it was a most amazing experience to have people queueing outside and rushing into the shop at 7.10am"

Mrs June Abrams of ID Booksellers in Longmarket Street said she had "foolishly ordered conservatively" because other recently released "struggle-type books" had not been very successful

"I didn't even have time to unpack and display them this morning — it was overwhelming".

Mrs Abeda Salie, manager of the CNA in Camps Bay, said the response had been "incredible" for an autobiography.

"Our CNA warehouse is already out of stock and we have to wait for more."



**SOLD OUT . . .** President Nelson Mandela's autobiography, *Long Walk to Freedom*, broke all South African book sale records yesterday when it sold out within minutes at dozens of book stores on its first day on sale. Showing the book here are staff and book buyers at Exclusive Books on the Waterfront.

Picture BENNY GOOL

ANC CONFERENCE

# Facing Africanist discontent

There have always been those in the ANC, broad church that it is, who don't like the idea that so many whites, Indians and coloureds — minorities — occupy top slots in the organisation and, lately, government. Loosely described as Africanists, these malcontents seem to be asking: Whose revolution is it, anyway?

By no means dominant in the ANC, this group tends to get impatient with talk about merit selection and feel that black Africans are short-changed by the ANC's abiding commitment to nonracialism. Africans bore the brunt of apartheid, sacrificed more than any other group in the struggle and should, as the majority, now be top of the pile. It's a message whose resonance should not be underestimated.

In a sense this tendency, always latent, harks back to the 1959 schism in the ANC, which led directly to the formation of the Pan Africanist Congress. The PAC felt that minorities and communists were playing too prominent a role in what was essentially an African struggle against apartheid.

Today, however, even the PAC, which might have been expected to represent this constituency, has an Indian and a coloured (but no whites) in its five-person team in parliament. And the PAC's only representative in the biggest province, Gauteng, also happens to be a coloured — who, perhaps significantly, decided recently that it would be correct to redefine his roots by changing his name to the more Afro-friendly Khoisan X!

The racial factor seems to have surfaced in liberation politics at a time when SA is praised for having bucked the trend towards ethnic separation elsewhere.

This was to be expected. For example, UCT's Robert Schrire warned months ago that the "honeymoon of a multiracial coalition would not hold in the face of un-realised expectations." Politics is about delivering constituencies, he added. This the ANC's non-African Ministers had not achieved at the April election — an observation made by ANC Chief Whip in the National Assembly, Arnold Stofile, a while ago (*Current Affairs* December 2).

The significance of the Africanist push will emerge over the next few days when the ANC holds its 49th national conference in Bloemfontein, birthplace of the organisation in 1912.

Alongside predictable rank-and-file impatience with the ANC's inability to deliver more quickly a better life to the masses, and a perception that it "bends over backwards" to placate "bourgeois reformists," is the more ominous Africanist discontent. Specifically, there is a belief, shared by a

group of ANC MPs, that black Africans are being sidelined in favour of whites, Indians and coloureds in appointments to top government posts.

"Affirmative maction" is the popular new charge against the leadership — including President Nelson Mandela himself, though criticism in Madiba's case is muted and any failings on his part are said to be the result of bad advice or being out of touch.

Earlier this year, when Zach de Beer was named as likely ambassador to the Netherlands, the ANC Chief Whip in the Senate, Bulelani Ngcuka, suggested that Mandela should look instead to his own constituency so as to make the diplomatic service "more African." Mandela at first rejected this line as irresponsible, divisive and populist. Significantly, however, he later took on the concern as his own.

In an address to the US congressional black caucus recently, Mandela — while praising the loyalty and integrity of the



Mbeki steering strategy and tactics

white officials in his entourage — nevertheless added that blacks would never be entirely convinced change had occurred if the government service did not reflect SA's "overwhelming black majority" (IA).

Increasingly embittered, those pushing for a more African complexion to the new government intend to make their complaints heard at Bloemfontein.

They are evidently fed up with the ANC's mantra of nonracialism because they believe it to be working against African advancement. After all, they point out, the ANC owes its election

victory to the votes of blacks and not whites, Indians or coloureds, who largely voted for F.W. de Klerk in the general election. They back their point with the analysis of the election results made by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki in August, in his "unmandated reflections" on the new tasks facing the ANC, titled "From Resistance to Reconstruction" (*Current Affairs* October 28).

In an article titled "A House Divided" in the current issue of John Qwelane's *Tribute* magazine, the author, Lizetka Mda, quotes (unnamed) ANC parliamentarians who accuse certain ANC Ministers of appointing only minorities to their departments. It is said that Transport Minister Mac Maharaj appoints only Indians, Housing Minister Joe Slovo only whites, and Water Affairs' Kader Asmal also only whites.

Land Affairs Minister Derek Hanekom is taken to task by the author for employing only middle-aged white men as advisers in a portfolio that has relevance to blacks. Trade & Industry's Trevor Manuel is implicated because he appointed Zav Rustomjee (Indian origin) as director-general, and it is said that all the advisers appointed by Justice Minister Dullah Omar "are either of Indian or coloured ancestry."

There's more. Cyril Ramaphosa (who may be re-elected as ANC secretary-general at Bloemfontein, after all) is accused of having marginalised black Africans in the restructuring of the ANC, and is resented because, as chief constitutional negotiator, he is held re-



Fm 16/12/1994

sponsible for the "raw deal" which guarantees the jobs of the old civil servants (The "sunset clause" was in fact Joe Slovo's important contribution to the transition) Apparently, only Public Service & Administration Minister Zola Skweyiya shapes up in terms of "commitment to advancing Africans," according to the article

Aware of the problem — a "perception" which it says must be taken seriously — the ANC leadership is more fearful of what it calls "populists" raising expectations which cannot possibly be met in the short term, and of the dangers of "racial chauvinism" degenerating into tribalism

The situation has been astutely read by the ANC's chief strategist and leading figure after Mandela, Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who is widely expected to be anointed heir next week by becoming deputy president of the ANC

As Mandela's prime minister, in effect, Mbeki occupies the pivotal seat in government and the party He has been described as lacking the common touch, hobnobbing with the rich and powerful and, indeed, surrounding himself with acolytes who happened to be from minorities now under attack by the Africanists But he is the consummate politician

The key conference discussion document on ANC strategy and tactics adopted by the National Executive Committee recently, was drafted by Mbeki, and sets the theme for Bloemfontein "From resistance to reconstruction and nation building" Near the top of the list of topics to be thrashed out are "the national question" (that is, race and minorities) and "the relationship between the national and class character of our revolution"

Based on his "reflections" in August, the document deftly juggles and accommodates various concerns Thus, the "central objective of the current phase of the struggle is the emancipation of the oppressed African majority" But "another central objective of the democratic revolution is the achievement of national unity"

So while the Africanists take encouragement from the first theme (and see Mbeki as their champion), others will take heart from his elaboration of what national unity requires "Though we should continue to recognise the ethnic and racial diversity of our population, we should seek to build a united society which would not be torn apart by competing and antagonistic ethnic and racial demands"

Among other things, he adds ingenuously, "this requires that we should continue to oppose any 'federal' solutions which seek to distribute political, economic and State power on the basis of race and ethnicity,

or which seek to distribute power among the regions in a manner that would create antagonistic interests among the regions

"At the same time, we must bring government as close to the people as possible, to ensure popular participation in governance"

The character and strength of the ANC, the document concedes, "must continue to reside in its mass base," though it must "strive to remain a broad democratic movement by accepting into its ranks all those who accept its policies and objectives" The main aim of the present phase "continues to be the all-round political, economic and social emancipation and upliftment of the black majority"

The "main motive forces" and defence of democratic transformation are the "black working class, the black rural poor and the significant section of the black middle strata" However, "at the same time we must recognise the fact of the social differentiation of these black masses which will at times, and with regard to various issues, lead the various strata and classes to express different aspirations and pursue separate objectives"

This is vintage Mbeki

While endeavouring to represent black people as a whole, he goes on, the ANC "must, however, ensure that at all times and in the first instance, it represents the interests of the ordinary working people who constitute the majority"

The continued predominance of the "national question," says the document, "points to the amount of work we still have to do in organising and mobilising among the white community To a certain extent the same reality applies to the coloured and Indian communities," who still have to be convinced that the ANC's policies guarantee the best long-term interests of SA

Predominance of the "national question" also indicates how much has to be

done to reach a "truly nonracial democracy" This process is "inseparable from our ability to manage the RDP in such a way that we eliminate artificial apartheid barriers and remove socio-economic disparities based on race" This seems to be the leadership's way of addressing the sore point of merit selection in State (or other) jobs The aggrieved Africanist lobby argues strongly for corrective action to redress past discrimination, if this isn't done, they say, then better qualified minorities will continue to fill such posts by virtue of their relatively privileged past

Africanist rhetoric will be given full vent at Bloemfontein and beyond And while government could well pay more attention

to affirmative action in the months ahead, it knows and will drive home the message that implementing the RDP and so making good its election promises to the people, is more difficult than its supporters realise

It may be that Africanist discontent, like the revolt from the ranks that had been expected at the Cosatu congress earlier this year, fizzles out in the face of the realities which the leadership can be expected to emphasise

But in any event, Mbeki might be well-advised to note the fate of the United Party under Sir De Villiers Graaff, who tried to please all and was respected by all for his integrity and the elegance of his political juggling act — but who ultimately presided over his party's disintegration ■

NAMIBIA Fm 16/12/1994  
**Challenges ahead**

**Namibia's ruling** Swapo party, having won more than the two-thirds majority that eluded it in the elections for independence five years ago, now has the clout to change the national constitution single-handedly — if it wants

There is no reason why a constitution should not be amended if it is to be improved, says President Sam Nujoma But he promises that any such proposals will be subject to a referendum

Nujoma has not spelt out his intentions but the proposed constitutional changes might turn out to be much less significant than some alarmist media and opposition groups like to make out

Analysts expect one proposed amendment would be to increase the limit on consecutive presidential terms from two to three As it stands, Nujoma (66) has just begun his second, and last, five-year term The bearded former guerrilla chief a teetotaler and regular exerciser, is reported to be in good health A constitutionally enforced change of presidency in 1999 would surely provoke a damaging party succession struggle, says Africa Institute analyst Richard Cornwell

Other expected amendment proposals could be abolition of the death penalty and dissolution of the National Council, or second house of parliament, which has done little to justify its existence since its establishment after the 1992 regional elections

But there are far greater challenges facing Namibia in the medium to long term — economic as well as political — than the current emphasis on constitution-changing suggests

Currently, the desert nation's economy looks good Economic growth is thought to have been 5% this year, bolstered by an upswing in commodity prices for exports and a more stable uranium market, says Sanlam chief economist Johan Louw A slight slowdown in mining production in



Stofile

ARG 17-12-1994

# Buthelezi: No decision to pull out of government

DURBAN. — Inkatha had not taken any decision to pull out of the government of national unity but had the right to discuss the issue, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said.

"The IFP like any other political party has a right to discuss and debate and consider its participation in the government of national unity," Chief Buthelezi said in a statement yesterday.

He said that given the stresses and strains of working in a GNU, the IFP's national council had every right to discuss the problems it encounters, how long such a government of national unity will last and

how it as a political party steers a difficult course between constructive participation and constructive opposition.

"The national council of the IFP has not taken any decision to withdraw from the government of national unity," Chief Buthelezi said, adding that options have been discussed "in an academic way which led the IFP's national council to acknowledge that a decision of such importance might warrant the IFP calling a special general conference".

No date had been confirmed for such a conference, he said.

■ To page 2

ARG 17-12-1994

# Buthelezi: No decision on future of IFP

■ From page 1

IFP secretary-general Ziba Jiyane said earlier that "a serious situation has developed in relations between Inkatha and the ANC, both nationally and provincially".

He said from his Empangeni home that Inkatha leaders were particularly unhappy with the delay on international mediation on the constitutional status of the Zulu kingdom.

Mr Jiyane said Inkatha had expected the issue of the Zulu kingdom to have been resolved before next year's local government polls, scheduled for October.

There was also discontent among party members about what they perceived as ANC efforts to undermine the Inkathaled Kwazulu-Natal government "especially with what they're doing with the king".

"They see the king privately through the national government without the cooperation of provincial leaders, without informing the premier and the provincial government

"They give the king police and soldiers without the knowledge of the premier. They do what they want, as if we're non-existent"

Other complaints were of ANC "bad faith" in the central govern-

ment, Mr Jiyane said, adding: "They have treated us with disdain"

He said Inkatha had been given the chairmanship of only one parliamentary committee and had been neglected in recent ambassadorial appointments.

Asked to comment on reports that Inkatha could push for the dissolution of the Kwazulu-Natal government and a snap provincial poll because its attempts to govern were being frustrated by the ANC, Mr Jiyane said "There is a strong opinion in the party that that will be the case, but it's subject to debate and next year's conference" — Reuter

AR6 17-18/12/94

# Struggle to deliver

## Landmark conference expected to usher in new ANC era

CLIVE SAWYER

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

UNITY will be the theme of the African National Congress landmark triennial conference which opens today with keynote speeches by President Mandela and Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

Secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa will deliver his report to the conference tomorrow.

At the conference — in Bloemfontein, birthplace of the ANC — 3 000 delegates will discuss the future of the liberation movement which is now the senior partner in government, and hold elections for the six top office bearers and the national executive committee.

Delegates will participate in 11 commissions to discuss aspects of the

■ "Delivery" is expected to become the buzzword at the ANC's landmark conference opening today.

ANC's future as it prepares to transform itself from a liberation movement to a government of which much is expected.

As the week neared its end senior ANC politicians were expressing confidence the movement would emerge stronger from the conference.

Efforts have been made in previous weeks to prevent a destructive leadership battle, with Mr Mandela playing a key role in moderating tensions.

The dimensions and personalities of the leadership contest have become so well known in political circles there seems little point left in holding Monday's and Wednesday's elections behind closed doors.

The top positions are expected to go

to Mr Mandela (president), Mr Mbeki (deputy president), Jacob Zuma (chairman) and Cyril Ramaphosa (secretary-general).

Leading candidate to be the first deputy secretary-general is Cheryl Carolus, head of the ANC's reconstruction and development department and a veteran of the struggle in the Western Cape.

Insistence on representation for all races and both genders could lead to tensions at the conference, following gripes earlier this year that white people were disproportionately represented in the top echelons of the ANC.

Mr Mandela is convinced the conference would help build unity in the movement.

The issues which the ANC will face at this conference are far removed from those with which it wrestled three years ago at its national gathering in Durban.

Although it is now in government as the majority partner it is still tied to the consensus provisions of the interim constitution.

The risk to the ANC is that those who swept it into power will become disillusioned unless it finds ways to impose its will to the extent that "delivery" becomes possible.

A way will have to be found for the government to begin to satisfy the needs of its constituency of impoverished black people, rather than be seen lamely asking for patience because of the intrinsic slowness of government.

# PAC leader denies the party is dying

ARC 17-18/2-196  
11 (A)  
MMABATHO — Media reports predicting the dissolution of the Pan Africanist Congress were mischievous and misleading, PAC president Clarence Makwetu said yesterday

Opening the PAC's fourth national congress here, he said the PAC would not dissolve but continue building its party structures

Mr Makwetu said the conference had to address important issues such as the PAC's future strategy after its dismal performance in the April 27 election and its future role as a separate entity

The three-day conference is likely to see a major shake-up in the PAC's national executive committee, with Mr Makwetu almost certain to lose the presidency

"Makwetu is in big trouble. We are going to look at the overall leadership at the conference," a source said

Leading contenders for the PAC presidency is the organisation's environment affairs secretary Dr Solly Skosana — Sapa



# D-Day for PAC

By KHANGALE MAKHADO

INTERNATIONAL human rights lawyer and theologian Dr Matsuku Pheko is a strong contender to take over the presidency of the Pan African Congress from Clarence Makwetu at its congress in Mmabatho today.

Highplaced sources said Pheko, who flew in from Britain yesterday, had come with the single purpose of standing for the position.

Over 24 regions had been lobbied to support him, the sources said.

Pheko, the author of several books including *The Land is Ours*, is a former PAC representative at the United Nations in Geneva and New York.

Also in the running for the presidency are outgoing president Clarence

Makwetu, Durban economist and academic Siphso Tshabalala and former organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani.

The increase in the number of candidates follows dissatisfaction among PAC members over the running of the organisation and its dismal performance during the April elections.

Members have accused the leadership of lacking enthusiasm.

However, Gora Ebrahim, an executive member of the PAC, denied that there was a leadership crisis.

He described this weekend's congress as a forum, like congresses elsewhere else, where

## Makwetu's last stand

CI Roads 18/12/94



**LEADERSHIP BATTLE ... Maxwell Nemadzivhanani (left) is one of the contenders to take over the PAC presidency from Clarence Makwetu (right) today.**

"fresh assessments of situations" were made "In order to build the

activities of the past," he said.

(IIP)

While the anti-Makwetu lobby seemed to be gaining ground yesterday, it was understood that his supporters - mainly from Cofimvaba in the former Transkei - were working round the clock to ensure that he was retained as president.

"At this stage it would be difficult to write off Makwetu because this man does have some following," another source said yesterday.

Makwetu received a tumultuous applause from the five hundred delegates and observers when he delivered his state of the nation address on Friday.

He called on the Government of National Unity to make land available to the needy and slammed the continued eviction of so-called land invaders without alternative land being provided to them.

Vying for the position of secretary general are Nomthetho Semelane, a lecturer in Swaziland; Khaliphili Sizani, ZB Molete, former secretary for publicity and information during the Sobukwe reign, Maxwell Nemadzivhanani, Dr Peter Mayende, Dr Mandla Tshabalala and Ikhosian X.

Patricia de Lille told congress the PAC's main task was to define its positioning - to the left of the ANC or more to the middle.

## A Natal fight is on for Mbeki's job

By RAY HARTLEY

ANC Natal chairman Jacob Zuma and Public Works Minister Jeff Radebe are set to contest the post of ANC national chairman at the ANC conference in Bloemfontein which started yesterday. A spokesman for Mr Radebe confirmed this weekend that the race for the post, which will be vacated by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, was still on. Standing in the way of Mr Zuma's campaign is the ANC constitution, which bars its leaders from holding both pro-

vincial and national office. Mr Zuma is the ANC's Natal chairman.

This would force Mr Zuma to make a difficult choice — resign as Natal chairman and risk ending up with nothing should he lose the contest with Mr Radebe, or have the constitution amended to allow him to occupy both posts.

The only other position still to be con-

tested by this weekend was that of deputy secretary-general, with both Cheryl Carolus and Sanki Nkondo nominated for the post.

The rest of the key positions — Nelson Mandela for ANC President with Thabo Mbeki as his deputy, Cyril Ramaphosa for secretary-general and Henry Mokgathu for treasurer — appeared to have

been resolved by the weekend.

The much-publicised grassroots disenchantment with reconciliation is likely to feature at the conference, but only as a secondary issue with the main focus on matters internal to the ANC.

A commission has been set up to deal with the rebuilding of the ANC and Mr Ramaphosa's secretary-general's report

is expected to propose radical restructuring.

Also of critical importance will be debates on economic policy.

A commission has also been established to look at "the state machinery" including the public service and the military.

Commissions have also been set up to look into "counter-revolutionary and criminal violence", the local government elections and "South Africa in the new world order".

# Problems riddle Mandela's party

SERIOUS problems in the ANC could hamper its ability to govern effectively, reports which will be presented to the ANC's national conference in Bloemfontein today show.

The secretary-general's report and a report on the state of the ANC paint a picture of an organisation beset by leadership and financial problems and mismanagement.

Among the weaknesses identified in the organisation were:

- The leadership was at times "top-heavy" — failing to work with the structures. Decisive leadership was often lacking.
- The absence of a code of conduct for ANC members meant that maximum discipline within the organisation was not achieved. Action was often not taken against erring members, contributing to a general mood of embar-

By EDYTH BULBRING and RAY HARTLEY

rassing ill-discipline.

- The overloading of responsibilities on some national working committee members, like the secretary-general, meant they were only able to devote minimal time to their departmental responsibilities.

- The absence of a second tier of leaders following the departure of senior officials into government.

- Poor co-ordination by the National Working Committee and the National Executive Committee.

- The national leadership was removed from grassroots — resulting in the poor state of many regions and branches.

- Communication between national structures and regions was extremely weak and confused.

- Effective manage-

ment was lacking at national and regional level. There was a lack of sound management practice.

- The failure of the ANC head office to administer a functioning membership system capable of making the organisation financially self-sufficient and giving the ANC a correct membership profile.

- Failure to act on its commitment to sexual equality.

- Because there had been no effort to build a collective approach to leadership, particularly at regional level, the workload had not been properly distributed. "It also manifests itself through cliques, factions, tensions and squabbles".

- Over-reliance on the national office had developed with respect to resources, organisation-building and political direction.

- Organisational efforts tended to neglect the rural areas.

- The failure to attract minorities and to have minorities participating in ANC structures in a substantial way had limited its capacity to unite a broad section of the South African population behind the ANC.

- The ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance did not function as effectively as it could have. Major shortcomings were the lack of co-ordination and the inability to build the alliance in many regions.

- Branches in many areas had stopped functioning. Factionalism had made some branches impotent, and,

- No comprehensive plans had been developed — given the dependence on exhausted foreign funding — to make the ANC financially self-sufficient. Lack of financial discipline had resulted in an enormous strain on resources. The youth and women's leagues did not adhere to financial controls.

## ANC agonises over power problems

still owe allegiance to the NP"

In attempting to implement ANC policy in government, a separate report on the state of the ANC identifies the following problems:

- The largely unreconstructed machinery of state, with all the problems of integrating several public services, incompetence, unsuitability, and in many cases unwillingness to work effectively in the framework of a new dispensation;

- The reality that many communities in the country are not served by any administrative machinery whatsoever;

- The difficulties of prioritising legislation,

- The special challenges presented by a government of national unity — balancing the need for inter-cabinet unity while at the same time implementing ANC policy.

But the document warns that the ANC

cannot blame the existence of a government of national unity for failing to govern effectively.

Many of the problems the ANC was experiencing in government were inherited, but some rested with the ANC itself, the document says. These include:

- A lack of ANC members with management experience,

- A tendency on the part of ANC ministers to view the world from the

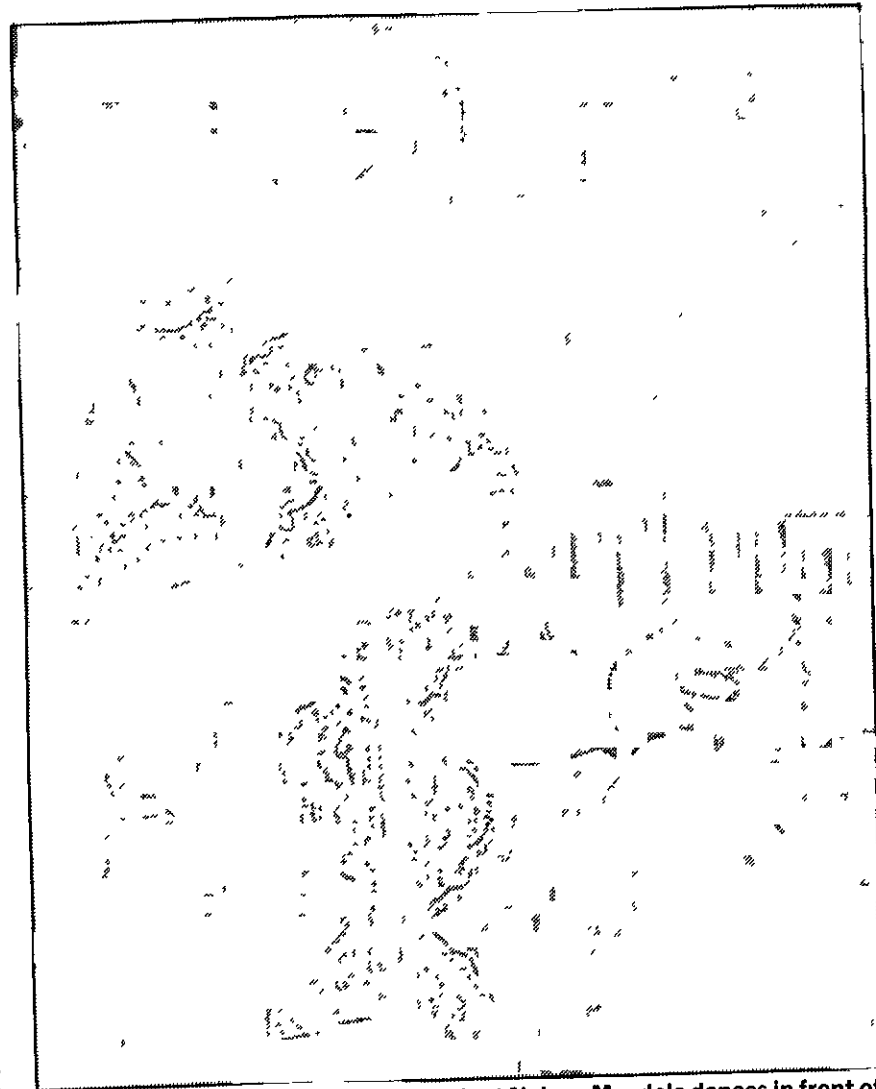
narrow perspective of their particular ministries,

- Strains between the ANC's commitment to transparency and the requirements of ministerial confidentiality;

- Strains within the ANC between national and provincial executives.

"There needs to be a balance between the ANC power in government and the status and policies of constitutional structures of the organisation," the document says.

It identifies the need to find the correct balance between the ANC's role in government and as a liberation movement — the conflict between reconciliation and constituency politics.



SETTING THE PACE — a relaxed President Nelson Mandela dances in front of other members of the ANC's National Executive Committee at the start of the organisation's national conference in Bloemfontein. Picture: AP

ANC antagonistic and incompetent public service and problems within the ANC itself have been two of the major issues facing the new government, according to reports which will be presented to the ANC's national conference in Bloemfontein today.

Secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa says in his report: "Individual ministers and deputy ministers have had a difficult time .. managing change within their ministries and departments. They have faced poorly organised and wrongly orientated ministries and departments; public service workers who are deeply entrenched in the style of the National Party; and senior officials who

## NEWS Re-elected party boss slams Govt's RDP ● Foreboding message to congress

By Mzimasi Ngudle

DESPITE the ANC's victory in the April elections, the organisation was "not yet out of the woods", chairman Thabo Mbeki said in Bloemfontein yesterday.

Thus curtail foreboding message was repeated by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and president Nelson Mandela.

In his report to the movement's 49th national congress in Bloemfontein, Ramaphosa said the ANC remained duty-bound to strike a healthy balance between taking care of the people who

# ANC not yet out of the woods, says Mbeki

suffered under apartheid and those who fought the liberation war, and to redeveloping South Africa and building up its economy.

He said the ANC should pursue policies and programmes aimed at reintegrating demobilised Umkhonto we Sizwe members into South African society and explaining or clarifying the deaths or disappearance of its members abroad.

Thus process had to run in tandem with the rebuilding of South Africa's

economy which, Ramaphosa said, remained hamstrung by widespread poverty and unemployment.

It did not help that capital flight remained a terminal problem of the South African economy.

These were among the economic realities that the ANC inherited and remained some of the greatest challenges the Government of National Unity faced.

He warned that the other partners within the GNU might not view the

matter in the same way.

The National Party had not been vanquished as a political force nor had it relinquished any of the strategies which served it in the past, said Ramaphosa.

While the NP had accepted the principle of reconstruction and development, it had retained substantial influence within the civil service and security forces.

In his speech, Mandela echoed the same sentiments expressed by Ramaphosa and Mbeki.

He said the ANC needed more introspection and clearer policies and strategies, or it could be trapped by indolence, slothfulness and lethargy.

"We must build an expanding pool of cadres grounded in the policies and traditions of the ANC.

"Without a clear organisational strategy and cadre policy, we could end up attracting to our ranks merely those who seek careers in Government," Mandela said to a round of applause by congress delegates.

# Makwetu is still the boss

■ NEW TACTIC <sup>Sowetan</sup> Proposed forum <sup>19/12/94</sup>

will improve PAC's strategic position?:

By Lulama Luti

**T**HE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday reaffirmed its support for Mr Clarence Makwetu when it re-elected him president at the end of the organisation's fifth national conference in Mmabatho, North-West

In a closely contested election, Makwetu beat relatively unknown Dr Motsoko Phoko by 112 votes to 103

An international human rights lawyer and PAC activist in London, Phoko was strongly tipped to become the new PAC president amid reports of a need to inject new blood into the ailing party

However, Phoko was elected deputy president to tumultuous applause from delegates.

"The other top office-bearers are Maxwell Nemadzivhanani (general-secretary), Thobile Gola (deputy general-secretary), Bamba Ndwandwe (national organiser) and Siphwe Cele (national treasurer)

The anti-Makwetu lobby among the delegates argued that he was to blame for the party's poor performance in the April elections, and that a new leadership was needed to prepare for the 1999 general elections

This faction was supported by PAC secretary for economic affairs Professor Siphso Tshabalala who said in a statement that Makwetu could only lead the PAC to total disaster (11A)

In his opening address at the start of congress, Makwetu lashed out at insinuations that the PAC ought to dissolve

In a speech that evaded the leadership crisis within the PAC, Makwetu instead lambasted the manner in which the Reconstruction and Development Programme was being implemented

"The PAC fully supports the programme but we have a problem with its implementation. This programme is too big to be left in the hands of one minister and a ministry manned by only 40 people," he said

● See page 5.

# Makwetu gets backing

By Lulama Luti

FORMER Pan Africanist Congress general-secretary Mr 'Khoisan X, formerly Benny Alexander, yesterday defended the re-election of Mr Clarence Makwetu as president of the organisation.

X, who did not seek re-election at the party's congress in Mmabatho yesterday, told delegates it was better to elect a leadership that was "already in politics and with a history of involvement in the struggle"

This leadership would not involve

the PAC in the "trial and error" process of politics

In his acceptance speech, Makwetu praised newly-elected deputy president Dr Motsoko Phoko for his participation in the congress and said he had always wished "to have men of your calibre in our team".

Makwetu urged his supporters to implement congress resolutions and to start campaigning vigorously for next year's local government elections

"We are entering those elections not merely to participate but to win.

What the people want from the PAC is nothing else but liberation

"They want nothing else but the return of their land. They want not European land. They want not the 13 percent that was given to them in 1913 but all the land taken from them as early as 1652," Makwetu said to thunderous applause (114)

The additional 18 national executive committee members had not been announced by last night

Congress resolutions were also not available to the media as they are still to be finalised

## Call for unity in party ranks

**MMABATHO** — The PAC should work towards unity, and professional people within the party should contribute their skills towards building the PAC, PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said at the weekend.

# Makwetu hangs on to his presidency

**MMABATHO** — PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu won yesterday's election for his presidency by nine votes over contender Mr Motsoko Pheko — a New York-based political consultant.

“For the PAC to have the support of the African people and at least respect from other communities, a new leader is needed,” it read.

A crisis was averted when Mr Pheko won the deputy president position.

General secretary Mr Benny Alexander, who announced that he would not seek re-election, was replaced by former national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani.

Vice-president Mr Dikgang Mosen-Mr Pheko

## PAC set to have own workers' forum

**MMABATHO** — The Pan-Africanist Congress is to have its own labour wing with the affiliation of the Africanist Labour Forum, PAC MP and national executive committee member Mrs Patricia de Lille said at the weekend.

Briefing the media at the PAC's fourth national congress here, she said the 300 member ALF would enable the PAC “to effectively co-operate within the labour movement”.

“The ALF will effectively become the PAC's labour wing,” Mrs De Lille added.

Mrs De Lille dismissed claims by some delegates that there was no quorum at the congress.

She said an interim accreditation report indicated that 63 branches were already represented and registration was continuing as delegates arrived from different parts of the country. — Sapa

(11A) 27/11/21/94

# ANC's policy tightrope

11 (A)  
ARC 19/12/94

## Concern over 'representative' candidates' list

**T**HE ANC looks set to pull off an ambitious strategic balancing act — convincing its mass constituency that profound change is on the way, while renewing efforts in 1995 to woo minority support.

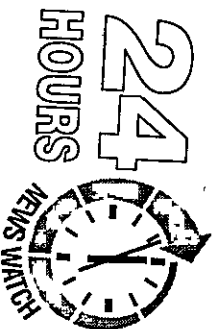
The organisation's crucial 49th National Conference in Bloemfontein, scheduled to end on Wednesday, has been dominated by this dual strategy, first articulated by President Mandela in his keynote address at the weekend and subsequently developed by his most senior lieutenants.

Yesterday party chairman and South African Deputy President Thabo Mbeki presented his "Strategy and Tactics" document to the conference, and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa tabled a detailed organisational report. Both stressed the double-edged approach.

Mr Mbeki said full democracy remained the ANC's strategic goal, and its achievement would "truly revolutionise" South Africa.

Political change thus far had achieved only the ending of white minority domination. Transformation had a long way to go, as evidenced by the facts that the management and decision-making echelons of civil administration, the defence force, the police, the prisons service and the judiciary remained white.

**Reports from the ANC conference in Bloemfontein by Argus Political Correspondent CLIVE SAWYER as well as SHAUN JOHNSON, KAIZER NYATSUMBA and ESTHER WAUGH**



"The process of the transformation of these institutions to make them representative of our society, and therefore non-racial and non-sexist in their composition, to imbue them with a non-racial and non-sexist consciousness and to ensure that they serve the interests of the people as a whole, will clearly not be an easy matter," Mbeki said.

He later told a press conference that the effect of his document would be "to say to the ANC in government that we need to set time-frames and programmes for the transformation of those State institutions".

Answering journalists' questions, Ramaphosa said it was crucial for the ANC to focus on the millions of supporters who had brought the organisation to power, but he did not view affirmative ac-

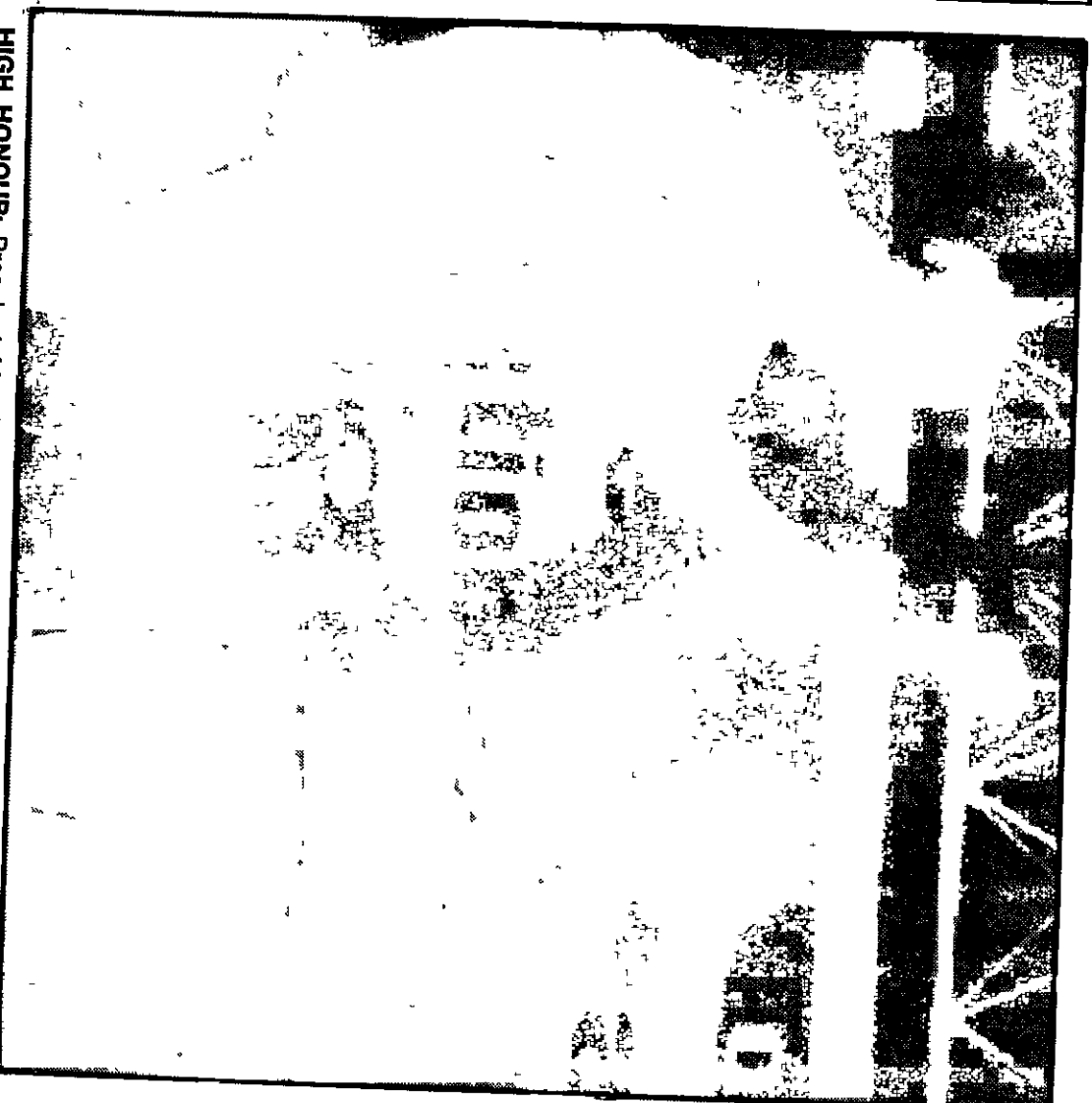
tion as being in conflict with the reconciliation process.

"The whole movement" would be drawing up plans to ensure that support among ethnic minorities — which was low for the ANC in the elections — would be garnered. "We want to make inroads in these minorities," he said.

Commenting on Mr Mandela's earlier remark that the government of National Unity was not sacrosanct, Mr Ramaphosa said he believed the president was not thinking of an early end to the GNU, but was referring to the period after 1999. Mr Ramaphosa did not envisage any minority party pulling out before then.

Concerns were raised at the conference yesterday — by at least three ANC regions, Gauteng, the Western Cape and Natal — over a 60-strong list of candidates for the National Executive Committee.

Concerns were that the list would be presented as a fait accompli, and although delegates would be entitled to make further nominations from the floor, that this would not happen.



**HIGH HONOUR:** President Mandela awards ANC veteran and housing minister Joe Slovo the highest honour for his part in the overthrow of apartheid.



### Slovo given high honour

**T**HERE was a warm embrace and a gold medal for Joe Slovo as the African National Congress bestowed its highest honour on him.

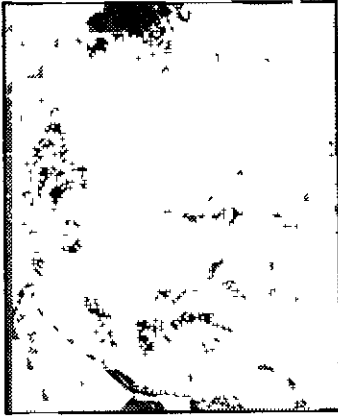
The Communist Party veteran was given the Isithalandwe Seaparankoe award for service to the country and the ideals of the ANC.

Mr Slovo, whose health has been the subject of concern, told cheering delegates "We will be together in the struggle for quite a long time yet."

There was a more serious message from the man who spent decades in exile as a leader of the ANC's guerrilla forces.

"What I did, I did without any regret ever."

"I decided long ago in my life there is only one target, and that target is to remove the racist regime and to obtain power to the people."



Makwetu . . . close shave.

## Makwetu retains PAC presidency

*Star*  
*19/10/92*  
Mmabatho — Pan Africanist Congress leader Clarence Makwetu, yesterday beat off a strong challenge to his leadership to retain the presidency by nine votes

Makwetu defeated challenger Dr Motsuku Pheko by 112 votes to 103 at the PAC's national congress in Mmabatho, North West province

Pheko, a former PAC representative at the UN, was elected deputy president in place of Johnson Mlambo

General secretary 'Khoisan X, who announced that he would not seek re-election, was replaced by former national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani

Pheko was the only official nominee to contest the presidency after the last-minute withdrawal of PAC economic affairs secretary Professor Siphon Tshabalala, who was widely expected to replace Makwetu but failed to arrive at the congress on Saturday — Sapa



# Azapo plans to seize power from Govt

Sowetan 20/12/94

By Joe Mdhlela  
Political Reporter

THE Azanian People's Organisation is preparing to rule the country because power had not been effectively transferred to blacks, the movement's deputy president, Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe, said yesterday.

Speaking at a Press briefing in Dobsonville, Soweto, Nefolovhodwe, however, said Azapo would only take part in elections when the climate was right. "For example we would not take part in elections when the state of emergency was in place."

"Nor would we be part of election campaigns when there was no voters' roll, as was the case during the April 27 national elections."

Nefolovhodwe said Azapo refused to tie itself to time scales.

"There is a belief that elections will be held earlier than 1999. With that in mind, we would like to leave our options open," he said.

In a programme to wrest power from the Government, he said, Azapo would engage all blacks who seek genuine liberation in campaigns to unseat the administration that seemed to favour satisfying white aspirations.

Part of the plan is to mobilise workers to form an independent national trade union geared towards destroying "sweetheart unions that have relations with the Government of the day."

The briefing, which enunciated the weekend's congress resolutions, also noted that Azapo would only engage in a process of reconciliation once conditions disadvantaging blacks were corrected.

These included the realisation that blacks were robbed of their land and were economically disadvantaged by the "white capitalist system."

# ANC rediscovers its roots and itself

■ **SELF-CRITICAL** *We behaved in a way that* (11A)

*could have endangered the revolution — Mandela:*

**By Mathatha Tsedu** Political Editor

**T**HE AFRICAN National Congress went back to its founding roots this weekend for its national conference in Bloemfontein. For many of the journalists who have been covering the ANC for some time, the organisation did not only return to its birthplace and reconnect with its founding fathers, it also rediscovered itself.

This organisation that only a few months ago was central to all the activity, marshalling media attention so efficiently it made the official government communications service look stupid, suddenly disappeared after the elections. Nowhere could you find any official of note at a national level to say anything about anything. The ANC had become Government and in the process lost itself being too busy governing.

President Nelson Mandela admitted as much in his opening address to the 3 000 delegates when he said "Seldom before have we experienced such dislocation as in the few months after the elections. In this regard, we should be self-critical about the manner in which we conducted ourselves in this period. "Ours was not a planned entry into Government. Except for those in the highest echelons, we did not have a plan for the deployment of cadres. We were disorganised and behaved in a manner that could have endangered the revolution."

But as Mandela spoke, the old efficient ANC was back in full swing. Journalists were registered and given Press cards in a process that took at most five minutes.

Speeches were delivered to the media centre, with reports from the general secretary and the provinces. Computers were ready for anyone who wanted to send their stories right away and public phones, some with faxes, were right outside the door.

The reorganisation started a few days before conference, with numerous pager messages giving the Press details of who to contact. It was the old force in charge, Saki Macozoma and Carl Niehaus, plus new Information chief Jackson Mthembu. All three are now in Parliament or the Senate and their absence in the eight months since the elections was felt by all. Their return, even if only for the brief period of conference, was very positive.

The conference itself was an emotional roller coaster. Mandela was shaking hands and dancing with the delegates. The NEC delegates, seated on the rostrum, were a motley group that included about 80 percent of the country's national and provincial government ministers.

These men and women, who appear on television looking sombre as they plead for more time to deliver on the RDP, let their hair down and danced the toyi-toyi once again. At 3.34 pm on Saturday, chairman Thabo Mbeki called the house to order after delegates belted out one more song about former president Oliver Tambo.

The air was thick with emotion and a lump formed in many a throat as the reality dawned that Oliver Tambo, the man who led the movement in exile, was not there to enjoy the fruits of his hard labour. The aged Walter Sisulu, caught up in the emotions and spirit of the toyi-toyi, rose to dance but could only do the shuffle.

Joe Slovo, frail and sickly and with one hand in a sling, also rose as the Tambo song dominated the floor. He too could only watch, dancing is too much for him now.

Then the speaker of the Free State legislature, the tough looking Reverend Moutalepula June Chabaku, stepped forward to lead the singing of the national "anthems", only to falter as she tried to lead *Die Stem*, a clear sign that even those in Government still have a lot to learn about this compromise anthem.

Mandela, as majestic as ever, delivered his 14 page speech in two parts, with a rest in between. At the end delegates gave him a standing ovation, singing the song that says "There is no one like Mandela", a derivation from a spiritual chorus that eulogises Christ.

And at the end, he read a citation for the honouring of Slovo with the *Isithwalandwe-Seaparankoe*, the highest honour given by the organisation to its heroes.

Previous recipients include Albert Luthuli, Yusuf Dadoo, Govan Mbeki, Lillian Ngoyi, Walter Sisulu and Tambo.

Slovo, Mandela said, was a man who, "by pursuing his own convictions and without being self-conscious about it, had touched the lives of millions of others." Slovo has been the personification of the alliance with the SACP and his contribution to the ANC has been particularly as a strategic thinker.

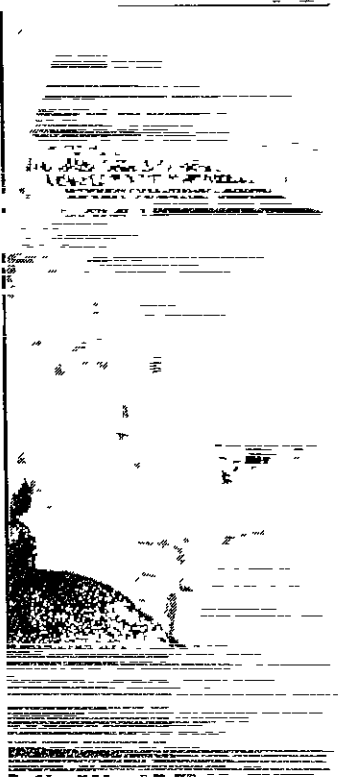
"You have had the courage of your convictions, spelling out the implications of new situations which sometimes we as a movement have found hard to admit. We are extremely fortunate to have within our ranks such an

outstanding revolutionary, who has combined a rigorous mind with attention to practical organisational work," Mandela enthused as the hall became hushed until cheering broke out. As Slovo moved, ever so slowly, to shake Mandela's hand, they hugged, and he moved to the microphone and shouted "Amandla".

This honour and this conference might be his last, a sort of farewell for the soldier whose condition has deteriorated so rapidly. The atmosphere was electric as Slovo told delegates there could never have been a bigger honour that he could have wished for himself, and that liberation from racist rule had been his sole ambition in life. Later Sisulu made his last speech as he is retiring, having played his part and earned his rest.

That was day one of a five day conference, a day of emotion and speeches. In the days since then and until tomorrow, delegates are confronted by the reality of planning a path for the organisation. A path made all the more difficult by the compromise positions they had to go into to ensure a speedy transfer of power from the white minority.

Frail-looking Housing Minister Mr Joe Slovo, with his hand in a sling, at the conference on Saturday.



ARG 2012/194

# Cheryl Carolus voted into top ANC post

Political Correspondent

11(A)

**BLOEMFONTEIN.** — Cheryl Carolus was carried shoulder-high today amid cheering crowds after an overwhelming victory in the race to be the African National Congress's new deputy secretary-general.

Ms Carolus, who made her name in the Western Cape as an activist in the 1980s, heads the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Department.

Another decisive victory was that of KwaZulu Natal strongman Jacob Zuma, who becomes the ANC's new national chairman.

Mr Zuma got more than three times the combined votes of his rivals, Jeff Radebe and Pallo Jordan.

Delegates at the conference said Mr Zuma's popularity was in large measure owing to his strong stand in a province mainly hostile to the ANC.

Elections for the 60-member national executive committee began today.

The Western Cape region has nominated Cape Metropolitan Negotiating Forum co-chair Nomaindia Mfeketo, provincial MEC Lerumo Kalako, National Public Works Minister Zola Skweyiya, Post and Telecommunications Minister Pallo Jordan, and Zou Kota.

Meanwhile five ANC provincial premiers today withdrew from candidate lists for the NEC. North West premier Popo Molefe said on behalf of the five that their posts as regional chairs guaranteed them positions on the NEC.

● Zuma as national chairman, page 7.

ARG 2012/194

### ANC closed door talks defended

Political Correspondent

**BLOEMFONTEIN** — The controversial decision by the African National Congress to hold much of its milestone national conference behind closed doors has been defended by top Communist Party member Jeremy Cronin

While keynote speeches by top leaders have been open to the Press, debate on them and the proceedings of 11 think-tanks have been in camera

Press briefings have been held after some debates

At a briefing yesterday, Mr Cronin said he "half-agreed" the movement's behaviour contradicted its self-proclaimed commitment to transparency

But closing discussions to the media encouraged branch members to speak out

The think-tanks, officially commissions, were the ANC "talking to itself" about its role, and ordinary branch members had to be encouraged to have their say, Mr Cronin said

# Jacob Zuma elected national chairman

**BLOEMFONTEIN** — Jacob Zuma has been elected the ANC's new national chairman, beating Jeff Radebe and Pallo Jordan to the post, party officials have announced

Mr Zuma won more than 1 600 votes against 255 for Mr Jordan and 227 for Mr Radebe, who were contesting the poll for the post vacated by Thabo Mbeki

Mr Mbeki was unopposed for the deputy-presidency after Walter Sisulu announced his retirement from the position

Cheryl Carolus was elected deputy secretary-general with more than 1 400 votes. She won the position ahead of rivals Thandi Modise (186 votes) and Sankie Nkondo (494)

Cheers and Zulu songs from delegates to the party's national congress drowned out the announcement of the number of votes Mr Zuma polled

Roars of approval met the

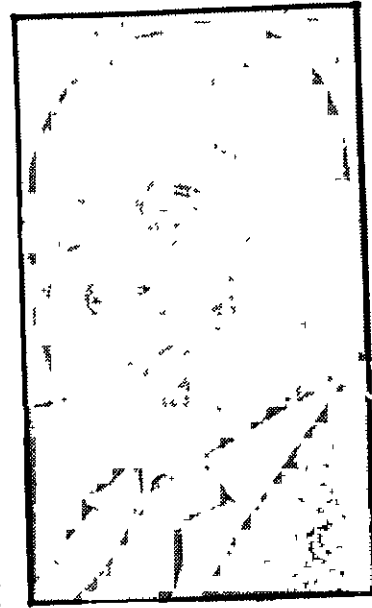
announcement of the election of Ms Carolus and she was carried to the stage by delegates from the Western Cape

There she embraced President Mandela and Cyril Ramaphosa, whose deputy she will be

Ms Carolus is the first woman in the history of the organisation to be elected to the position, officials said

Soon after the announcement of the results of the overnight polling, delegates went into balloting to elect 60 members to the policy-making national executive committee

The ANC office-bearers elected at the five-day congress are president, Nelson Mandela, deputy president, Thabo Mbeki, secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa, deputy secretary-general, Cheryl Carolus, national chairman, Jacob Zuma, treasurer, Arnold Stofile — Reuter



**JACOB ZUMA:** Cheers and Zulu songs drowned out the announcement.

# Zuma wins contest for post of chairman

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

**Bloemfontein** — ANC Kwa-Zulu/Natal leader Jacob Zuma yesterday scored a decisive win in a three-way contest for the position of ANC national chairman vacated by Deputy President Thabo Mbeki.

Zuma, who has always been a hot favourite for the position, beat fellow KwaZulu/Natalian and Public Works Minister Jeff Radebe handsomely and fought off a last-minute challenge by Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting Minister Dr Pallo Jordan.

Announcing the results for positions contested yesterday morning, an Independent Mediation Service of South Africa official said Zuma had polled more than 1 600 votes, with Jordan coming a distant second with 255 votes and Radebe third with

227

Meanwhile, ANC Reconstruction and Development Programme co-ordinator Cheryl Carolus beat Deputy Welfare Minister Sankie Nkondo and ANC Women's League national executive committee (NEC) member Thandi Modise for the position of deputy secretary-general.

## Highest-ranking

Carolus, who obtained 1 452 votes, is now the highest-ranking woman in the ANC's hierarchy outside the Women's League.

Nkondo polled 494 votes and Modise 186.

Nelson Mandela (president), Mbeki (deputy president), Cyril Ramaphosa (secretary-general) and ANC parliamentary chief whip the Rev Arnold Stofile (treasurer-general) were all elected unopposed on Monday

Meanwhile, following the defeat on Monday of the "Mandela Initiative" — in terms of which an appointed six-member committee would have drawn up a recommended list of NEC members — elections for the NEC began yesterday morning and ended at 9 pm.

ANC provincial chairmen and premiers Tokyo Sexwale (Gauteng), Popo Molefe (North West), Mathews Phosa (Eastern Transvaal), Manne Dipico (Northern Cape) and Ngoako Ramatlhodi (Northern Transvaal) announced just before voting began that they were not available for election on to the NEC since, as provincial chairmen, they were already ex-officio members.

However, Free State Premier Patrick "Terror" Lekota and Eastern Cape Premier Raymond Mhlaba, who are not provincial chairmen of the organisation, are candidates for the NEC.

Star 21/12/1994

(11A)

## NEWS 5100 health worke

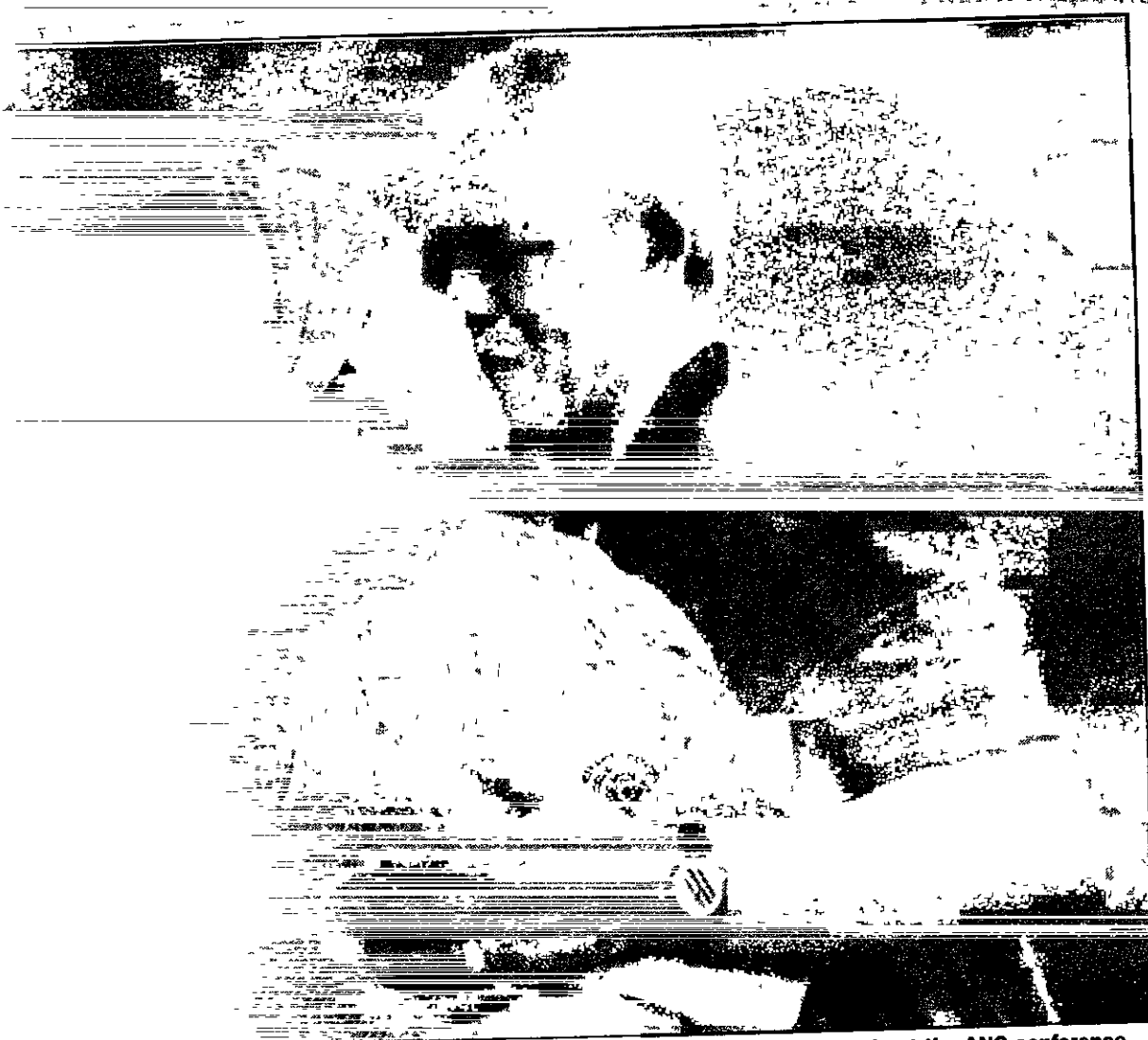
# PAC hands *Sowetan 22/12/94* out portfolios

NEW Pan Africanist Congress deputy president Dr Motsoko Pheko yesterday announced the portfolios of the party's 24 leaders

The national executive committee was elected at the national conference in Mmabatho, North-West, last weekend. Mr Clarence Makwetu was re-elected party president, Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani general secretary, Thobile Gola deputy general secretary, Bamba Nwandwe national organiser, Siphwe Cele finance secretary and former deputy president Mr Johnson Mlambo political affairs secretary.

Other members of the NEC are Mosebjane Malatsi (economic affairs), Bathembu Lugulwana (civic and local affairs), Z B Molete (publicity and information), Mogole Mphahlele (foreign affairs), Mandisa Tsotsi (legal and constitutional affairs), Dr Mandla Tshabalala (education and human resources), Siphwe Sithole (culture, sports and recreation), Dr Selva Saman (health), Ms Cynthia Bekwa (projects and development), Dr Solly Skosana (environmental affairs), Mr Joe Mkhwanazi (religious affairs), Kwedie Mkhaphi (relief and aid), and Dr Ben Marengwa (land and natural resources). Mr !Khoisan X, Ms Patricia de Lille, Mr Gora Ebrahim and Mfanasekhaya Gqoboshe have yet to be allocated portfolios

(11A)



**FOR OLD TIME'S SAKE ...** President Nelson Mandela kisses his estranged wife Winnie at the ANC conference yesterday on her election to the national executive committee. PIC SELLO MOTSEPE

# ANC hawks win top votes

Sowetan 22/12/94

**By Mzimasi Ngudle**

**A**FRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS militants swept the boards at elections for the party's national executive committee yesterday. Known hardliners won the top votes for the NEC when results were announced on the final day of the ANC's 49th national conference in Bloemfontein.

Former Transkei military leader and Environmental Affairs and Tourism Deputy Minister Bantu Holomisa received thunderous applause when it was announced he had received the most votes of all 100 members of the NEC.

Holomisa received 1 915 votes, followed by Telecommunications Minister Pallo Jordan (1 879), former ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba (1 824), Transport Minister Mac Maharaj (1 818) and Mrs Winme Mandela (1 812).

Free State premier Mr Patrick Lekota came sixth, followed by the Deputy Minister for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development Mr Valli Moosa, while controversial Natal leader Mr Harry Gwala secured ninth position — five more points than Justice Minister Dullah Omar, who completed the first 10 on the list.

In his closing address President Nelson Mandela slammed financial indiscipline within the ANC and said a parasite class had emerged

within the party.

Mandela said the organisation was experiencing financial problems and it emerged that it had a deficit of about R50 million.

He also blamed ANC regions for failing to raise funds and relying too much on the party's head office.

He said these harsh words after the results of the remaining members of the national executive committee had been announced.

Mandela thanked the old NEC for steering the organisation through negotiations and the country's first nonracial elections.

He praised conference delegates who, he said, had performed remarkably. This had confounded the "prophets of doom who said you were going to roast your leaders".

Addressing a Press conference, Mandela and five other top ANC leaders dismissed reports that ANC members were disgruntled with the organisation's performance in the Government of National Unity.

Secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said there was "not a single word of disgruntlement during the sittings of the eleven ANC commissions" who released their reports yesterday.

There are altogether 13 women, eight whites, nine Indians and one coloured on the list. Mandela said he was not disappointed at the rejection of his proposed list by the conference, pointing out that the proposal had hit a snag because of a lack of communication with branches.

# Militants sweep top ANC positions

22/12/94 (11A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON  
and BARRY STREEK

**BLOEMFONTEIN** — ANC militants swept the boards at elections for the ANC's National Executive Committee yesterday.

Known hardliners won the top NEC positions when results were announced at the ANC's national conference at the University of the Free State

Mr Bantu Holomisa, now Deputy Minister of Environment Affairs, topped the poll with 1 915 votes

The next four positions were taken by leaders who have maintained a consistently hard line on national and party issues

They are The Western Cape's Dr Pallo Jordan, Minister of Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting, with 1 879 votes, former ANC Youth League leader Mr Peter Mokaba with 1 824, Transport Minister and top SA Communist Party strategist Mr Mac Maharaj with 1 811, and Women's League president Mrs Winnie Mandela with 1 802 votes

The election was hotly contested with 235 nominations for 60 posts

Only 13 of the successful candidates were women, while one coloured person, nine Indians and eight whites were elected

Six Western Cape members were elected, five in the top 20 — Dr Jordan, Justice Minister Mr Dullah Omar 10th with 1 680 votes, Sports Minister Mr Steve Tshwete 12th with 1 663 votes, Trade and Industry Minister Mr Trevor Manuel 17th with 1 594 votes, Water Affairs and Forestry Minister Professor Kádar Asmal 19th with 1 503 votes and chairperson of the Joint Parliamentary Committee on Defence, Mr Tony Yengeni, 51st with 912 votes

Trade unionists fared poorly with Cosatu president Mr John Gonomo 31st, Cosatu Secretary-General Mr Sam Shilowa 46th, and Mr Moses Mayekiso 48th Messrs Marcel Golding, Chris Dlamini and Philip Dexter were not elected

ANC President Nelson Mandela said afterwards he was not disappointed that his proposal for an NEC representative of regional, gender and racial components of the population had not been accepted



## Sisulu quits politics

ANC deputy president, Mr Walter Sisulu, announced his retirement from active politics at the ANC's 49th Congress in Bloemfontein

"I am not retiring in a technical sense I am retreating in order to continue the struggle," he said

Although the 82-year-old veteran anti-apartheid campaigner would not be serving on any constitutional structures of the ANC, he would continue to support the organisation and serve the people

Sisulu was ANC secretary general during the Rivonia Trial when he was convicted of planning acts of political sabotage and sentenced to life imprisonment. He served 26 years on Robben Island with president Nelson Mandela and others

## Top award for Slovo

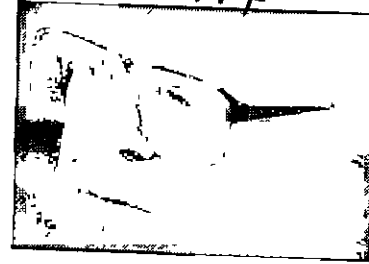
*South 22/12 - 27/12/94*  
SOUTH African Communist Party veteran and Housing Minister Mr Joe Slovo has been awarded the ANC's highest honour - the Isithwalandwe/Seaparankoe Award

Announcing the honour at the ANC congress in Bloemfontein, president Nelson Mandela said Slovo had distinguished himself in the struggle by pursuing his convictions, "touching the lives of millions of ordinary people without being self-conscious"

Past recipients include Chief Albert Luthuli, Oliver Tambo and Walter Sisulu (117)

"Your contributions to our struggle are many, but it is, I think, especially as a strategic thinker that you are held most dear by so many in our ranks," Mandela said

"We are extremely fortunate to have such an outstanding revolutionary who combined a rigorous mind with attention to practical organisational work"



JOE SLOVO

Slovo was crucial in regrouping and consolidating the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, during the decades in exile, he said

In the Ministry of Housing, he had demonstrated a commitment to overcoming the "terrible" legacy of national oppression

Accepting the award, Slovo said "There is no greater honour for any person than to get this decoration. Let me thank you all from the bottom of my heart. We will be together in the struggle for a long time to come"

## ANC congress faces up to lack of effective controls

THE African National Congress has struggled to find its feet in the political terrain of the new South Africa, according to a report tabled by ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa at the ANC's 49th congress in Bloemfontein

The problem was exacerbated by key ANC figures moving into government positions and the organisation's low media profile since the April elections

The report is an assessment of the ANC's strengths and weaknesses throughout its departments and sections

Among the problems highlighted was the "continual reliance" upon

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela to organise

"This was supposed to be the work of the regions, which fell short on many occasions in fulfilling their organising commitments"

Mr Ramaphosa added that sources of finance had dried up since the election and that the Youth and Women's Leagues did not "adhere to financial controls"

The report also notes a problem with "staff discipline", saying that it is "inordinately difficult, if not impossible", to dismiss staff in the ANC

In most cases, even where there was overwhelming justification for

disciplinary action and dismissal, such action was thwarted, more often than not for reasons of political expediency

In addition, a lack of "suitable managerial staff" undermined efficiency and effectiveness

Ramaphosa's criticisms were echoed in president Mandela's opening address to the congress

"Ours was not a planned entry into government," Mandela said

"Except for the highest echelons, we did not have a plan for the deployment of cadres. We were disorganised, and behaved in a manner that could have endangered the revolution"

## ANC's national

How many votes each received

- 1 Bantu Holomisa 1915
- 2 Pello Jordan 1879
- 3 Peter Mokaba 1824
- 4 Mac Maharaj 1818
- 5 Sydney Mufamadi 1769
- 6 Patrick Lekota 1732
- 7 Mohamed Valli Moosa 1725
- 8 Harry Gwala 1685
- 9 Dullah Omar 1680
- 10 Ronnie Kasrils 1677
- 11 Steve Tshwete 1663
- 12 Joe Slovo 1651
- 13 Tito Mboweni 1640
- 14 Ahmed Kathrada 1601
- 15 Jeff Radebe 1596
- 16 Trevor Manuel 1594
- 17 Kader Asmal 1503
- 18 Carl Niehaus 1488
- 19 Saki Macozoma 1369
- 20 Alfred Nzo 1356
- 21 Zola Skweyha 1339
- 22 Joe Modise 1301
- 23 Raymond Mhlaba 1289
- 24 Derek Hanekom 1280
- 25 Sibusiso Bengu 1233
- 26 Blade Nzimande 1227
- 27 John Gomo 1211
- 28 Charles Ngakula 1169
- 29 Aziz Pahad 1104
- 30 Thozamile Botha 1085
- 31 Jeremy Cronin 1082
- 32 Penuli Maduna 1076
- 33 Joel Ntshenzhe 1050
- 34 Joe Ntshahla 1033
- 35 Raymond Suttner 1031
- 36 Sibusiso Ndebele 1022
- 37 Alec Erwin 966
- 38 Sam Shilowa 951
- 39 Lulu Johnson 945
- 40 Moses Mayekiso 944
- 41 Tony Yengeni 912
- 42 Ma Sisulu 911
- 43 Essop Pahad 865
- 44 Smuts Nkonyama 830
- 45 Wilton Mkwayi 815
- 46 Ebrahim Ebrahim 814
- 47 Linda Mti 747

## executive committee

- 1 John Gomo 1211
- 2 Charles Ngakula 1169
- 3 Aziz Pahad 1104
- 4 Thozamile Botha 1085
- 5 Jeremy Cronin 1082
- 6 Penuli Maduna 1076
- 7 Joel Ntshenzhe 1050
- 8 Joe Ntshahla 1033
- 9 Raymond Suttner 1031
- 10 Sibusiso Ndebele 1022
- 11 Alec Erwin 966
- 12 Sam Shilowa 951
- 13 Lulu Johnson 945
- 14 Moses Mayekiso 944
- 15 Tony Yengeni 912
- 16 Ma Sisulu 911
- 17 Essop Pahad 865
- 18 Smuts Nkonyama 830
- 19 Wilton Mkwayi 815
- 20 Ebrahim Ebrahim 814
- 21 Linda Mti 747

Women, youth and workers represented on new NEC

# At the top of ANC pile

BY ESTHER WAUGH  
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

**Bloemfontein** — The ANC leadership core which will lead the organisation until 1997, sees a return of familiar faces and an increase in influence for the militants.

The new national executive committee (NEC), announced yesterday, reflected a balanced mix of representatives of youth and women's movements, alliance partners and trade unions.

More women — just more than 20 percent of the total — have been elected to the NEC. A total of 13 women, excluding the new deputy secretary-general, Cheryl Carulus, have been elected on to the NEC.

Arts, Culture, Science and Technology Deputy Minister Winnie Mandela received the highest number of votes of women on the NEC. She was

followed by Health Minister Nkosazana Zuma.

The bulk of the members of the outgoing NEC — 35 in total — were re-elected to their positions.

The new NEC is topped by a newcomer to the ANC's highest decision-making body, Deputy Environment Affairs Minister Bantu Holomisa, who received a total of 1 915 votes. He was followed by Posts, Telecommunications and Broadcasting Minister Dr Pello Jordan.

ANC MP and former ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba polled the third highest number of votes. He was followed by Transport Minister Mac Maharaj, Winnie Mandela, Safety and Security Minister Sydney Mufamadi, Free State Premier Patrick "Teror" Lekota, Deputy Constitutional Development Minister

Mohamed Valli Moosa, ANC Midlands chairman Harry Gwala and Justice Minister Dullah Omar.

Fifteen outgoing NEC members were not re-elected, but the majority of this number were not available for re-election. Those who stood as candidates and failed to be re-elected were Rocky Malebane-Metsing, Andrew Mlangeni, Billy Naur and Sister Bernard Ncube.

Newcomers to the NEC include Holomisa, Labour Minister Tito Mboweni, Land Affairs Minister Derek Hanekom, National Assembly Speaker Dr Frene Giniewala, Cosatu president John Gomo, Deputy Welfare Minister Sankie Nkondo, Public Enterprises Minister Stella Sigcau, Deputy Finance Minister Alec Erwin, Cosatu general secretary Sam Shilowa, ANC Youth League president Lulu John-

son, Education Minister Sibusiso Bengu, and ANC MPs Baleleka Kgositse, Limpopo Hami, Thandi Modise, Tony Yengeni, Max Sisulu, Essop Pahad, Mavivi Manzini, Linda Mti and Thenjwe Mthimso.

Others who failed to be elected were former Democratic Party MPs — now representing the ANC — Pierre Cronje and Rob Haswell.

The new NEC features 17 Ministers, eight Deputy Ministers and 22 MPs. Minister without Portfolio Jay Naidoo was the only Minister not to make himself available for election to the NEC.

The top six officials are president Nelson Mandela, national chairman, Jacob Zuma, deputy president; Thabo Mbeki; secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa; deputy secretary-general Cheryl Carulus; treasurer-general Arnold Stoffie

# PAC announces portfolios for 24 party leaders

New PAC deputy president Dr Motsoko Pheko yesterday announced the portfolios of the party's 24 leaders.

The national executive committee was elected at the PAC's national conference in Mmabatho at the weekend.

Clarence Makweu was re-elected party president, Maxwell Nemadzivhanam general secretary, Thobile Gola deputy

general secretary, Bamba Nwandwe national organiser, Siphwe Cele finance secretary and former deputy president Johnson Mlambo political affairs secretary.

## Members

Other members of the NEC are Mosehiane Melatsi (economic affairs), Bathenbu Lulgulwana (civic and local af-

fairs), Z B Molele (publicity and information), Mogole Mphahlele (foreign affairs) and Mandisa Tsotsi (legal and constitutional affairs).

Others are Dr Mandla Tshabalala (education and human resources), Siphwe Sithole (culture, sports and recreation), Dr Sava Saman (health), Cynthia Bekwa (projects and development),

Dr Solly Skosana (environmental affairs), Joe Mkhwanazi (religious affairs), Kwele Mkhahphi (relief and aid), and Dr Ben Marengwa (land and natural resources).

Khoisan X, Patricia de Lille, Gora Ebrahim and Mfana-asekhaya Gqoboshe have yet to be allocated portfolios.

Asked whether the PAC had changed its slogan from

"One settler one bullet" to "One family one plot", Pheko replied: "Our slogan is *Letlu lafrika* (Our land Africa)." (11A)

## Negotiations

He said the PAC was right in demanding land redistribution. Pre-election negotiations had cheated "African people"

whose land was "conquered from day one of colonialism". "Negotiations talked about everything but land. The issue has not been addressed."

Reacting to a suggestion that the PAC was irrelevant, Pheko said: "We will dissolve by Saturday if what we have been fighting for (the land issue) has been accomplished." — Sapa.

# focus on ANC inaction

**T**HE commemorative mood at the first national conference of the African National Congress since the elections befitted its electoral victory and accession to political power

It was a time for party leaders to pat themselves on the back and pay tributes to those who steered the organisation through phases of its struggle against apartheid

Housing Minister and former secretary-general of the South African Communist Party Mr Joe Slovo received the organisation's highest award, the Isithwalandwe-Seaparankoe

The frail and sickly Slovo, one of the ANC's foremost strategic thinkers and revolutionaries, was re-elected to the NEC with 1 651 votes, apparently as a gesture of goodwill Mandela must have had Slovo in mind when he called for the building of "an expanding pool of cadres grounded in the policies and traditions of the ANC"

President of the Senate Mr Govan Mbeki heaped praises on the ageing Mr Walter Sisulu, who resigned as ANC deputy president

The conference was also a time for a diplomatic offensive on Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

Without calling Buthelezi by name, Prince Mcwayizemi Zulu announced his resignation from the NEC, urging other Zulu chiefs to follow his example This, he said, would dismantle the sway of party political chiefs over traditional authority

Deputy President Thabo Mbeki, who was also elected ANC deputy president, occupied centre stage throughout the conference He chaired the proceedings remarkably well, leading one to think "He's surely the next after Mandela"

ANC stalwarts spoke of the tragic and happy moments of the struggle — spanning from years of peaceful resistance, dating back to 1912 when the organisation was formed to 1961 when it embarked on armed resistance which lasted up to the ANC's unbanning in 1990

Gruelling talks then became the arena of the struggle The end result was a compromise Government of National Unity in which the ANC is the majority party

Resolutions adopted at the conference will no doubt become Government policy Although sweeping in content, ANC leaders at the conference conceded that the implementation of these resolutions may be constrained by the constitution

Nonetheless, the delegates were confident the implementation of the resolutions would see the organisation attaining greater heights during the next four years of the GNU

Altogether eleven commissions charted the path for the organisation to follow in carrying out its mandate in Government

A number of resolutions whose implementation is crucial to the success of the ANC as a liberation movement include

- Rationalising civil service, narrowing wage gap and promoting gender equality,
- Establishing an independent prosecuting

The success of ANC hardliners in garnering the most votes in the election of members of the national executive committee could be an indication that the organisation will take more radical steps on issues the Government has been soft-peddling on. **Mzimasi Ngudle** of *Sowetan's* political staff reports: *Sowetan* 23/12/94 (11A)



**Mandela at the ANC's 49th national conference this week**

authority and setting up a central office of the attorney-general.

- Applying the proceeds from the sale of state assets to the reduction of government debt,
- Establishing a National Health Insurance Scheme to provide primary health care to the needy and the indigent, and
- Establishing the ANC National Economic Forum to monitor the implementation of economic policies

In his closing speech to the conference, President Nelson Mandela urged NEC members to take a good rest this Christmas and come back with fresh minds for the hard work of pushing some of these resolutions through as legislative measures

Mandela said that while the ANC emerged from the conference stronger and more united than ever before, the liberation of black people remained incomplete He identified two immediate and critical tasks facing the ANC, namely, writing and adopting the new constitution and winning the coming local government elections

Valli Moosa noted that one of the main objectives of the conference was to focus on local government elections

Implementing conference resolutions as early as possible next year is central to the ANC victory in local government elections in October next year

Mandela said these elections were more crucial than last April's elections in that it was at local government level that the Reconstruction and Development Programme would get its physical content

While dismissing charges that ANC members and supporters were disgruntled by the lack of delivery on pre-election promises, Mandela conceded that people wanted visible evidence of the organisation's commitment to improve their living conditions

Gill Marcus said reports that the ANC grassroots were unhappy with its leadership were unfounded, adding that the general feeling with the ANC rank and file was that they all needed to work hard at self-development

Speculations that, as Mandela put it, the ANC leaders would be roasted at the conference were proved false

However, there were some developments which reflected an inconspicuous mood in the conference

Firstly, Mandela lost hands down when his proposed list for NEC candidature was rejected by the regions

Explaining this later, Mandela denied that the majority of regions rejected the list, saying opposition came from branches that were not properly informed about the list

Dubbed the Mandela Initiative, the list was meant to represent the cross-section of the country's population Mandela later withdrew the list at the insistence of a composite delegation from the regions

Secondly, ANC hardliners won the top votes for NEC membership, an indication the conference delegates were more circumspect on the ANC's overly sympathetic stance to whites.

The numerical strength of votes and the acclaim which the hardliners received may be an indication that while Mandela and his moderation may have held sway overall, a militant base within the top leadership has been put in place

This could manifest itself in months to come with the organisation taking a more radical stance on issues that the government may be soft-peddling on

**NEWS** Party strengthens its structures to gear up for

# Azapo body changes

**By Joe Mdhlela**  
Political Reporter

IN an effort to make an impact in the political arena, the Azanian People's Organisation has enlarged its central committee from 13 to 100, deputy president Mr Pandelani Nefolovhodwe said yesterday.

The committees for women and youth affairs will now be absorbed into the central committee, making Azapo's central committee more representative and democratic.

In the past, women and youth organisations operated independently of the parent body and were not represented on the central committee.

A national chairman has also been added to the leadership but was not elected. Possible appointees include

former president Nkosi Molala and former deputy president Dr Nchaube Mokoape.

The changes were made at the special constitution congress held in QwaQwa last Saturday. The congress also resolved to replace the positions of provincial vice-presidents with regional chairpersons.

Nefolovhodwe said Azapo believes the regional chairpersons were closer to the people they led and would be more effective in dealing with regional issues.

The revised constitution provides for the inclusion of these units in the committee. It also empowers Azapo to co-opt past leadership to serve on the committee.

Nefolovhodwe said the process to co-opt these leaders on to the central committee would be finalised early in

the new year.

On the whole, said Nefolovhodwe, the central committee would now enjoy an even spread across the regions, and be more representative.

However, the committee will still have 14 candidates directly elected to key portfolios, including the position of president, deputy president and other key positions.

The 14-member committee will also serve as the organisation's standing committee.

"With the organisational structures strengthened, Azapo would then position itself for the serious business of challenging the Government."

"We believe because we are a black organisation, the masses of our people will back us as we pressurise the Government to make good its promises," said Nefolovhodwe.

## ANC CONFERENCE

# Masterly Madiba

In a masterful opening address to the ANC's first conference since taking over government, President Nelson Mandela managed to assuage discontent while driving home some hard truths

It was a strategic balancing act designed not only to keep his organisation and its principles intact but increase its constituency. Promising visible change during the new year, he underlined the need to instil a "culture of responsibility" among the people in order to make things work — the RDP, specifically

The first two days of the five-day affair held in Bloemfontein saw no evidence of criticism let alone any attack on the leadership by closet Africanists or populists within the ranks. It seemed unlikely that serious differences would emerge in the closed sessions of the various commissions, either. For instance, it was common cause, said Mandela, that the public service should be "more representative" (that is, more black), but there were real constraints. Such is the nature of victory, he added, that it poses new and more difficult challenges, which he hoped the delegates would discuss productively

The tone of the conference was reflected in the relaxed styles of Mandela's key lieutenants — Thabo Mbeki and Cyril Ramaphosa. Chairing the proceedings, Mbeki exuded a new ease and self-confidence born of authority. Ramaphosa seems gracefully to have accepted this. Ramaphosa's two-hour report on the second day, much of it on the organisation's structural shortcomings, drew big applause — an indication, observed SACP chief Charles Nqakula from the chair, "that you have given the secretary-general top marks"

Flanking the speaker's podium on stage were three pews on either side, symbolising the old and the new ANC. On one side sat Mbeki, next to him Ramaphosa and next to him Jacob Zuma (expected to be chosen as ANC chairman when Mbeki moves up). On the other side sat the stalwarts — Mandela, Govan Mbeki (Thabo's father) and Walter Sisulu, who is retiring as ANC deputy president. The delegates loved it, visibly proud of their traditions

All this was in a sense crowned by the award by Mandela of the ANC's highest decoration (Isithwalandwe Seaparankoe) to the ailing Joe Slovo, which was received with thunderous applause. "I am not sure,

Comrade Joe, if you have ever particularly thought of yourself as a white South African," said Mandela. "Nevertheless, the fact remains that your decades of activism have served as an outstanding example for hundreds of thousands of activists and indeed millions of other South Africans"

In his address Mandela said that despite



Mandela triumphant return to ANC roots

proud achievements, the democratic forces have captured only elements of political power. The conference had to "chart the way forward to a truly free and prosperous nation — the real measure of success or failure of this conference will be whether we will emerge motivated and stronger than before, and whether the decisions we take bring practical relief to the millions" who voted for the ANC

Reviewing developments since the 1991 conference, and tacitly responding to those who criticise ANC concessions at the negotiating table, Mandela said shrewdly that the talks had been carried out in full consultation with regions and branches, and had essentially been "vindicated". Interestingly, Mandela criticised "some so-called liberation movements" — no doubt the PAC — for their "blind pursuit of cheap popularity that has nothing to do with revolution". This was doubtless also aimed at Africanist elements in the ANC

The same principle applied, he said, with the ANC-led Government of National Unity, where the ANC "like a suitor, has to patiently bring in line elements whose own sense of self-importance lies in making a relationship tempestuous". The reasons for this had to be understood "at the same time as we challenge the false notion that the arrangement is God-given, and therefore,

that governance and investor confidence would collapse without the participation of forces other than the majority party"

This was indeed music to the delegates' ears

Referring to meeting election promises — and responding to heightened expectations — Mandela explained "We are mindful of the fact that this will take time and much effort," as the ANC had stated on "countless" occasions. "We are also aware that it will require maximum co-operation among all sectors of society" — not least the ANC rank and file, whose direct involvement in the RDP would also help them realise the difficulties entailed

The ANC has to avoid two extremes, he said. "The one is to conclude that we are merely in political office — weak, tied hand and foot by some terrible agreements we reached in negotiations, (which) leads to a tendency to pander to the resistance to change by the NP, IFP, DP and other parties and elements in the State machinery

"The other extreme is to create the impression that we are all-powerful, ready to realise each and every one of the programmes we would like to implement, (which) leads to populist and ambitious pronouncements that have nothing to do with objective reality — only to retreat in embarrassment down the line"

Continuing the skilful balancing act — in an address crafted at least in part by his deputy, Mbeki — Mandela said the ANC had since the election attained crucial elements of political power — "yet, pending its full transformation, and despite genuine pronouncements of loyalty, the State machinery is to all intents and purposes not representative and premised on previous norms and values"

While those impatient for change tended to get irritated by the leadership's talk of fiscal discipline and macroeconomic stability, said Mandela, "these are neither luxuries nor requirements foreign to the ANC's own policies"

"Logic tells us that our programme cannot be carried out in a sustainable way without a rational utilisation of the resources at our disposal"

Whether to expand State involvement or privatise "depends not on ideological imperatives but on the balance of economic necessity"

It was a masterful performance by Mandela and the ANC leaders, whose capacity

**CURRENT AFFAIRS**

*Due 23/12/1994*  
 for party management — at showcase conferences, anyway — was underestimated by commentators who expected them to come under overt and forceful pressure from the rank and file **(11A)** ■

**GAMBLING**

**Ethical question**

**Prof Nic Wiehahn's** dual role as chairman of government's new Council on Gambling & Lotteries and of JSE-listed Professional Assignments Group Ltd (PAG) suggests a conflict of interests. PAG recently acquired 51% of a consultancy company, Prof Nic Wiehahn & Associates. This company, formerly owned by Wiehahn, recently offered in a letter to advise overseas clients

and the provinces on lotteries. Its MD is Wiehahn's son, Hans, an advocate.

This week the *FM* drew Wiehahn's attention to the apparent conflict of interests, which also concerns PAG MD Ray Rosse. In response, Wiehahn says he will resign as chairman of PAG and write to the provincial premiers to distance himself from the letter. Meanwhile, Rosse has expressed unhappiness over his company's acquisition of the controlling share in Prof Nic Wiehahn & Associates. Says Rosse: "I am not happy I would not have bought that company and I am busy responding to the board minutes."

When first contacted, Rosse said he knew



**Wiehahn**

nothing of PAG's buying control of Wiehahn's company — nor did his financial manager Rosse refer the *FM* to PAG executive vice-chairman Syd Catton in Jeffreys Bay. Rosse suggested that one of Catton's other businesses may have bought the former Wiehahn company.

But Catton says that PAG had indeed completed the acquisition a couple of months ago. "There may be a bit of

confusion. Ray Rosse has been on leave and he is probably not aware of it." Catton says the purchase had not been made public and that an announcement would have been made later. Catton later confirmed Rosse's opposition to the acquisition.

**TRANSITIONAL COUNCILS: HALFWAY THERE**

A sense of urgency is creeping into municipal politics as negotiators in cities, towns and townships scramble to finalise agreements on transitional councils.

The transitional local and metropolitan councils (TLCs & TMCs) must be in place before January 27, the starting date for the 90-day registration of voters. And voter registration must be completed on schedule if the elections are to go ahead by October 31, as each step in the process is laid down in law and has been planned to the day.

A negotiating forum that fails to agree on a transitional council, with enough time to prepare for voter registration, could lose its authority to the province.

The Local Government Transition Act allows provincial governments to appoint a transitional council wherever a forum of local interest groups is unable to do so in time.

By December 9 only half of the 534 intended transitional councils had been proclaimed, but the numbers were climbing steadily (barely one third existed a month earlier). Gauteng had established five out of 19, Eastern Transvaal 22 (48), North West 18 (54), Northern Cape 46 (64), Eastern Cape 47 (100), Western Cape 32 (93), Free State 72 (79) and KwaZulu-Natal 10 (63).

Northern Transvaal had not yet proclaimed any of its intended 14 councils — signifying mainly the deep divisions that still exist between conservative whites and leaders of the historically deprived black townships in that province.

The transitional councils are intended to bridge the old race-bound town and township councils. They must govern jointly the previously separated communities, maintain suitable services where they already exist and create them where they do not, reallocate resources to depressed neighbourhoods, as well as register voters and prepare for the establishment of elected councils. A major obstacle in many of the negotiating forums has been the issue of resource allocation.

The wealthier, mostly white, communities fear that they will end up paying higher rates and service charges to cover the cost of improving black areas. They have good reason for their apprehension, as it is clear that the central and provincial governments cannot afford to finance local government restructuring.

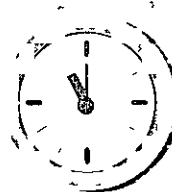
The issue is further aggravated in some areas where black townships carry massive arrears in rent

and service charges. For example, the recently proclaimed Greater Johannesburg Transitional Metropolitan Council inherits R135m in arrears from Soweto that has developed since February when the government wrote off a massive rent and service debt stretching back to the late Eighties.

But apartheid's legacy is not the only obstacle in the reconstruction of local government. Disputes have flared up between ANC leaders and their old allies, the civic associations, in several areas where the two sides have found themselves vying for representation in the transitional councils and the forthcoming elections.

Many civics want representation in their own right, while the ANC insists that its members inside civics should stand for the party. Deputy President and ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki acknowledged the tensions at the party's national congress in Bloemfontein this week.

A major obstacle holding up establishment of transitional authorities in rural areas is the unresolved issue of tribal authority: whether chiefs be permitted to serve on the councils, hold special status or lose their traditional authority, or serve in a separate chamber. In KwaZulu-Natal, especially, the matter is embroiled with the often violent rivalry between Inkatha and the ANC. Resolution of these difficulties will not be smooth or swift.



**Progress in forming transitional local authorities**

| Province      | Number of councils | Not yet proclaimed <input type="checkbox"/> | Proclaimed <input type="checkbox"/> |
|---------------|--------------------|---|-------------------------------------|
| GAUTENG       | 5/19               | 14  |                                     |
| N TVL         | 2/48               | 46  |                                     |
| E TVL         | 22/48              | 26  |                                     |
| NORTH WEST    | 18/54              | 36  |                                     |
| N CAPE        | 46/64              | 18  |                                     |
| E CAPE        | 47/100             | 53  |                                     |
| W CAPE        | 32/93              | 61  |                                     |
| OFS           | 72/79              | 7   |                                     |
| KWAZULU/NATAL | 10/63              | 53  |                                     |

Source: LOCAL GOVERNMENT ELECTION TASKGROUP